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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

VOL. II.

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

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VOL. II.

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Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

BOOK I.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of the Arabs, *to the taking of* Baghdâd *by the* Tartars.

SECT. IV.

THE *Arabs*, as well as the foreigners at that time in the city of *Medina*, being informed of *Othmân*'s death, were divided in their ſentiments about a ſucceſſor. *Telha* and *Zobeir* having aſſembled the *Anſârs* and *Mohâjerîn*, declared for *Ali*, tho' in their hearts they hated him; as did alſo *Ayeſha*, the youngeſt and beſt-beloved wife of *Mohammed*. But the *Arabs* being, for the moſt part, inclined to favour him, not only on account of the near relation he bore to the prophet, but likewiſe of the immediate alliance he had contracted with *Mohammed*'s family, by marrying

Ali is unanimouſly elected Khalîf.

rying his daughter *Fâtema*, they thought proper to diſſemble their averſion to him, and even the very day on which *Othmân* was murdered, to take the oath of allegiance to him. This, however, they reſolved to break as ſoon as a proper opportunity of doing it offered. The *Baſrans*, in the mean time, ſhewed a diſpoſition to favour *Telha*; tho' *Zobeir* had likewiſe a conſiderable party amongſt them. The *Cûfans* and *Egyptians* had the higheſt regard for *Ali*, as well as the *Arabs*; ſo that his intereſt was too powerful to admit of any competitor. However, *Zobeir*'s friends declared themſelves ſo warmly for him, or at leaſt for any other perſon whoſe intereſt he ſhould ſupport, that they threatened him with death, if he did not either take the government upon himſelf, or ſee it immediately conferred upon ſome other perſon. The troops likewiſe that had arrived from *Meſopotamia*, *Perſia*, and the different parts of *Arabia*, as well as thoſe from *Baſra* and *Egypt*, in order to depoſe *Othmân*, reſolved to cut off all the candidates for the *Khalifat*, if one of them was not without delay advanced to that dignity. The eyes, therefore, of all were fixed upon *Ali* at this critical juncture; and the principal men preſſed him with unuſual vehemence to accept of the honour deſigned him, as being the beſt qualified for it, both by his perſonal accompliſhments and the affinity he bore to the prophet. To this he diſcovered for ſome time an invincible reluctance, ſaying, "he had much rather ſerve another in the capacity of *Wazîr*, or *Viſir*, than take upon himſelf the government." The troops being apprized of this, and finding that the family of *Ommiyah* had withdrawn themſelves, they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and inſiſted upon the inhabitants of *Medina*'s bringing the controverſy to a deciſion; declaring, that they would allow them but one day to conſider of it; and that if, in that time, a *Khalif* was not elected, they would put *Telha*, *Zobeir*, *Ali*, and ſeveral others, to the ſword. This ſtruck the citizens of *Medina* with ſuch terror, that they again preſſed *Ali* in the moſt ſupphant manner to ſuffer himſelf to be inaugurated; and, upon his again declining this, they adjured him by GOD to conſider the lamentable condition in which they were, the miſerable ſtate of their religion, and the diſtraction of the whole nation. Overcome at laſt with ſuch pathetical exclamations, he anſwered, "If I ſhould comply with your requeſt, I will always act according to the beſt of my knowlege; and if you will excuſe me, I ſhall ever be one of the moſt ſubmiſſive and obedient of all the *Moſlems* to whomſoever you ſhall be pleaſed to ſet over me." Then addreſſing himſelf to *Telha* and *Zobeir*, who intreated him in the moſt moving terms to accept of the *Khalifat*, he ſaid, "If you intend

"to

" to recognize my authority, as the ſucceſſor of *Mohammed*, " ſwear to be faithful to me; otherwiſe permit me to take " the oath of allegiance to one of you." The latter of which propoſals they refuſed, and conſequently accepted of the former; upon which, *Ali* was immediately proclaimed *Khalif*. He was the ſon of *Abu Tâleb*, the ſon of *Abd'almotalleb*, the ſon of *Hâſhem*; his mother, according to *Al Makîn*, being *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Aſed*, the ſon of *Hâſhem*. He was elected, by the unanimous ſuffrages of the *Moſlems*, emperor of the faithful, to uſe the *Arab* ſtile, the ſame day that *Othmân* was ſlain. It ſeems to be intimated by *Al Makîn*, that *Ali*, immediately after his election, conſtituted *Kais Ebn Sa'id*, governor, or prefect, of *Egypt* [a].

And inaugurated in the moſque at Medina.

ALI being thus advanced to the *Khalifat* without oppoſition, though many were ſecretly diſguſted at his election, reſolved to be inaugurated publicly in the moſque at *Medina*, that all parties might be ſatisfied, and have no juſt cauſe of complaint. This he judged a neceſſary precaution, as *Ayeſha*, *Telha*, *Zobeir*, and the houſe of *Ommiyah*, of which *Moâwiyah*, the governing prefect of *Syria*, was chief, had conceived ſo ſtrong a prejudice againſt him; which, he was ſenſible, would prompt them to give him all the diſturbance in their power. He, therefore, went to the moſque in a thin cotton gown, tied about him with a girdle, with a coarſe turbant upon his head, carrying his ſlippers in one hand, and in the other a bow, which he made uſe of as a walking-ſtaff. Upon his arrival there, *Telha* and *Zobeir* were ſent for, who inſtantly came, and gave him their hands, as a mark or token of their approbation of what had been done. After which, with great ſeeming alacrity, they took the oath of allegiance to him; and many of the principal perſons in *Medina* followed their example. When *Telha* offered *Ali* his hand, it was obſerved by *Habib Ebn Dhowaib*, that the fingers were contracted by a wound he had formerly received; which he conſidered as ominous, ſaying, " A lame hand ſeems to indicate, that the " buſineſs done by it will be performed in a lame manner; " how proper, therefore, would it be to have it undone!" Which kind of prophecy was afterwards fulfilled, as in the ſequel of the hiſtory of *Ali* will more fully appear. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that the houſe of *Ommiyah*, the traitor *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, *Sa'id Ebn Al As*, and *Walid Ebn*

[a] AL JANNAB. EBN AL ATHIR, in hiſt. univerſ. vol. ii. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl Bodl. Oxon. num. 137. ISM. ABULFED. hiſt. univ. vol. i. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 303. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 185. AL MAKIN, in hiſt. Saracen. lib. i. c. v. p. 36. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 342, 343.

Akba, refused to have the oath of fidelity to *Ali* administered to them. They, therefore, probably did not attend at his inauguration, which happened on *Friday* the 25th day of *Dhu'l-hajja*, and the 35th year of the *Hejra*; nearly answering to the year of our Lord 655 [b].

Ali *resolves to dismiss the governors of provinces appointed by* Othmân.

AFTER the recognition of his authority, *Ali* resolved to dismiss all those governors of provinces, who had been put into their posts by his predecessor *Othmân*; but *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, not *Ebn Said*, as he is called by *D'Herbelot*, endeavoured to divert him from this resolution, at least till he had more firmly established himself in the government. This advice not proving agreeable to *Ali*, *Al Mogheirah* visited him the next day, and told him, that he had altered his opinion, and found it highly expedient to execute the project he had formed. In the midst of this conference, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, who was just returned from *Mecca*, came in; and having been informed of the subject they were upon, told the *Khalif*, that "*Al Mogheirah*'s first advice was good, but the last "treachery. For," said he, "all *Syria* will immediately de-"clare for *Moâwiyah*, upon the first news of his dismission; "and as no confidence can be reposed either in *Telha* or *Zo-"beir*, there is great reason to believe, that, upon the erup-"tion of a flame in *Syria*, they will both appear in arms "against you. Wherefore," continued he, "permit *Moâ-"wiyah* to remain in the post he at present enjoys, till his "submission; after which, I will undertake to pull him out "of his house by the ears, whenever you desire it." But *Ali* swore, that "*Moâwiyah*'s portion should be the sword." Which induced the other to tell him, that "he was a man, "indeed, of admirable courage, but not of equal conduct." After the conclusion of this conference, *Al Mogheirah* retired *Mecca*; and the *Khalif* persisted in his former resolution. In agreement with *Abd'allah*'s observation, relating to the courage of *Ali*, we are told by some of the eastern writers, that this *Khalif*, for his unparalleled bravery, was surnamed by the *Arabs the lion of* GOD, *always victorious* [c].

Telha *and* Zobeir *retire to* Mecca.

THOUGH *Ayesha* was at first very well pleased with the news of the murder of *Othmân*, to which she had not a little contributed, as hoping that her favourite *Telha* would succeed him in the *Khalifat*; yet being afterwards informed, that *Ali* had been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the *Moslems*, she expressed a great concern for that tragical event. Nay,

[b] AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali*, p 89. [c] ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 180. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p 9, 10, 11.

ſhe accuſed *Ali*, in order to render him odious to the houſe of *Ommiyah*, to which *Othmân* belonged, of the perpetration of that horrid fact; when there was in reality not the leaſt ground or pretext for ſuch an accuſation. Some of the *Moſlems*, therefore, who knew how active ſhe had been in that bloody affair, reprehended her for endeavouring to throw the odium of ſo black a crime upon an innocent perſon; ſince ſhe could not but be conſcious of her own guilt, as having been one of the firſt who ſuggeſted, and even ſtrongly recommended, the late *Khalif*'s aſſaſſination to his rebellious ſubjects. But in anſwer to what was objected to her conduct on this occaſion, ſhe replied, that *Othmân*'s infidelity obliged her at firſt to declare againſt him; but that, on his repentance and reconverſion, ſhe became reconciled to him, and would have ſaved him, had it been in her power. At the time of *Ali*'s inauguration, as well as when the diſaffected *Arabs* murdered *Othmân*, ſhe was at *Mecca*, and enjoyed a very conſiderable ſhare of influence and authority there. Not content with this, ſhe endeavoured to animate all orders and degrees of men againſt the new *Khalif*; and was continually employed in forming ſchemes to embarraſs the adminiſtration. Nor did ſhe want perſons of note to forward and promote all her wicked machinations. For, in the beginning of the 36th year of the *Hejra*, *Telha Ebn Obeid'allah* and *Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, with others of their party, repreſented to *Ali*, that the aſſaſſins, who had embrued their hands in the blood of *Othmân*, ought to be brought to condign puniſhment; offering him, at the ſame time, their aſſiſtance for that purpoſe. This they did, purely to ſow amongſt the people the ſeeds of ſedition, and occaſion diſturbances that might finally weaken *Ali*'s party, and terminate in his deſtruction. The *Khalif* perceiving their intention, repreſented to them the impoſſibility of carrying their deſign at preſent into execution, by reaſon of the civil diſſenſions which ſo diſtracted the *Arab* nation. Upon which, they deſiſted from all farther ſollicitations on that head. However, as *Ali* found, by this effort of *Telha* and *Zobeir*, ſupported by *Ayeſha*, to embroil his affairs, that he had very powerful enemies to contend with, he took all poſſible opportunities of careſſing the *Koreiſh*, hoping by this means to conciliate to him the affections of that powerful tribe. Which ſtep was, indeed, very expedient; as the departure of the *Ommiyan* family had irritated a conſiderable part of his ſubjects, and occaſioned in ſome provinces of the empire great murmurings and commotions. In the mean time, *Telha* and *Zobeir*, notwithſtanding the repulſe they had lately met with, deſired *Ali* to confer upon one of them the government of *Cûfa*, and upon the other that of *Baſra*; pretending,

that they ſhould thereby be enabled to extinguiſh with the greater eaſe any rebellion that might happen in the neighbourhood of either of thoſe cities. But the *Khalif*, by this requeſt, eaſily penetrated their deſigns, and excuſed himſelf from complying with it, by telling them, that as his government was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he ſhould ſtand in need of perſons of their great capacity, ſo much ſuperior to that of any of his other miniſters, to conſult with on ſuch emergencies as might happen in an unſettled ſtate. This anſwer nettled them to a great degree; but they were obliged to appear ſatisfied with it. However, they reſolved to attempt undermining that government they could not aſſail by open force; and, therefore, knowing that *Ayeſha* was gone on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, they begged leave of the *Khalif* to go likewiſe on the ſame occaſion thither. This they hoped would give them an opportunity of caballing with *Ayeſha*, and of executing, in conjunction with her, the pernicious ſcheme they had formed. *Ali* was ſufficiently aware of this, tho' he permitted them to go to *Mecca*, for the reaſon they aſſigned. However, he was determined to have a ſtrict eye upon them, and narrowly to watch all their proceedings in that place [d].

A ſtrong party formed againſt Ali.

THINGS being in this ſituation, a civil war, or rather an open rebellion, ſoon ſeemed abſolutely inevitable. Every ſtep that was taken on both ſides, that is, by the *Motazalites*, or *Separatiſts*, for ſo thoſe who adhered to the houſe of *Ommiyah* were called, and the *Khalif*, after this, manifeſtly tended to a rupture. The *Motazalites* in a little time had two conſiderable armies on foot, ready to enter upon action; one under the command of *Moâwiyah* in *Syria*, and another headed by *Ayeſha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, at *Mecca*, that began to be in motion. The *Khalif*, contrary to the ſalutary advice given him by *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, reſolved to remove all the governors of provinces who had their poſts aſſigned them by *Othmân*, and to appoint others in their room, that he could intirely depend upon. In purſuance of which reſolution, he diſpatched *Sahel Ebn Hanif*, the *Anſâr*, to *Syria*; *Kais Ebn Sa'id* to *Egypt*; *Othmân Ebn Hanif* to *Baſra*; *Ammârah Ebn Sâhal* to *Cûfa*; and *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* to *Yaman*. *Sahel* being arrived at *Tabûc*, on the confines of *Syria*, met a party of horſe that had been ſent thither by *Moâwiyah*, whoſe commander obliged him to return home. A great number of the *Egyptians* refuſed to receive *Kais*, and to ſubmit to *Ali*'s government, till the murderers of *Othmân* had been brought to juſtice. *Othmân Ebn Hanif* found the people divided at *Baſra*;

[d] AL MARIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi ſup.

how-

however, with ſome difficulty, he took poſſeſſion of his poſt; but the *Cûfans* being determined not to acknowledge the new *Khalif*, *Ammârah* was obliged to return to *Ali*, with the news of their reſolution. *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* was received in *Yaman*; but, before his arrival, *Yali*, who had received his commiſſion from *Othmân*, plundered the treaſury, made the beſt of his way to *Mecca*, and depoſited the money in the hands of *Ayeſha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*. In the mean time, *Ali* made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for his defence, and was joined by the *Anſârs*, who came over to him almoſt unanimouſly in abody [e].

Moawiyah having driven *Sahel Ebn Hanîf* out of *Syria*, Moâwiaſſembled a body of troops on the frontiers, as well as a nu- yah *demerous* army, to take vengeance of the murderers of *Othmân*. *clares* He did his utmoſt to inſpire the people under his government *againſt* with an abhorrence of *Ali*, whom he repreſented, on all oc- *him.* caſions, as the principal perſon concerned in the aſſaſſination of his predeceſſor. He expoſed on the pulpit the bloody ſhirt in which *Othmân* was murdered, with his wife's fingers, that were cut off when that tragedy was acted, fixed upon it, to public view. This ſo incenſed the *Syrian* forces, that they vowed to revenge the violent death of *Othmân*; and were undoubtedly ſincere in their reſolution. But as for *Ayeſha* and her aſſociates, they were not at all diſpleaſed with the murder of *Othmân*, having in reality been deeply concerned in that murder; but only exclaimed againſt that barbarous action, in order to be furniſhed with a pretext to take up arms, and to be ſupported by the houſe of *Ommiyah* in their attempts againſt the preſent *Khalif*. This was very well known to *Ali*, though *Moâwiyah* ſeems to have been a ſtranger to it. *Sahel* arrived at *Medina* juſt before the departure of *Telha* and *Zobeir* for *Mecca*; and, by the news he brought from *Syria*, they plainly perceived that a rupture with *Moâwiyah* was at hand. However, the *Khalif*, probably with a view of concealing from them his true intentions, declared his reſolution to make uſe of all poſſible expedients to prevent at leaſt the ſpeedy commencement of hoſtilities. He, therefore, diſpatched an expreſs to *Moâwiyah* in *Syria*, and another to *Abu Mûſa* at *Cûfa*, with a letter to each of thoſe commanders, in order to diſpoſe them to an accommodation. With regard to the latter, the overtures made him on this occaſion were ſo advantageous, that he ſeems to have immediately cloſed with them. For, in anſwer to *Ali*'s letter, he aſſured him, that all the *Cûfans* were intirely at his ſervice; and moreover ſent him a liſt of thoſe who came in

[e] Ism. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Ebn Al Athir, D'Herbel. ubi ſup.

firſt of their own accord, as well as of thoſe who afterwards followed their example. It can, therefore, ſcarce be doubted but *Ali*, at leaſt, confirmed *Abu Mûſa* in his government of *Cûfa*, if he did not make ſome farther conceſſions to that general. As for *Moâwiyah*, he did not ſo much as vouchſafe the *Khalif* an anſwer, till a conſiderable time after his letter came to hand. Then he ſent one by a courier, diſpatched for that purpoſe to *Medina*, ſealed up, with the following direction: *From* Moâwiyah *to* Ali. This the *Khalif* opened, and found it to be a mere blank, not ſo much as a ſingle word being viſible in it. Turning then to *Moâwiyah*'s courier, he aſked him, "What news was ſtirring in *Syria?*" To which the meſſenger replied, "There are no leſs than "60,000 men in arms under *Othmân*'s ſhirt, which is erected "as a ſtandard upon the pulpit at *Damaſcus*." *Ali* then aſked, "Whether or no they required the blood of *Othmân* "at his hands?" At the ſame time he called GOD to witneſs that he was innocent of it, and implored the divine aſſiſtance. As he could view *Moâwiyah*'s pretended letter in no other light than that of a token of the utmoſt defiance and contempt, and the troops aſſembled under *Othmân*'s ſhirt were deſtined to act againſt him, he told *Ziyâd*, who ſat by him, that a war in *Syria* was inevitable; which *Ziyâd* ſoon communicated to the people. The *Khalif* then wrote circular letters to the different provinces of *Arabia*, ordering them to ſend him a proper number of recruits; and exhorted his ſubjects to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the war they were going to enter upon againſt the diſturbers of the public repoſe. We are told by *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*, as well as *Theophanes*, that, about this time, *Moâwiyah* was actually proclaimed *Khalif*, and inaugurated, by the weſtern provinces, or, in other words, the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* troops [f].

Ayeſha begins her march for Baſra.

TELHA and *Zobeir* having made their eſcape to *Mecca*, under the pretext of performing the pilgrimage thither, gave a lamentable account of the murder of *Othmân*, aggravating extremely every circumſtance of that barbarous action, to *Ayeſha*; thinking by this means, as in reality they did, to make themſelves more agreeable to her. Not long after their arrival, *Yali*, *Othmân*'s governor of *Yaman*, likewiſe arrived at *Mecca*, and delivered the public money he had brought with him into the hands of *Ayeſha*, under whoſe auſpices *Telha* and *Zobeir* were juſt beginning to act. This communicating life and activity to their councils, they ſoon aſſem-

[f] EBN AL ATHIR, in hiſt. univ. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 137. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 288. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Ali*.

bled

bled a body of troops, with which, in conjunction with the forces of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, they propoſed to march againſt *Ali*, and his adherents. To this *Ayeſha*, who put herſelf at the head of theſe troops, was excited by the account of the diſtracted ſituation of the *Khalif*'s affairs at *Medina*, ſhe had received from *Telha* and *Zobeir*. They were, however, at a loſs for ſome time what place to chuſe for the ſcene of their military operations. *Ayeſha* was for ſtriking at the root, and marching directly to *Medina*, where *Ali*'s affairs were ſo miſerably embarraſſed; others were of opinion, that it would be the moſt proper to join the *Syrian* army under the command of *Moâwiyah*; and, laſtly, others believed that the good of the common cauſe required them to move as ſoon as poſſible to *Baſra*, where *Telha* had a conſiderable intereſt. After mature deliberation, the laſt expedient was pitched upon as the moſt conducive to the attainment of the ſalutary end they had in view; and therefore public notice was given to the inhabitants of *Mecca*, that "as the mother of the faithful, with "*Telha* and *Zobeir*, was upon the point of ſetting out for "*Baſra*, all who were deſirous of ſupporting the true reli-"gion, and revenging the death of *Othmân*, might join the "forces that attended her in this expedition." This produced a very good effect. For, in a ſhort time, the *Meccans* reinforced the troops ſhe had already on foot with a body of 600 men, and at leaſt an equal number of camels; ſo that, at her departure out of *Mecca*, ſhe found herſelf at the head of 1000 *Arabs*, all determined to fight for the faith, which they apprehended to be in danger by the advancement of *Ali* to the *Khalifat*, with the moſt undaunted bravery. The camel on which *Ayeſha* rode, that had been preſented to her by *Menbah*, was called *Al Aſcar*, that is, *the army*, and coſt an hundred *dinârs*. Mounted on this camel in a litter, ſhe led her forces out of *Mecca*; which, by the acceſſion of ſeveral other parties of *Arabs* on their march, before her arrival at *Baſra*, formed a body of about 3000 men. The firſt place to which ſhe advanced was *Jowâb*, a village of no great note, ſituated upon a rivulet of the ſame name [g].

Upon *Ayeſha*'s approach to *Jowâb*, all the dogs in the place met her in a body, and barked at her with great fury. As ſhe had a mind to reſt, or rather halt, here, ſhe made uſe of this accident as a pretext to take up her lodging in that village. She declared, that the prophet himſelf had once intimated to his wives on a journey, in her hearing, that it was adviſable to lodge within the barking of the dogs of *Jowâb*; *And arrives there.*

[g] Ebn Al Athir, ubi ſup. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 57. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 186.

and

and had even predicted the preſent uncommon event. After citing, therefore, a paſſage of the *Korân*, ſhe ſtruck her camel on the leg to make him kneel, in order to diſmount; reſolving to remain there at leaſt the following night. But *Telha* and *Zobeir* knowing of what vaſt importance a forced march would be to them at this critical juncture, when they apprehended that *Ali* would ſoon come up with them, prevailed upon fifty perſons to ſwear, that this village went by another name; though this did not enable them to divert *Ayeſha* from her former reſolution. At laſt, by order of thoſe commanders, one of the ſoldiers cried out, "Make haſte, make haſte, *Ali* "appears behind us." Upon which, they all reſumed their march with the utmoſt celerity. This the *Moſlem* writers own to have been a ſolemn public lie, and aſſert it to have been the firſt that was told between the commencement of *Iſlamiſm* and the preſent defection of *Ayeſha*. Be that as it will, the troops under her command being terrified by this rumor, propagated without any manner of foundation, made the beſt of their way to *Baſra*, where they arrived much ſooner than was expected. In the mean time, *Moâwiyah* receiving advice of the vigorous reſolution taken by *Ayeſha*, and her march to *Baſra*, was greatly animated by thoſe proſperous events. This induced him to ſend her a conſiderable reinforcement, which joined the forces under her conduct before they reached *Baſra*. By the acceſſion of which, and other auxiliary troops, her army ſoon amounted to 30,000 men. It has been already obſerved, that *Othmân Ebn Hanif* was *Ali*'s governor of that place [h].

She takes Baſra.

OTHMAN EBN HANIF having been informed of the enemy's approach, reſolved to reconnoitre them with a party of the gariſon; tho' he was ſenſible that the troops he commanded in the town would make but a very feeble reſiſtance. He ſoon fell in with the vanguard of *Ayeſha*'s army, which he very briſkly attacked; but was defeated after a ſharp ſkirmiſh, wherein he had forty of his men killed upon the ſpot, and was himſelf taken priſoner. *Ebn Al Athir* relates, that *Othmân* having received two meſſengers from *Ayeſha*, with repeated ſollicitations to join her, in order to revenge the tragical exit of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, diſpatched a courier to the *Khalif*, to know what part he was to act on this occaſion; and received for anſwer, that as *Ayeſha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, had, by that expedition, declared war againſt the whole *Arab* nation, notwithſtanding the oath of allegiance to him the two latter had taken, he was to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of his power, if

[h] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 89.

nothing

nothing leſs than the election of a new *Khalif* could induce them to lay down their arms. The ſame author alſo informs us, that, before the courier was diſpatched to *Ali*, ſeveral bloody ſkirmiſhes happened between *Ayeſha*'s troops and *Telha*'s party in the town on one ſide, and *Othmân*'s forces, with the *Baſrans*, that adhered to *Ali*, on the other; in the principal of which *Othmân* was worſted, and loſt a conſiderable number of men. He likewiſe farther relates, that, during the abſence of the ſame courier, *Telha* and *Zobeir* found means, by favour of a tempeſtuous night, to poſt themſelves with a pretty ſtrong party in the moſque at *Baſra*; from whence they ſallied out upon *Othmân*'s men, cut about forty of them in pieces, took the commander himſelf priſoner, and ſent him to *Ayeſha*. But, with regard to the fate of that general, the oriental writers are not perfectly agreed. One of them ſays, that *Ayeſha* at firſt reſolved to put him to death, but was afterwards prevailed upon by one of the women about her to convert that puniſhment into forty ſtripes, and impriſonment; whereas another affirms, that *Ayeſha* commanded his beard and eye-brows to be tore out by the roots, and then, after a ſhort confinement, diſmiſſed him. Be this as it will, *Ayeſha*'s troops, without much difficulty, and with a very ſmall effuſion of blood, made themſelves maſters of *Baſra*, and plundered *Ali*'s treaſury there. Upon *Othmân Ebn Hanif*'s arrival afterwards at *Ali*'s camp, he met with a gracious reception from the *Khalif*; who aſſured him, that he could not fail of receiving an ample reward from GOD for what he had ſuffered on account of his fidelity to the emperor of the faithful [1].

Ali *marches againſt her, and incamps at* Arrabdah.

As ſoon as *Ali* had received the bad news of the loſs of *Baſra*, he made a formal ſpeech to the people, who had been aſſembled on this occaſion, and deſired their aſſiſtance. But, notwithſtanding he was extremely well beloved, was acknowleged by all to have been fairly elected, and was the beſt orator of the age, he could not, with all the eloquence he was maſter of, for ſome time, prevail upon them to give a deciſive anſwer in his favour. *Ziyâd Ebn Hantelah*, perceiving this, ſtept to *Ali* of his own accord, and ſaid, "Whoſoever retreats, we will advance." Upon which, two *Anſârs*, doctors of the law, ſtood up, and pronounced the following deciſion: "The *Imâm Othmân*, maſter of the two teſtimonies, did not die by the maſter of the two teſtimonies;" that is, in other words, "*Ali* is not guilty of the death of *Othmân*." Where, by the two teſtimonies, we are to underſtand the two articles of the *Mohammedan* faith,

[1] ISM. ABULPED. EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Ali*.

There

There is but one GOD; Mohammed *is the apostle of* GOD. Which sentence, formally pronounced in favour of *Ali*, soon induced the *Ansârs*, and the body of the people, to espouse his quarrel. The first of the *Ansârs*, who exerted himself at this juncture, was *Abu Kotâdah*, and he was supported by *Omm Salma*, who obliged her cousin-german to attend the *Khalif*, in the expedition he proposed to undertake for the recovery of *Basra*. *Ali* afterwards made him governor of *Bahrein*. Being resolved, if possible, to bring the rebels back to a sense of their duty, he left *Medina* at the head of 900 men, and advanced to *Arrabdah*, where he was joined by his son *Hasan* with another body of troops. That young prince here took the liberty to censure his father's conduct, and told him, that the difficulties in which at present he found himself involved, were owing partly to his not abandoning *Medina*, when *Othmân* was besieged in his palace there; partly to his being inaugurated before he had been recognized by all the provinces; and partly to the design he had formed of reducing *Ayesha*, and her two associates, by force of arms, before he had tried what could be effected by pacific measures. Against all which points of conduct, he said, he had before advised him; and added, that his refusing to comply with such salutary advice might prove of fatal consequence to him. But to this *Ali* replied, that, had he abandoned *Medina*, when his predecessor was surrounded by his rebellious subjects there, he should, in all probability, have met with that prince's unhappy fate himself; that, had he deferred his inauguration till the body of the *Moslems* had acknowleged him, he should have offered an injury to the *Ansârs*, in whom the right of electing a *Khalif* was lodged; and that, lastly, had he sat still at home, and neglected the means of his own preservation, by refusing to make the necessary preparations for his defence, after the public declaration of *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, of their intention to depose him, he should have animated them in their rebellion, and must necessarily have fallen a sacrifice to their ambition. He, therefore, injoined his son silence, and ordered him to acquiesce in the measures that had been taken. In the mean time, *Ali*'s army was reinforced by various parties of *Arabs*, that were continually joining him in his camp [k].

Ali *writes to the people of* Cufa *and* Medina.

WHILST the *Arab* forces under *Ali* lay incamped at *Arrabdah*, the *Khalif* dispatched *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* and *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar*, with a letter to his friends at *Cûfa*. He did not press them in this letter to declare openly for him,

[k] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. p. 89. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup p. 187.

but

but only to diſpoſe the *Motazalites* to an accommodation. He extolled their fidelity to him, and aſſured them, that he repoſed a greater confidence in them than in any of his other ſubjects. He likewiſe told them, that he hoped providence, by means of their interpoſition, would heal the breaches that had been made amongſt the *Moſlems*, and reſtore peace and unanimity to their councils. The *Khalif* alſo ſent to *Medina* for farther aſſiſtance, that he might be enabled to proſecute the war with vigour; and received, in a ſhort time, from thence a very copious ſupply of horſes, arms, and other implements of war. In one of his public harangues to the troops, he exhibited to their view, in the ſtrongeſt light, the ineſtimable bleſſing they enjoyed by the propagation of the true religion amongſt them; which had effected ſo happy a union amongſt all their tribes, that were before rendered contemptible by their animoſities and diviſions. At the ſame time, he did not fail reminding them, that they enjoyed an uninterrupted repoſe amongſt themſelves till the death of *Othmân*; from whence the devil took occaſion to ſow amongſt them the ſeeds of diſſenſion; which would prove their deſtruction, unleſs they could prevail upon GOD, by imploring his aſſiſtance, to avert the impending evil. Then addreſſing himſelf to his ſon, he aſſured him, that the time would come when the *Moſlems* ſhould be divided into ſeventy-three ſects; the worſt of which would be that which ſhould ſet him at nought, and not follow his example. He, therefore, adviſed him, as being now forewarned, always to conſider the *Korân* as his guide and rule of faith, whatever diſtractions might happen in the ſtate, to adhere to *Iſlâm* as his religion, and never to deviate from the directions of *Mohammed*. After he had given this ſalutary advice both to the army under his command, and his ſon, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for moving towards the enemy; having received advice, that they were incamped in the neighbourhood of *Baſra* [1].

BEFORE the army decamped from *Arrabdah*, *Ebn Refaa* demanded of the *Khalif*, "what he would have, and whither "he intended to conduct the *Moſlem* troops then ready to "act under his command?" To which he replied, "I "would have the rebels to accept of peace; but if they "refuſe this, I would leave them to their own temerity "and preſumption." "What is to be the conſequence "of that?" ſaid *Ebn Refaa*. "We will ſuffer them," anſwered *Ali*, "to perſiſt in their wicked oppoſition, with-"out hurting them, as long as they abſtain from any acts

He is joined by a party of the tribe of Tay *at* Arrabdah.

[1] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90.

"of

" of violence; but if they ſhall think fit to attack us, we " will defend ourſelves." Upon which, one of the *Anſârs* then preſent told the *Khalif*, that, " though he liked " his diſcourſe, his conduct by no means pleaſed him;" adding, with an oath, that, " as he had given their body the " name of *Anſârs*, or *helpers*, he would help GOD, by aſ- " ſiſting him to the utmoſt of his power." Soon after, *Ali* was joined by a party of the tribe of *Tay*, whoſe leader, *Said Ebn Obeid*, addreſſed him in the following terms: " O em- " peror of the faithful! ſome mens hearts do not correſpond " with their tongues; but that is not the caſe with me. I " have always had for thy perſon the greateſt reſpect and ve- " neration; and will not fail fighting thine enemies where- " ſoever I find them. I conſider thee as a perſon endued with " the moſt excellent qualifications of any in the preſent age." Upon this cordial declaration in his favour, *Ali* gave him his benediction, by ſaying, " GOD have mercy upon thee;" and aſſured him, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with the ſincerity of his intentions. The tribe of *Tay* was ſeated in a mountainous diſtrict, whoſe capital was called *Taima*, between *Al Thâlabiya* and *Al Hejr*, at almoſt an equal diſtance from each of thoſe places. There was a caſtle here in the days of *Abulfeda*, called *Al Ablak*; which name was given it by *Al Shamûl Ebn Adhia*, according to that celebrated writer. Not long after the arrival of *Said Ebn Obeid* at the *Moſlem* camp, another body of *Arabs*, compoſed of the tribe of *Aſed*, and part of that of *Tay*, offered their ſervice likewiſe to the *Khalif*; but he diſmiſſed them in a courteous manner; telling them, that, beſides the *Anſârs*, he had a ſufficient number of the *Mohâjerîn* to attend him in the expedition [m].

Abu Mûſa *refuſes to join* Ali.

IT has been already obſerved, that *Abu Mûſa*, the governor of *Cûfa*, diſcovered an inclination to ſupport *Ali*, if he did not actually declare for him, as *Ebn Al Athir* gives us reaſon to believe he did. But receiving advice, that *Ayeſha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, with the forces under their command, had made themſelves maſters of *Baſra*, he began to warp in his fidelity to the *Khalif*. When *Mohammed Ebn Abu Bekr* and *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar*, therefore, with *Ali*'s letter, arrived at *Cûfa*, and the people were aſſembled in the moſque there, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, to hear it read; after the contents of it had been communicated to them, not a ſingle perſon offered to interpoſe in favour of the *Khalif*. But, at laſt, ſome of the *Hadji's*, or *pilgrims*, coming in towards the evening,

[m] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. in Arab. p. 34. Aut. lib. AL AZIZ. YAKUT, in lexic. Vide etiam JOAN. GAGN. not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 34.

and

and asking the governor whether he intended to march with any troops to the assistance of *Ali*? *Abu Músa* explained himself on that head in the following terms: "My sentiments "yesterday, and to-day, in relation to *Ali*, are not a little "different. To remain at home in a pacific posture seems "more agreeable to the councils of heaven; but to enter in- "to the war now commenced may perhaps appear more con- "sistent with the dictates of worldly wisdom. Therefore act "as you shall think proper." To this none of the people answered a single word; but *Ali*'s embassadors gave *Abu Músa* very reproachful language, for the manifest partiality he had discovered in favour of *Ayesha*. However, this he little regarded; telling them, that "he would not engage in their master's "quarrel, unless compelled to it by absolute necessity, before "vengeance had been taken of the murderers of *Othmán*; "and that they were at liberty to impart this resolution to "him." This answer proved extremely agreeable to *Ayesha*, and her associates, who still remained with their forces incamped near *Basra*. Here they proposed to wait for *Ali*, and made the proper dispositions for meeting him in the field, in case on both sides it should be found necessary to come to a general action °.

AFTER the departure of the army from *Arrabdah*, *Ali* advanced to *Dhúlkhâr*; where *Othmán Ebn Hanif*, the late governor of *Basra*, waited upon him. *Othmán* told the *Khalif*, that "he had sent him to *Basra* with a beard; but must re- "ceive him from thence without one." "Thy sufferings," said *Ali*, "are meritorious. All the *Moslems* acquiesced in "the election of the three preceding *Khalifs*. At last I was "chosen, as a proper person to succeed *Othmán*; nor did "either *Telha* or *Zobeir* refuse a recognition of my authority. "However, they have since violated the engagements they "entered into. But they shall know, that I am not less ca- "pable of doing myself justice than any of my predecessors." As soon as *Ali* had received *Abu Músa*'s answer, which amounted to a clear and explicit denial of interesting himself in his favour, he sent *Al Ashtar*, a man of great resolution, and *Ebn Abbâs*, to *Cûfa*, with a full and unlimited power to act as they should think fit for the good of his service. But neither could they prevail upon *Abu Músa* to enter into a war against *Ayesha*. He advised the people over whom he presided not to entertain any thoughts of coming to a rupture with either of the contending parties; but only to receive the person injured, if it should be agreeable to him to accept of such an offer, into their houses, till the *Moslems* on both sides could

The Cûfans at last send him a reinforcement.

° EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90.

be disposed to an accommodation. This not a little chagrined the *Khalif*. However, he came to a resolution to make one other effort to procure the assistance of the *Cûfans*; and, for this purpose, dispatched his eldest son *Hasan* and *Ammâr* to their city, with instructions, that permitted them to make, on the part of the *Khalif*, any concessions to *Abu Mûsa* that he could in reason desire. But this attempt likewise, with regard to the governor, proved ineffectual; he exerting himself to the utmost of his power to prevent the *Cûfans* from complying with the *Khalif*'s proposals. This was also for some time hindered by *Zeid Ebn Sawkhân*, who read the two letters he had received from *Ayesha*; wherein she commanded him either to stay at home, or come with a body of troops to her assistance. However, at last *Hasan*, by a pathetic speech he made, wherein, with great art, he expatiated upon the perfidy and prevarication of *Telha* and *Zobeir*, and the unheard-of injury offered the *Khalif*, prevailed upon the people to send a reinforcement to the *Moslem* army, commanded by *Ali*, then on its march to *Basra*. Some authors, however, relate, that, whilst the two parties were contending with great acrimony and vehemence in the mosque, *Al Ashtar*, whom *Ali* sent after his son *Hasan*, found means to seize the castle of *Cûfa* by surprize, with a small detachment assigned him for that purpose by the *Khalif*; and that he treated very roughly some of *Abu Mûsa*'s men, whom he found there. This, continue they, made such an impression on the minds of the *Cûfans* in *Ali*'s favour, and rendered *Abu Mûsa* so contemptible to them, that, had he not instantly closed with the *Khalif*'s proposals, he would have been plundered, and perhaps assassinated, by the mob. Nor would this, after all, have probably been prevented, had not *Al Ashtar* vigorously interposed in his favour. Be that as it will, the *Cûfans* immediately sent a body of 8,600 men, to reinforce *Ali*'s troops in the camp of *Dulkhâr*. This we learn from *Ebn Al Athir*; tho' the *Cûfan* troops, destined to act against *Ayesha* at this time, did not amount to above 6000 men, according to *Abu'l-Faraj* P.

Ali advances to Basra.

This reinforcement greatly animated the troops commanded by *Ali*; who, being apprized of its approach, began immediately to put themselves in motion. The *Khalif* himself advanced at the head of them to meet the *Cûfans*; to whom, after he had come up with them, he made a speech to the following effect: "You *Cûfans*," said he, "have always distinguished yourselves by your bravery and conduct. You

P Ebn Al Athir, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 90. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 186, 187. Ism. Abulfed. hist. univ. vol. i. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 303.

"have

" have dispersed the forces of the kings of *Persia*, and made " yourselves masters of their dominions. You have not only " secured yourselves from the insults of other powers, but " likewise afforded assistance to your neighbours. I have de- " sired your interposition, in order to bring about a pacifica- " tion between me and my brethren at *Basra*. I shall not " fail persisting in my design to pursue gentle measures, till " they proceed to hostilities against the troops under my com- " mand. On my part, nothing shall be omitted that may " forward an accommodation, as I shall always prefer the " sweets of peace to the miseries and desolations of war." After which, having before decamped from *Dulkhâr*, he marched without opposition to *Basra*; where he found the *Moslem* army under *Ayesha*, *Telha*, and *Zobeir*, ready to receive him. The *Khalif* had several conferences with the two latter in the sight of both armies, that now faced each other. In one of these *Ali* demanded of *Zobeir*, if he did not remember that *Mohammed* once asked him, whether he loved his dear son *Ali?* and that, upon his answering in the affirmative, the prophet told him, " that, notwithstanding this, " he should prove the source of a long series of calamities " both to him and all the *Moslems*." *Zobeir* made answer, that " he remember'd this perfectly well; and that, had he " recollected it sooner, he would never have taken up arms " against him." Some have affirmed, that, after this conference, *Zobeir* discovered a great reluctance to come to an engagement with *Ali*; but was confirmed in his former resolution by *Ayesha*, who bore an implacable hatred to the *Khalif*. Others have declared, that he was diverted from his intention of remaining neuter by his son, who asked him, " whether he " was afraid of *Ali*'s colours?" and, upon his answering in the negative, but asserting, that the oath he had taken would not permit him to act against that prince, assured him, that he might free himself from the obligation he was under by the manumission of a slave. However this may be, such an expiation of an inconsiderate oath, which, by the way, was very different from the oath taken by *Zobeir*, as that here mentioned, provided the slave be a *Moslem*, is allowed by the *Korân* P.

THE two armies being drawn up in order of battle, faced each other for some time; the commanders on both sides pretending to be extremely averse to a general engagement. But an accident happened the night before the *day of the camel*, *Both the Khalif and Ayesha prepare for an engagement.*

P EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. Al Kor. MOHAM. s. v. Vide etiam LUDOVIC. MARRACC. not. in sur. quint. Alcoran. & SALE's transl. and not. on the Kor. p. 94.

that rendered this abſolutely inevitable. There were ſome diſorders committed then in one of the armies, the authors of which could never be diſcovered; upon which, *Telha* and *Zobeir* were told by certain perſons, who muſt have been deſirous of leaving the diſpute about the *Khalifat* between *Ali* and *Ayeſha* to the deciſion of the ſword, that the *Cûfans* had fallen upon their forces in the night. *Ali*, ſaid they, will put an end to this quarrel by a deciſive action; and therefore he has ſuffered the *Cûfans* to begin hoſtilities. Being informed of this, the *Khalif* conſidered theſe rumours as an artifice of his enemies, propagated with a deſign to force him to a battle; and therefore he declared *Ayeſha* and her aſſociates to be the aggreſſors, and conſequently imputed to them the effuſion of the *Moſlem* blood that was to be ſpilt in this war. Before the propagation of theſe rumours, which gave infinite diſguſt to both parties, *Ayeſha* ſeemed greatly diſmayed at the countenance of *Ali*'s troops, and was inclined to have ſettled with him the preliminaries of a future treaty; but after they became current, there was no room left for an accommodation. *Ayeſha* was animated by deſpair, and the *Khalif* incenſed more than ever; tho', in one of the former conferences, he had reproached *Telha* and *Zobeir* for their infidelity, and declared in the preſence of the two armies, that the divine vengeance would moſt certainly overtake them. *Ayeſha*, in order to infuſe life and vigour into her troops, was mounted on her great camel, in a pavilion (or little tent, ſurrounded with curtains, wherein women were carried on camels in the eaſt) reſembling a ſort of cage, and moved with great reſolution from one part of her army to another in the heat of the action. Hence it came to paſs, that the day on which the battle was fought was called *the day of the camel* by ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians; tho' the engagement itſelf ſeems to have been denominated the battle of *Khoraiba* by *Abu'l-Faraj* [q].

The battle of Khoraiba.

THE army *Ali* brought into the field on this occaſion did not exceed 20,000 men, according to *Al Makin*; but it amounted to 30,000, if we will believe *Ebn Al Athir*. *Ayeſha*'s forces are ſaid to have conſiſted of 30,000 men by the former of thoſe authors, and to have exceeded that number by the latter; ſo that it is agreed on all hands, that the army commanded by *Ayeſha* was more numerous than that of the *Khalif*. But notwithſtanding this, the odds were apparently on *Ali*'s ſide. For *Ayeſha*'s troops were compoſed of raw and undiſciplined men, drawn together in haſte; whereas thoſe of the *Khalif* were the flower of the *Moſlem* ſoldiery, conſiſting

[q] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 187.

chiefly of the *Anſârs* and *Mohâjerîn*, as well as the *Cûfan* veterans, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conqueſt of *Perſia*, and conſequently ſuch as might be intirely depended upon. Beſides, *Ali* himſelf was infinitely ſuperior, both in point of valour and capacity, to any of the enemy's generals. The diſpute, therefore, was not of any long continuance; the enemy being quickly routed. *Ebn Al Athir* relates, that *Merwân* perceiving the victory to incline to *Ali*, in the heat of the action, ſaid to him, "*Telha* lately imbrued "his hands in the blood of *Othmân*, and now, infatuated by "ambition, he pretends to revenge his death;" and immediately letting fly an arrow at him, wounded him in the leg. Upon which, his horſe throwing him, he called for help; ſaying at the ſame time, "O GOD, take vengeance of me "for the blood of *Othmân*, in the manner THOU ſhalt think "moſt proper." His man then took him up behind him, and conveyed him to a houſe in *Baſra*, where he in a very ſhort time expired. But juſt before his death, he ſaid to one of the *Khalif*'s men, "Give me your hand, that I may put "mine into it, and by that action renew the oath of fidelity "to *Ali*, which I have already taken to him." Of which the *Khalif* being informed, declared publickly, "that GOD "would not call *Telha* to heaven, till he had atoned for the "former violation of his oath by this laſt proteſtation of fide-"lity to him." As for *Zobeir*, having made his eſcape out of the battle, he retired to a valley croſſed by a rivulet called *Sabaa*, on the road to *Mecca*; where he found *Hanaf Ebn Kais* incamped with a body of troops, with which he intended to join the victor, after the end of the action. Soon after his arrival there, *Amru Ebn Jarmûz*, one of *Hanaf*'s men, ſtruck off his head whilſt he was at prayers, performing the proſtration, and carried it to *Ali*. But the *Khalif* receiving it with indignation, and, at the ſight of it, bidding him "go "carry the good news to *Ebn Safia* in hell;" he could not forbear breaking out into the following exclamation: "You "are the evil genius of the *Moſlems*. If a perſon delivers "you from any of your enemies, he is preſently doomed to "hell for ſuch deliverance; and if he kills one of your men, "you inſtantly pronounce him one of the devil's compa-"nions." Then, not being able to ſurvive the indignity offered him, he drew his ſword, and put a period to his days. With regard to *Ayeſha*, the victory was by no means complete, till the *Khalif* had obliged her to make her ſubmiſſion." As long as her camel ſtood upon his legs, her troops made a tolerable reſiſtance; and *Ali* found it not ſo eaſy to diſperſe them. *Al Tabari* relates, that ſeventy men, of the *Banu Daba*, who held his bridle, had their hands cut off ſucceſſively in

the diſpute; and that the pavilion in which ſhe ſat was ſtuck ſo full of javelins and arrows, that it reſembled a porcupine. At laſt, the camel was hamſtringed, and *Ayeſha* forced to lie there till the concluſion of the engagement; when *Ali* treated her with great politeneſs, diſmiſſed her in a courteous manner, and ordered his ſons *Haſan* and *Hoſein* to attend her, with a ſplendid equipage, a day's journey on her return home. However, he thought fit afterwards to confine her to her houſe at *Medina*, and commanded her from thenceforth never to concern herſelf with ſtate-affairs; tho' he permitted her, in order to ingratiate himſelf the more with the *Arabs*, who ſtill retained a ſecret regard and veneration for her, to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. We are told by an *Arab* author of good repute, that, when her camel failed her, *Ali* ſent *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* to ſee whether ſhe was dead or alive; and that, upon his preſenting himſelf before her pavilion, ſhe gave him opprobrious language. Thus ended the battle of *Khoraiba*, or, as 'tis called by *Eutychius*, the *battle of the camel*; wherein both *Telha* and *Zobeir*, who violated the oath they had taken to *Ali*, loſt their lives. The *Arab*, who killed the latter, is named, by *Abu'l Faraj*, *Omar Ebn Jûrmûs*, but, by *Ebn Al Athir* and *Al Makin*, *Amru Ebn Jarmûz*, as has been already obſerved. The people of the *camel*, as *Al Makin* calls *Ayeſha*'s troops, according to ſome of the *Arab* writers, had 8000, or, as others ſay, 17000 men killed in the action; whereas the whole loſs ſuſtained by *Ali* did not exceed 1000 men. The ſpoil taken at this battle the *Khalif* diſtributed amongſt the heirs of his ſoldiers who fell in it, as a juſt reward for the bravery of their fathers and relations. He alſo conſtituted *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* governor of *Baſra*; and reprehended, with ſome aſperity, the people of that place, for their diſaffection to him. From thence he went to *Cûfa*, which he made the ſeat of his government. Some of the *Arab* hiſtorians relate, that, on both ſides, above 30,000 men were killed in the battle of *Khoraiba*, which was fought on *Thurſday*, the 10th of the former *Jomada*, in the 36th year of the *Hejra*, nearly anſwering to the year of our LORD 656 [r].

Moâwiyah *diſputes the* Khalifat *with* Ali.

AFTER ſo complete a victory, *Ali* could have no enemies to contend with either in *Arabia*, *Irâk*, *Egypt*, *Perſia*, or *Khoraſân*; ſo that it muſt have rendered him extremely formidable. However, there was ſtill a very powerful party formed againſt him in *Syria*; *Moâwiyah* perſiſting in his reſolution to diſpute

[r] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. apud Al Makin, ubi ſup. ut & ipſe AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 187, 188. MIRKHOND, D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in *Ali*. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. p. 342, 343. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup.

the *Khalifat* with him, and having all the *Syrian* troops at his devotion. Notwithſtanding ſome overtures that had been made to him by *Ali* for an accommodation, he refuſed to acknowledge him *Khalif*; and even ſtill continued to animate the *Syrians*, in order to advance his own affairs, againſt him. Whilſt matters were in this ſituation, *Amru Ebn Al As*, and not *Amru Ebn Ali*, as he is called by Mr. *Ockley*, who commanded in *Paleſtine*, arrived at *Damaſcus*, then the reſidence of *Moâwiyah*, and took the oath of allegiance to him. This was done in the preſence of all the army, and had before been concerted between *Amru* and *Moâwiyah*; the latter having engaged to confer upon the former, in order to procure his aſſiſtance, the lieutenancy of *Egypt*, if he could be advanced to the *Khalifat*. In conſequence of this recognition of *Moâwiyah*'s authority, *Amru* gave his new maſter the titles of *lawful* KHALIF and *Prince of the* MOSLEMS. The foregoing action was followed by the acclamations of the people, who likewiſe unanimouſly took the oath of fidelity to *Moâwiyah*, and inaugurated him by the title of *Emir*. *Al Makin* relates, that the *Khalif* diſpatched *Khariz Ebn Abd'allah Al Nahali* to *Damaſcus*, to diſpoſe *Moâwiyah* to an accommodation; but that all his endeavours in this point proved ineffectual [s].

As ſoon as *Ali* received advice of theſe commotions, he endeavoured, firſt by gentle means, to bring the rebels of *Syria* back to a ſenſe of their duty. But finding afterwards, that the people of that large province had unanimouſly declared againſt him, he feared it would be in vain to ſet on foot any other negotiation. As, therefore, he perceived it would be neceſſary to invade *Syria*, in order to reduce the rebels to his obedience, he advanced to the frontiers at the head of an army of 70,000 men; but had ſcarce entered that country, when he was obliged to incamp upon a ſpot of ground, where he found himſelf greatly diſtreſſed for want of water. In theſe calamitous circumſtances, he met with a *Chriſtian* hermit, who told him, that there was a ſmall ciſtern in the neighbourhood; but that this would ſcarce ſupply him with three hogſheads of water for his troops. However, upon *Ali*'s ſaying, that the antient prophets of the people of *Iſrael* formerly made their abode, and dug a pit, there, the hermit farther told him, that he had been informed by ſome old men, that there was really a pit, or well, ſhut up near the place where he had incamped, which, according to a tradition prevailing in the country, could only be diſcovered and opened by a pro- Ali marches to Seffein.

[s] ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 38. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 188. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 90, 91. OCKLEY's hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 47.

phet, or one ſent by him. Upon this, *Ali* went in queſt of it, ſoon found it, and removed a ſtone that covered it, of an immenſe ſize, with the greateſt facility; which ſo ſurprized the hermit, that he immediately embraced his knees, and would never after leave him. To which ſome of the eaſtern writers add, that this hermit preſented the *Khalif* with an old parchment manuſcript, ſaid to have been written by *Simon Ebn Safa*, or *Simon Cephas*, that is, *Simon Peter*, or St. *Peter*, ſurnamed *Cephas*, one of the apoſtles of JESUS CHRIST, which contained an account of the advent of *Mohammed*, of the arrival of his lawful ſucceſſor in thoſe parts, and of the miraculous diſcovery of this well. After *Ali* had returned GOD thanks for ſo ſignal a bleſſing, and furniſhed his troops with a ſufficient quantity of water, he continued his march to *Seffein*, a place between *Syria* and *Irâk*, where *Moâwiyah* had poſted himſelf with an army of 80,000 men. Before his arrival there, *Ali* ſent a ſtrong detachment, under the command of *Aſhtar Al Nakhai*, to attack a body of troops poſted by *Moâwiyah* on that part of the road leading to the *Euphrates*, in order to render it impracticable, and impede the *Khalif*'s march. *Aſhtar* executed his orders with ſo much bravery, that he drove the enemy from their poſt, cut ſeveral of them in pieces, and opened a paſſage for the army to *Seffein*. According to *Al Makin*, *Ali*'s troops amounted to 90,000 men, and *Moâwiyah*'s to 120,000; ſo that, if this author is to be credited, all the *Moſlem* forces on both ſides, aſſembled on this occaſion, conſiſted of 210,000 men [a].

The battle of Seffein.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the 36th year of the *Hejra*, the two armies came in ſight of each other, and ſeemed to be ready to enter upon action. Some ſkirmiſhes happened between their advanced guards, wherein neither the *Khalif* nor *Moâwiyah* ſuſtained any conſiderable loſs. The firſt month of the following year was ſpent in attempts to forward an accommodation; but without effect. The next month, being *Safar*, they began to fight in parties, or plottoons, without hazarding a general engagement. The continuance of theſe encounters is variouſly related by the *Arab* hiſtorians. Some extend it to forty days, others to an hundred, and others to an hundred and ten. In that ſpace, *Ali* loſt 5000, or, as others ſay, 25,000 men, twenty-ſix of whom had been intimately acquainted with the prophet, attended him at the battle of *Bedr*, and were dignified with the title of the COMPANIONS. The moſt famous of theſe was *Ammar Ebn Jaſſar*, or rather *Ammâr Ebn Yaſer*, *Ali*'s general of the horſe, who was about ninety

[a] ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 91. JOH. i. 42. MAT. x. 2. xvi. 16. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 188. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 39.

years

years of age, and had been in three ſeveral engagements with *Mohammed* himſelf. The *Syrian* forces ſuffered ſtill more than thoſe of the *Khalif*; 45,000 of them having been killed upon the ſpot in theſe rencounters. *Ali* commanded his men never to begin the attack, never to kill any one that fled, never to take any plunder, and always to treat the women that ſhould fall into their hands in a decent manner. He alſo, before the beginning of theſe rencounters, which *Al Makîn*, or rather *Abu Jaafar*, makes to amount in all to 90, intreated *Moâwiyah* to take the oath of fidelity to him, and prevent the farther effuſion of *Moſlem* blood. But this *Moâwiyah* conſtantly, till the death of *Ammâr*, refuſed; declaring publickly, that he would not lay down his arms till he had taken vengeance of the murderers of *Othmân*, depoſed *Ali*, and enabled the people to proceed to a new election. But that fatal event made a deep impreſſion both upon *Amru* and *Moâwiyah*; the former declaring, that he would rather have died twenty years before, than have ſurvived ſo worthy a perſon as *Ammâr Ebn Yâſer*, who had deſerved ſo well of all the *Moſlems*. The loſs of this general ſo exaſperated *Ali*, that he charged the *Syrians* with a body of 12,000 men, broke them, and challenged *Moâwiyah* to fight him in ſingle combat. This challenge *Amru* would have perſuaded *Moâwiyah* to have accepted; but he abſolutely declined it, inſiſting that it was not a fair one, ſince *Ali* could not but be conſcious of his ſuperior ſtrength; he having killed every perſon who had to that time entered the liſts againſt him. *Amru* urged, that it would be diſhonourable, and argue a want of courage, to refuſe ſo fair an offer. To which *Moâwiyah* made no other reply than this; "You aſpire to the *Khalifat* yourſelf, and deſire to enjoy it "after I am gone." The laſt action at *Seffein* continued all night, to the great diſadvantage of the *Syrians*. *Al Aſhtar* puſhed them to their camp; which, being vigorouſly ſupported by *Ali*, he was upon the point of making himſelf maſter of. *Moâwiyah* ſeeing things in ſuch a deſperate ſituation, reſolved, in concert with *Amru*, to make uſe of an artifice, that might poſſibly excite the *Khalif*'s men to deſert; ſince nothing, at that perilous conjuncture, could, as he apprehended, ſave both him and his troops, but ſuch a deſertion. He, therefore, inſtantly ordered ſome of his men to fix ſeveral copies of the *Korân* upon their lances points, and to carry them at the head of his troops; at the ſame time crying out, "This is the book that ought to decide all differences be"tween us; this is the book of GOD between us and you, "which abſolutely prohibits the effuſion of *Moſlem* blood." Nor did this ſtratagem, coarſe as it was, fail of producing the deſired effect. For, the troops of *Irâk*, that were

the flower of the *Khalif*'s forces, immediately threw down their arms; threatening to abandon him, and even to deliver him into the hands of his enemies, if he would not ſound a retreat. This, therefore, he found himſelf obliged to do; tho' he moſt bitterly exclaimed againſt that point of conduct in the ſtrongeſt manner; aſſuring the mutineers, that *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* had not the leaſt regard for the *Korân*; and that his view in the preſent war was only to force them to act according to the tenets and deciſions of that book. But he found it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent that now threatened to overwhelm him, without an immediate compliance with what they required; eſpecially as the *Khârejites*, an enthuſiaſtic ſect, openly declared, that, unleſs he inſtantly ordered the troops under *Al Aſhtar* to deſiſt from the attack of the *Syrian* camp, they would ſerve him in the ſame manner they had done the ſon of *Affân*, meaning the laſt *Khalif Othmân*, whom they had inhumanly murdered. *Al Aſhtar*, therefore, by the *Khalif*'s command, was obliged, tho' with the greateſt reluctance, to retire, and ſuffer the victory, of which he thought himſelf ſo ſecure, by this ſtratagem, to be wreſted out of his hands. The night in which this battle was fought has been named by the *Arab* hiſtorians THE VALIANT NIGHT; becauſe, ſays *Al Makin*, the *Moſlems* behaved ſo *valiantly* in it, that they broke all their ſpears, and ſpent the remainder of it in a cloſe engagement. About 70,000 fell on both ſides that fatal night, according to ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians, if we will believe the ſame author; 25,000 on the *Khalif*'s, and 45,000 on that of the *Syrians*. But others of them, as he alſo obſerves, and with a greater appearance of truth, as we apprehend, affirm, that *Ali* loſt 25,000 men, and *Moâwiyah* 45,000, in all the actions that happened at *Seffein*. Upon the return of the day, *Ali* was obliged to cool the ardour of his victorious troops, when they had, as it were, rendered the action deciſive in his favour, in the manner already related. The ſtratagem that occaſioned this was contrived, and ſuggeſted to *Moâwiyah*, by *Amru Ebn Al As*, if any credit be due to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [b].

The diſpute between Ali *and* Moâwiyah *referred to*

MOAWIYAH, after the end of the action, deſiring that the diſpute betwixt him and *Ali* might be brought to a deciſion by two perſons nominated by the parties concerned, according to the true and genuine ſenſe of the *Korân*; *Aſhaath Ebn Kais*, who was ſuppoſed to have been corrupted by *Moâwiyah*, aſked *Ali* how he approved of that expedient. The

[b] AL MAKIN & D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 188, 189. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. apud Al Makin, ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup.

Khalif

Khalif anſwered him coldly, "He that is not at liberty can- *the arbi-*
"not give his advice. You are to conduct this affair as you *tration of*
"ſhall think proper." This apparently glanced at the late *two per-*
perfidious conduct of the troops of *Irák*, who conſidered *ſons.*
Aſhaath as their chief. Not content with offering ſo groſs an affront as they had done to the poor *Khalif*, they inſiſted upon nominating for him *Abu Mûſa Al Aſhari*, a very weak man, and one who had once betrayed him; refuſing to admit, as he deſired, either *Ebn Abbâs* or *Al Aſhtar*, or indeed any other perſon that they thought had the leaſt regard for him. *Moâwiyah*, on the other hand, was treated in quite a different manner. He was allowed to truſt his intereſt with whom he pleaſed; and accordingly he nominated *Amru Ebn Al As*, one of the greateſt men of the age, to aſſert his right to the *Khalifat*, and explain the *Korân* in his favour. The two arbitrators, with whom the determination of this affair was intruſted, were injoined to decide it the next *Ramadân*, agreeably to the tenor of the *Korân*, and the collection of the prophet's traditions. This point being agreed upon, tho' by no means to the ſatisfaction of the *Khalif*, *Moâwiyah* retired to *Damaſcus*, and *Ali* to *Cûfa*, in order to wait the event of that arbitration. But, before their departure, each of them left the command of his army to one of his generals; and inveſted with a proper authority, that he might better be enabled to ſettle every thing relating to religion, in their abſence, a particular *Imám*. We find it intimated by *Abu Jaafar*, that the *Syrian* and *Irâkian* troops choſe the arbitrators; and conſequently, that *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* had no hand in that election. The place appointed for the ſcene of this arduous tranſaction, upon which the fate of the *Moſlem* empire, yet in its infancy, ſeemed to depend, was *Dawmat Al Jandal*, a town on the borders of *Syria*, about fifteen or ſixteen days journey from *Medina*, and five from *Damaſcus*. The antient inhabitants of this place, as well as thoſe of *Tabûc*, were the *Calbites*, deſcended from *Calb*, and conſequently a branch of the tribe of *Hamyar* [c].

ABOUT eight months after the battle of *Seffein*, *Abu Mûſa* Ali *depoſed* and *Amru Ebn Al As* came to *Dawmat Al Jandal*, attended *by both the* by ſeveral of the *companions*, and eſcorted by a detachment of *arbitra-* the *Moſlem* forces *Ebn Abbâs*, before the opening of the *tors.* conferences, deſired *Abu Mûſa* to remember this, whatever elſe he forgot, that *Ali* had no blemiſh to render him incapable

[c] ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 39, 40. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, hiſt. dynaſt. p. 189. SAAD AL YAMANI, SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABULFED. in cap. de Arab. pur. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup.

of

of the government, nor *Moâwiyah* any virtue to qualify him for it. But, notwithſtanding this ſalutary admonition, *Amru*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the genius of his collegue, by his artful addreſs, ſo far inſinuated himſelf into his good graces, that he could bring him into any meaſures which he ſhould think proper to ſuggeſt to him. He, therefore, eaſily perſuaded *Abu Múſa*, that, in order to re-eſtabliſh peace amongſt the *Moſlems*, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to depoſe both *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*; that a new *Khalif* might be elected, who ſhould be acceptable to all the people. This important article being ſettled, a tribunal was erected between the two armies, on which each of the arbitrators was to declare publickly his opinion. This *Abu Múſa*, at *Amru*'s requeſt, mounted firſt, and with a loud voice pronounced the following words: "I depoſe from the *Khalifat* both *Ali* and "*Moâwiyah*, in the ſame manner that I now take this ring "off my finger;" and having made this declaration, he immediately came down. Then *Amru*, in his turn, aſcended the tribunal, and ſaid, "You have heard, gentlemen, how "*Abu Múſa* has depoſed *Ali*, whom I likewiſe depoſe, and "confer the *Khalifat* upon *Moâwiyah*. I therefore inveſt "that prince with the ſupreme authority, in the ſame man"ner that I put this ring upon my finger. And this I am "the more readily diſpoſed to do, as having juſtice on my "ſide; he having been declared by *Othmân* his ſucceſſor, "and being now the avenger of his blood, as well as the "moſt worthy of all the *Moſlems* of that ſublime ſtation to "which I now advance him." This unexpected declaration greatly ſhocked all the partizans of *Ali*, who complained bitterly of *Abu Múſa*; and he, on his part, in very ſevere terms, reflected upon *Amru*'s conduct, who had ſo ſhamefully violated the principal article ſtipulated in the late convention. In fine, *Abu Múſa*, after having been ſo outwitted by *Amru*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Ali*'s camp, fled to *Mecca* for his farther ſecurity. Some of the *Arab* writers relate, that this *Abu Múſa* had the moſt muſical voice of any perſon of his time. According to *Abu Jaafar*, the two arbitrators did not only agree to depoſe both *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, but likewiſe to promote to the *Khalifat Abd'allah*, the ſon of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*. For a circumſtantial detail of *Amru*'s perfidious conduct on this occaſion, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Abu'l-Faraj*, who, in that point, will give them full and ample ſatisfaction [d].

[d] Abulfed. & Al Makin, ubi ſup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, apud Al Makin, ubi ſup. D'Herbel. ubi ſup. p. 91, 92. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 189, 190.

The

THE preceding determination, far from effecting a reconciliation between the contending parties, incenſed their adherents to ſuch a degree, that they publickly curſed and excommunicated one another in a very dreadful manner. Nor did the houſes of *Ali* and *Ommiyah*, to the laſt of which belonged both *Othmân* and *Moâwiyah*, for a long time lay aſide that reciprocal malediction. Nay, it may be ſaid ſtill to ſubſiſt in that rivetted antipathy between the *Turks* and the *Perſians*, which is viſible at this very day. However, *Amru*, after the public declaration he had made, and the *Syrian* troops he commanded, returned to *Damaſcus*, and complimented *Moâwiyah* upon his new election. On the other hand, *Ali* being determined to aſſert his right to the *Khalifat*, and even in a ſhort time to march againſt *Moâwiyah*; no leſs than 60,000 of his ſubjects took a freſh oath of allegiance to him, and even obliged themſelves to ſupport him to the laſt drop of their blood. But notwithſtanding this vigorous reſolution taken in his favour, that *Khalif*'s intereſt, from the fatal period we are now upon, began greatly to decline [e]. *Ali's intereſt begins to decline.*

IT may not be improper here to remark, that, before the articles of the treaty of peace, which followed the late ſuſpenſion of arms between *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, could be perfectly reduced to writing, both *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* inſiſted, that the title of *emperor of the faithful*, which *Ali* had aſſumed, and prefixed to a copy of thoſe articles, ſhould be intirely effaced. To this *Ahnaf Ebn Kais* would have perſuaded the *Khalif* never to give his conſent. But *Ali* told him, that, when he was ſecretary to his father-in-law *Mohammed*, *Sohail Ebn Amru* refuſed to treat with the prophet, on the part of the people of *Mecca*, unleſs he would renounce the title of the APOSTLE OF GOD. Which, for the ſake of peace, he accordingly did, without heſitation; and ordered me, ſaid *Ali*, to efface that title, after it had been inſerted at the head of the inſtrument containing the articles of the treaty to be ſigned by both parties, and ſubſtitute in its room the following words, Mohammed *the ſon of* Abd'allah. At the ſame time, he addreſſed himſelf to me, continued the *Khalif*, in the following remarkable terms: *Remember, there will hereafter come a day when you ſhall find yourſelf in a ſimilar caſe.* *Ali*, therefore, agreed to the omiſſion of that title, of which, by his own arbitrator, *Abu Mûſa*, he had been ſo ſolemnly deprived. All theſe tranſactions happened in the 37th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 657, as did alſo the defection of the *Khârejites*, or *rebels*, for that the word really ſignifies; of which, as it is a very curious article of the *Arabic* hiſtory, in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, we muſt beg Ali *drops his title of* Khalif.

[e] AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, & D'HERBEL. ubi ſup.

leave

leave to give our readers here a diſtinct and particular relation [f].

The defection of the Khârejites.

AFTER *Ali* had ſubmitted the deciſion of his right to the *Khalifat*, which *Moâwiyah* diſputed with him, to arbitration, he retired to *Cûfa*, as has been already obſerved. But he was no ſooner arrived there, than 12,000 *Khârejites*, that is, *rebels*, or *revolters*, who had fought under him at the battle of *Seffein*, and themſelves forced him to take that ignominious ſtep, pretending to be offended at this ſubmiſſion, revolted from him. Theſe were alſo called *Mohakkemites*, or *Judiciarians*; becauſe the reaſon they gave for their revolt was, that *Ali* had referred a matter concerning the religion of GOD to the *judgment* of men; whereas the *judgment*, in ſuch caſe, belonged to GOD alone. In conſequence of this notion, they urged, that, inſtead of ſtanding to the peace he had made, he ought to purſue his enemies, who were likewiſe the enemies of GOD, without mercy. But *Ali* anſwered, that, as he had given his word, he ought to keep it; and that in ſo doing, he ſhould follow what the law of GOD preſcribed. The *Khârejites* replied, that GOD was the only judge between him and *Moâwiyah*; and that conſequently he had committed an enormous ſin, of which he ought ſincerely to repent. This irritating *Ali*, he, with ſome warmth, remonſtrated to them, that, if any ſin had been committed on this occaſion, the world would juſtly impute the guilt of it to them; who, contrary to their oath of allegiance to him, had abandoned him in the heat of the late action, and obliged him to purſue thoſe very meaſures, which, at that time, as they pretended, gave them ſo much offence [g].

Their rebellion is extinguiſhed by Ali.

THE rebels, not at all ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, choſe, for their general, *Abd'allah Ebn Waheb*, who appointed *Naharwan*, a town ſituated between *Wâſet* and *Baghdâd*, about four miles to the eaſt of the *Tigris*, the place of their rendezvous. They had not been here long before they were joined by great numbers of *Ali*'s diſaffected ſubjects from *Cûfa*, *Baſra*, and various parts of *Arabia*. The *Khalif* at firſt took little notice of them; his thoughts being chiefly bent upon reducing *Moâwiyah*, whom he conſidered as much the more formidable enemy. But being informed, that they were increaſed to the number of 25,000 men, that they condemned as impious all who did not fall in with their ſentiments, and

[f] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p 92. AL BEIDAWI, ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xliv. p. 87. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 269. [g] AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 270. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 92.

that

that they had already put to death ſeveral *Moſlems*, for refuſing to comply with their iniquitous meaſures; he reſolved, in fine, to exterminate a ſect, which tended to the ſubverſion of the very foundations of *Mohammediſm*. However, he thought fit, before he proceeded to extremities, to try gentle methods; but theſe proving ineffectual, he aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, at the head of which he preſented himſelf to their view. Nevertheleſs, before he attacked them, he had the precaution to plant a ſtandard without the camp, and to make proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that whoſoever would come under it, ſhould have quarter, and whoſoever would retire to *Cûfa*, ſhould find a ſanctuary there. This ſtratagem produced the deſired effect; inſomuch that *Abd'allah Ebn Waheb* ſoon found his army reduced to 4000 men. However, being animated by deſpair, he attacked the *Khalif*'s forces, notwithſtanding the inequality of his troops. But he received the juſt reward of his temerity and preſumption; being cut to pieces, with all his men, except nine who eſcaped. Of theſe, as we are told by ſome hiſtorians, two fled into *Omân*, two into *Kermân*, two into *Sijiſtân*, two into *Meſopotamia*, and one into *Tel Mawrún*, in *Yaman*; in all which places they propagated their hereſy, where, as we are told, it remains to this day. Others maintain, tho' not with ſuch an appearance of truth, in our opinion, that, of the 4000 *Khârejites*, commanded by *Abd'allah Ebn Waheb*, not a man ſurvived the general deſtruction; *Ali* being reſolved to purſue this impious and rebellious ſect even to exciſion. Before the beginning of the action, *Ali* told ſome of his friends, that "the rebels, who pretended to ſpend ſo much of their time in "reading the *Korân*, without obſerving its precepts, would "deſert their profeſſion, at the approach of danger, with as "great celerity as arrows fly from a bow, when they are diſ"charged from it;" which accordingly came to paſs. It will be proper to obſerve here, that the hereſy of the *Khârejites* conſiſted chiefly in two things: 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of *Imâm*, or prince, tho' he was not of the tribe of *Koreiſh*, nor even a free man, provided he was a juſt and pious perſon, and endued with the other requiſite qualifications; and alſo held, that if the *Imâm* turned aſide from the truth, he might be put to death, or depoſed; and that there was no abſolute neceſſity for any *Imâm* at all in the world. 2. In that they charged *Ali* with ſin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by GOD alone; and went ſo far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curſe him on that account. The principal ſects, or branches, of the *Khârejites*, beſides the *Mohakkemites* here mentioned, are ſix; which, tho' they greatly

differ

differ amongſt themſelves in other matters, yet agree in theſe, *viz.* that they abſolutely reject *Othmân* and *Ali*, preferring the doing of this to the greateſt obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms; that they account thoſe who are guilty of grievous ſins to be infidels; and that they hold it neceſſary to reſiſt the *Imâm* when he tranſgreſſes the law. The moſt celebrated of the *Khârejites* ſeem to be the *Waïdians*, ſo called from *Al Waïd*, which ſignifies the *threats* denounced by GOD againſt the wicked. Theſe are the antagoniſts of the *Morgians*, and aſſert, that he who is guilty of an enormous ſin ought to be declared an infidel, or an apoſtate, and will be eternally puniſhed in hell, though he were a true believer; which opinion of theirs occaſioned the firſt riſe of the *Motazalites*. One *Jaafar Ebn Mobaſhar*, of the ſect of the *Nodhâmians*, was yet more ſevere than the *Waïdians*, pronouncing him to be a reprobate, and an apoſtate, who ſteals but a grain of corn. The defeat, or rather almoſt total extirpation, of the *Khârejites*, who perſiſted in their rebellion, whoſe name alſo, according to *Ebn Al Koſſa*, ſignified *tribute*, as they received tribute without the leave of the prince, and even in oppoſition to him, happened in the 38th year of the *Hejra*, the year following their revolt, at a place, as ſhould ſeem from *Eutychius*, called *Khorúzi*, or *Khorûzia*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Naharwan*. Their leader, *Abd'allah Ebn Waheb*, loſt his life in the action; and the glorious victory gained on this occaſion reunited under the government of *Ali* the whole body of the *Moſlems* ſettled in *Arabia* [h].

The Khalîf's *camp at* Cûfa *abandoned by his troops.*

THE *Khalif* having thus happily extinguiſhed this rebellion, which ſtruck at the very foundations of *Iſlamiſm* itſelf, as well as the ſupreme authority with which he was at firſt ſo legally inveſted by the unanimous ſuffrages of the *Moſlems*, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching immediately againſt *Moâwiyah*, in order to reduce him likewiſe to his obedience. But he was diverted from this deſign by ſome perſons about him, who probably were ſecret well-wiſhers to *Moâwiyah*, as this would have been the moſt proper ſeaſon to have attacked him, when his men were ſo fluſhed with their late ſucceſs, under the pretence, that he had not yet made ſufficient preparations for ſo long a war as this was like to be; and that he ought to allow his troops ſome refreſhment, after the fatigues they had ſuſtained. *Ali*, therefore, following their advice, formed a camp at *Nakilah*, in the neighbourhood of *Cûfa*; and per-

[h] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 39. POC. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 270. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 256. AL JANNAB. & ABULFED. ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. & p. 169. EBN AL KOSSA, apud Po-[illegible]. ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 342, 343.

mitted

mitted his men to retire to *Cûfa*, to follow their occupations there one day, and return to the poſts aſſigned them the next, during the time of his incampment there. The conſequence of which was, that the camp was ſoon intirely deſerted by the troops that formed it, and of courſe the *Khalif* himſelf obliged to retire to *Cûfa*, then the receptacle of thoſe troops [1].

It has been already obſerved, that *Ali*, in the beginning of his *Khalifat*, conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Kais Ebn Sa'îd*, who acquitted himſelf of his charge with great prudence. Finding, on his arrival there, that the partizans of *Othmân*, or rather *Moâwiyah*, formed a very conſiderable faction, he thought it proper to accommodate himſelf to the times; which he did with ſo much addreſs, that he kept every thing in good order; inſomuch that the whole body of the people were very well pleaſed with his adminiſtration. This conduct of *Kais* furniſhed *Moâwiyah* with an occaſion of publiſhing every-where, that the governor of *Egypt* was his friend, and acted in concert with him; which he did, in order to render him ſuſpected to *Ali*, who yet had not a more faithful friend amongſt his ſubjects. That he might the more effectually carry his point, *Moâwiyah* forged a letter in *Kais*'s name, directed to himſelf; wherein it was inſinuated, that the reaſon why he had not treated with more ſeverity the adherents of the houſe of *Ommiyah* was, becauſe he was himſelf intirely in their meaſures. Which artifice of *Moâwiyah* had the deſired effect. For *Ali* hereby entertaining a ſuſpicion of *Kais*'s fidelity to him, immediately recalled him, and appointed *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* governor of *Egypt* in his room; which occaſioned great commotions in that province. For the new governor no ſooner ſet his foot there, than he began to chaſe out of that country all thoſe who profeſſed any regard for *Othmân*, or preſerved any veneration for his memory. Upon which, ſuch civil wars and diſſenſions enſued, that *Ali* was obliged to ſend for *Mohammed* home, and to diſpatch *Malec Shutur*, ſometimes called *Uſhtur Malec Ebn Hâreth Al Najai*, into *Egypt*, to re-eſtabliſh his authority there. *Moâwiyah* being apprized of this, prevailed upon a friend of his at *Kolzom*, a town upon the *Red Sea*, where *Uſhtur Malec* was to lodge, in his paſſage to *Egypt*, to poiſon him; which he accordingly did, by giving him ſome poiſoned honey at an entertainment he had prepared for him. This obliged *Ali* to continue *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr* ſome time longer in the government of *Egypt*; from whence he immediately expelled all the *Banu Hâreth*, probably on account of the relation they bore to *Uſhtur Malec* his ſucceſſor, who were

Egypt conquered by Amru Ebn Al As.

[1] D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 92, 93.

ſome

ſome of the blackeſt and moſt ſwarthy kind of *Arabs*; which proved the total ruin of *Ali*'s intereſt in that region. For, they inſtantly retired to *Damaſcus*, where they informed *Moâwiyah* of the treatment they had met with from *Mohammed*; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that he might eaſily make himſelf maſter of *Egypt*. Upon receiving this intelligence, *Moâwiyah* ſent *Amru Ebn Al As* with a body of 6000 men, to take poſſeſſion, in his name, of the government of that country. *Amru*, in purſuance of his orders, marched with all poſſible expedition into *Egypt*, ſeized the capital city, and was ſoon joined by *Ebn Sharig*, who had put himſelf at the head of *Othmân*'s party, with a conſiderable force. After this junction, *Amru* attacked *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, *Ali*'s governor, intirely defeated him, and took him priſoner. Not ſatisfied with this, he put him to death; and, incloſing his body in that of an aſs, burnt it to aſhes. This barbarity gave great offence to his ſiſter *Ayeſha*, who begged a curſe upon *Amru* and *Moâwiyah* for it at the end of all her prayers, and took *Mohammed*'s dependents and domeſtics under her protection. *Ali* alſo himſelf was greatly concerned at this tragical event; ſaying, "We ſhall account for him before GOD." *Abu Jaafar* relates, that *Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr*, after the defeat of his forces, eſcaped out of the battle, and hid himſelf; but was diſcovered, and brought to *Amru*, by *Moâwiyah Ebn Khodbaj*, who treated him in the cruel manner above-mentioned. He was cut off in the fortieth year of his age, after he had been five months only governor of *Egypt*. After his death, the poſt he filled was occupied by *Amru Ebn Al As*; upon whom it was conferred by *Moâwiyah*, who then acted as *Khalif* in *Syria* [k].

Moâwiyah's *troops make incurſions into* Ali's *territories.*

THE next year, being the 39th of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* ſent ſeveral detachments to make incurſions into *Ali*'s territories, where they committed dreadful depredations. The moſt conſiderable of theſe detachments, under the command of *Dahak Ebn Kais*, conſiſting of 3000 men, plundered ſeveral diſtricts of *Irâk*, and then penetrated into *Hejâz*. But *Dahak* was met by a body of the *Khalif*'s troops, conſiſting of 4000 men, under the conduct of *Hajar Ebn Adi*, after he had retired out of that province, at *Tadmor*. Here *Hajar* attacked the enemy with ſuch bravery, that he put them to flight, killed ſeveral of them upon the ſpot, and recovered the booty they had acquired. This vigorous action was of conſiderable ſervice to the *Khalif*'s ſubjects in thoſe parts, who had been thrown into the utmoſt conſternation. For, the

[k] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup p. 36, 40. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 93. ISM. ABULFED. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi ſup.

Syrian

Syrians had not only pillaged the country through which they moved, but likewiſe put all the *Arabs* they could meet with to the ſword; which had ſtruck the *Moſlems* there with ſuch terror, that, for ſome time, none of them durſt even perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca* [l].

THE ſame year, as we apprehend, and not the preceding, as has been intimated by *D'Herbelot*, without any manner of foundation, who has been followed herein by Mr. *Ockley*, *Moâwiſent for his faithful friend, Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, from *Baſra*, of which place he was then governor, to *Medina*, that he might with him take ſuch reſolutions as were ſuitable to the preſent ſituation of his affairs. *Moâwiyah* receiving advice of this event, immediately ordered *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi* to march to *Baſra* with a body of 2000 horſe, and poſſeſs himſelf of that city. Theſe orders he eaſily executed, as *Ziyâd*, *Ebn Abbâs*'s lieutenant there, had not a ſufficient number of troops to oppoſe him, and the city itſelf was not capable of making any defence. *Ali* being informed of this, ſent a reinforcement to *Ziyâd*, who had abandoned *Baſra* at *Abd'allah*'s approach, under the command of *Hâreth*, who joined *Ziyâd* at a ſmall diſtance from *Baſra* without any loſs. After this junction, the combined forces attacked *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi* near that city, overthrew him, and killed him upon the ſpot. Upon which, *Baſra* ſurrendered again to *Ali*; who immediately ſent back thither *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, to command there as he had done before. Which tranſactions we have thought fit to place in the 39th year of the *Hejra*, as the incurſions mentioned by Mr. *Ockley* immediately before them ſeem to correſpond exactly with thoſe that *Al Makîn* aſſures us were made by *Moâwiyah*'s detachments that year. Our learned and curious readers, therefore, we hope, will not cenſure us for preferring the authority of *Al Makîn* to that of M. *D'Herbelot*, in the point before us [m].

Baſra taken by the troops of *Ali*.

troops, and retaken by thoſe of Ali.

BUT, notwithſtanding ſeveral incurſions were made, and ſome few expeditions of little note undertaken by the troops of *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* this year, no action of *eclat* ſeems to have happened in it. The *Syrians* having already ſuſtained very conſiderable loſſes in this war, were not in a condition to make any great impreſſion upon the *Arabs*; and the *Arabs*, on the other ſide, being ſtill haraſſed by diſſenſions, did with with no ſmall difficulty maintain themſelves in a ſtate of independency. As the diſpute betwixt *Ali* and *Moâwiyah* had diſturbed the repoſe of *Syria* and *Arabia*, ſo the tranquillity of

Ziyâd *governs* Perſia *with great equity and prudence.*

[l] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 41. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 190. ABULFED. ubi ſup. [m] AL MAKIN & D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. OCKLEY's hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 67, 68.

Persia was likewise not a little affected by the present commotions. This induced *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, *Ali*'s lieutenant of *Basra*, to send *Ziyâd*, a person of great prudence and moderation, who had lately, in conjunction with *Hâreth*, defeated *Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi*, one of *Moâwiyah*'s generals, into *Persia*, that he might take upon him the government of that country; in which post he behaved himself so well, that the *Persians* declared they had never been blessed with so happy an administration since the days of *Anushirwân*. After the late defeat, *Dahak*, who then lost a considerable number of men upon the spot, with great precipitation abandoned the district of *Hems*; and with much difficulty, by favour of the night, made his escape into the interior part of *Syria* [n].

Moâwiyah's troops make incursions into Ali's territories.

In the 40th year of the *Hejra*, or the year of our Lord 660, *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân* sent *Basher Ebn Artah*, with a body of 3000 horse, to make an irruption into *Hejâz*; with orders to possess himself of *Mecca* and *Medina*, the inhabitants of those places having kept a correspondence with him ever since the death of *Othmân*, and by this means open himself a passage into *Yaman*. *Abu Ayub*, the *Ansâr*, and *Fathâm Ebn Abbâs*, who commanded in those places for *Ali*, abandoned them at *Basher*'s approach; upon which, he obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to *Moâwiyah*, and threw down the walls of *Medina*. *Abu Ayub*, the commandant of that city, before *Basher* entered it, with a few attendants, made his escape to *Cûfa* [o].

Ebn Artah's *cruelty in* Arabia.

Abd'allah Ebn Abbas, surnamed the *Ansâr*, in order to distinguish him from *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, one of *Ali*'s most faithful friends, and governor of *Basra*, *Ali*'s lieutenant of *Yaman*, fearing a visit from *Ebn Artah*, and being in no condition to oppose him, upon the rumour of what had happened to *Mecca* and *Medina*, fled likewise to *Cûfa*. He attempted to carry off with him his two sons, who were boys; but they had the misfortune to fall into *Ebn Artah*'s hands upon the road, who caused them to be barbarously murdered. He also put to the sword a great number of *Arabs* in *Yaman*, and particularly at *Sanaa*, who had declared themselves adherents to *Ali*. Then he returned to *Mecca*, and afterwards cut off 30,000 *Arabs* more at *Al Tâyef*, *Yamâma*, and *Medina*. *Ali* being apprized of what had happened, sent a detachment of 4000 horse, under the command of *Jariyah*, to pursue *Ebn Artah*; but he found it impossible to come up with him. We are told, that *Ali* was so extremely touched at hearing the

[n] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 93. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 41.

[o] D'Herbel. & Al Makin, ubi sup.

news

news of the murder committed on the young ſons of *Abd'allah*, that he curſed *Ebn Artah*, and begged of GOD to deprive him of his ſenſes and underſtanding. Which petition, according to ſome of the eaſtern writers, was heard; that commander really becoming an idiot towards the cloſe of his days, and dying in that miſerable condition. Notwithſtanding the war was carried on with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty on the part of *Moâwiyah*, that prince, at this juncture, prayed publickly for *Ali*, *Haſan*, and *Hoſein*; as the *Khalif* did for him, *Amru*, and *Dahak*. About this time, *Ali*'s brother, *Okail*, went over to *Moâwiyah*, who aſſigned him a large revenue for his defection. *Okail* alledged no other reaſon for this infamous conduct, than that his brother had not treated him with ſuch marks of diſtinction as he thought he might juſtly have expected of him. We muſt not forget to inform our readers here, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a moſt egregious blunder, when he confounds *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, governor of *Yaman*, with *Ali*'s lieutenant of *Baſra*, who had the very ſame name; and that, in conſequence of this miſtake, he has committed ſeveral others, which he has taken care to inſert in his hiſtory of *Ali*. The former *Abd'allah* ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed from the latter by the additional term, or cognomen, *Al Anſâri*, the *Anſâr*; as may be inferred from at leaſt one of the oriental hiſtorians. Which obſervation had Mr. *Ockley* ſufficiently attended to, as well as to what has been advanced in the point before us by *Al Makin*, he would not only have evinced, but alſo rectified, M. *D'Herbelot*'s miſtake, much more to the ſatisfaction of his curious and intelligent readers [p].

A little after the battle of *Nahar wan*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, *Khorûzia*, three of the *Khârejites*, that were extremely zealous for the advancement of their ſect, happened to meet at *Mecca*; where they made frequent mention of thoſe that were killed in that battle, magnified their own merit, and greatly lamented the loſs of their companions. Theſe three men, called *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Amru Ebn Becr*, ſaid one to another, "If the three erroneous *Imâms*, *Ali*, *Moâwiyah*, and *Amru Ebn Al As*, "were dead, the affairs of the *Moſlems* would ſoon be in a "more flouriſhing condition; let us, therefore, without heſitation, diſpatch them." This being immediately agreed upon, they pitched upon *Friday*, the day of the ſolemn aſſembly of the *Moſlems*, the 17th of *Ramadân*, for the execution of their bloody deſign; and, having poiſoned their

A Khârejite *attempts to aſſaſſinate* Moâwiyah;

[p] Iidem ibid. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. OCKLEY's hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 70.

swords, took all their respective routes. *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, one of the assassins, being arrived at *Damascus*, struck *Moâwiyah* in the reins; but the wound did not prove mortal. However, the surgeon told him, that it would not be cured, unless he would either submit to be cauterized, or to drink a potion that would render him incapable of generation. He chose the latter of these, and, in consequence of that choice, had no other children besides those that were born to him before he received his wound. The assassin was instantly seized, discovered the conspiracy he had entered into, and had his hands and feet cut off; but was suffered to live. However, afterwards marrying, it was thought unreasonable that he should enjoy the pleasures of a conjugal state, as he had rendered the *Syrian Khalif* incapable of these; and therefore one of *Moâwiyah*'s friends, tho' he had no order for this, killed him with his own hands [q].

as another does Amru Ebn Al As.

AMRU EBN BECR, the second of the conspirators, went to *Egypt*, and appeared in the mosque, where *Amru* performed his devotions, on the 17th of the month of *Ramadân*. But fortunately for him, *Amru* being then troubled with a violent fit of the cholic, did not officiate that day in the mosque as *Imâm*. Wherefore, *Kharijah*, whom he appointed to perform the office for him, and who then actually supplied his place, being struck by the villain, who mistook him for *Amru*, fell down dead with the blow. As the assassin was led to execution, he said, without the least concern, *I designed* Amru; *but* GOD *designed another*. *Abulfeda* relates, that, when he was brought before *Amru*, he asked who that person was? Upon which, they told him *Amru*. "Whom then," said he, "have I killed?" They answered, *Kharijah*. Then *Amru* himself cried out to him, according to this historian, *You meant* Amru; *but* GOD *meant* Kharijah. This *Kharijah*, according to *Al Makin*, was the captain of *Amru*'s guards. The same writer seems likewise to intimate, that *Barak Ebn Abd'allah*, the first assassin, was cut to pieces immediately after he had attempted to murder *Moâwiyah*; notwithstanding what may have been advanced to the contrary by some other authors [r].

Ali *assassinated.*

THE third of the conspirators, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, who undertook to assassinate *Ali*, met with better success, in the execution of his wicked design, than either of his profligate companions. Being arrived at *Cúfa*, he engaged a woman, whose nearest relations had been killed at the battle of *Na-*

[q] AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. in *Ali*. ABU JAAFAR, apud Al Makîn, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 342, 343. [r] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ABULFED. & D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

harwan,

harwan, and who, for that reason, bore an implacable hatred to *Ali*, by marrying her, and the assistance of a dower, consisting of 3000 *dirhêms*, a slave, a maid, and a promise of *Ali*'s head, to enable him to perpetrate the horrid crime he had in view. To facilitate this, she joined to him two associates, called *Werdân* and *Shabib* by *Abulfeda*, who attended him into the mosque, where *Ali* officiated as *Imâm*, the 17th of the month of *Ramadân*. Here, whilst these three villains pretended to quarrel amongst themselves, *Werdân* struck at the *Khalif* with his sword, but missed him, and the blow fell upon the gate of the mosque. Then *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem* gave him a blow on the head, just in the same place where he had received a wound before, at the battle of *Ahzâb*, or *Asab*, which was fought in *Mohammed*'s time; and that stroke proved mortal. After which, the villain took to his heels, saying as he made off, *By the lord of the* Caaba, *I have killed him.* Of the assassins *Shabib* only escaped the punishment due to so atrocious a crime. For *Werdân*, having been seen with a sword in his hand lifted up against *Ali*, was pursued home by a *Moslem*, who killed him upon the spot; and *Abd'alrahmân* was seized, lurking in a corner, with his sword in his hand, and soon constrained, by a consciousness of his guilt, to own himself the murderer of *Ali*. The *Khalif* ordered his son *Hasan* to put him under arrest, to supply him with necessaries of every kind, and, if he died, to execute him at one stroke only. *Hasan*, according to the authors followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, probably some of the *Persian* historians, punctually observed what had been injoined him by his father, who died either on the 19th, 20th, or 21st, of *Ramadân*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 660. With these, however, the *Arab* authors by no means agree. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abulfeda* relate this matter after a quite different manner. According to them, the hands and feet of the assassin were cut off, his eyes put out with a red hot iron, his tongue cut out, and then he was reduced to ashes. Others say, that he was first beheaded, and his body afterwards burnt: Here we must beg leave to observe, that the account given by *Abu Jaafar* and *Abulfeda* of this tragical affair seems to have the greatest appearance of truth on its side; since the enormity of the crime and the vindictive disposition of the *Arabs* render it highly probable, that, whatever orders *Ali* might give in his life-time to the contrary, the bloody villain *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem*, for so execrable a fact as the assassination of the *Khalif*, would be put to a most cruel death. *Abu Jaafar* writes, that *Ali* said to the people about him, "If "I recover, spare *Abd'alrahmân*; but if I die, send him after "me, that I may have an immediate opportunity of accusing

" him before the divine tribunal." With regard to the place of his interment, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say, he was buried opposite to the mosque in *Cufa*; others in the royal palace there; and others, that his son *Hasan* deposited his remains by those of his wife *Fatema* at *Medina*. But, according to *Ebn Al Athir* and *Abulfeda*, he was buried in that place which is visited by the *Moslems* as his tomb at this day. The sepulchre of *Ali* was kept concealed during the reigns of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Ommiyah*, and discovered whilst one of those of the house of *Abbas* sat upon the *Moslem* throne. *Adado'ddawla*, the second prince or *Soltan* of the house of *Buiyah*, who began to reign at *Baghdad*, in the year of the *Hejra* 366, or of CHRIST 976, under the *Khalif Al Tay' Ebn Al Moty'*, erected a superb monument on the spot where *Ali* was interred, which is called by the *Persians Konbud Faid Al Anwar*, that is, *the dome of the distributer of lights and graces* [s].

The Christian *writers say little of the* Khalifat *of* Ali.

IT has been observed by some of the *Moslem* writers, that *Ali*, during the month in which he was killed, had several presages of his death; and that some words, when he was in private with his particular friends, to this effect escaped him. He was heard once to say, after he had suffered a good deal of inquietude, *Alas! my heart, there is need of patience, as no remedy can be found out against death.* In fine, on *Friday*, the 17th of *Ramadan*, early in the morning, when he set out for the mosque, it was remarked, that a large troop of domestic birds made an uncommon noise, as he passed through his yard; and that, when one of his slaves threw a stick at them, to make them silent, he said, *Let them alone; for their cries are only lamentations foreboding my death.* He was assassinated by *Abd'alrahman Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi*, in the month of *Ramadan*, in the 40th year of the *Hejra*; being then about 63, or, according to some 57, or lastly, as others will have it, 58 years of age. But, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, he was either 63, 56, or 59 years old, when he met with his tragical fate. The wound would not have been attended with any fatal consequences, had not the sword that gave it been poisoned; but the poison, soon diffusing itself over the whole mass of blood, rendered it mortal. He reigned about four years and nine, or, as others say, ten, months. The *Christian* historians take little notice of what happened during his *Khalifat*. One of them, however, observes, that, in an engagement between him and *Moawiyah* near the *Euphrates*,

[s] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ISM. ABULFED. & EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. EUTYCH. D'HERBEL. & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

by

by which he must undoubtedly mean the battle of *Seffein*, the latter had the advantage; which, according to him, was owing to the want of water that *Ali*'s troops laboured under, *Moâwiyah* having taken care to cut off all communication between them and the *Euphrates*. This single instance is a demonstrative proof, to omit an infinite number of others that occur, of the little light given by the *Greek* writers to the *Arabic* history, during the infancy of *Islamism*; and, of course, clearly shews how much we are obliged to the oriental historians for the assistance they afford us in compiling that history for this particular period. The *Christian* author here referred to calls *Ali* the prince of *Persia*, because, as we suppose, he was in some measure supported by the troops of *Irâk*, and the *Persian* forces; and only in general insinuates, that he came to a violent death. Another *Christian* writer, of the *Jacobite* persuasion, only intimates, that a battle was fought by the *Arabs* engaged in a civil war, meaning that of *Seffein*, in the year of CHRIST 657, without informing us of the consequences of it, or communicating to us any particulars of that action; and that the *Moslems* were harassed during the space of five years after *Othmân*'s death with intestine commotions. That author, by mistake, gives *Ali* the name of *Abbâs*, and says, that this prince was assassinated by his own subjects, whilst he was on his knees at prayers. He also intirely omits the *Khalifat* of *Hasan*, *Ali*'s son; which was, indeed, but of a very short and inconsiderable duration [t].

As to his person, *Ali* had a very red face, large eyes, a pro- Ali's *per-*
minent belly, a large beard, a hairy breast, a bald head, and *son and*
a very swarthy complexion. He was rather short than middle- *character.*
sized; of a youthful, florid, and frequently smiling, countenance. Some, however, write, that he had hair on his head, which was not very grey, but formed into curls. With regard to his disposition, this *Khalif*, if we will believe the *Moslem* writers, had the fear of GOD constantly before his eyes, was extremely charitable, just, humble, and a strenuous defender of what they call the true religion. He was also very acute, learned, and extremely well versed in all useful arts and sciences. His bravery never failed him; nor was he more eminent and conspicuous for that than for his liberality and munificence, as well as that sweetness of temper which so remarkably distinguished him on all occasions. His secretaries were *Abd'allah Ebn Rafi'* and *Sa'id Ebn Nemrân*, of *Ha-*

[t] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 94. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ABULFED. EUTYCH. & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 288. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 103.

mdan; his principal judge, *Sharih Ebn Al Hâreth*; the captain of his guards, *Ma'kal Ebn Kifi Al Zabaji*; and his chamberlain *Baſher*, or, according to *Eutychius*, *Kanbar*, his ſervant. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *The kingdom belongs to the only the mighty* GOD [u].

His family.

ALI had in all nine wives; the firſt of which was *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, during whoſe life he married no other woman. He had by her three ſons, *Haſan*, *Hoſein*, and *Mohaſſan*; the laſt of which died in his infancy. His ſecond wife was *Omm Al Nebiyin*, who bore him four children, *Abd'allah*, *Abbâs*, *Othmân*, and *Jaafar*, who were all killed at the battle of *Kerbelah*. *Aſimah*, his third wife, was the mother of *Yahya* and *Aûn*; as *Omm Habiba*, was of *Omar*. His ſixth wife, *Khaulah*, was the mother of *Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Ebn Hanifiyah*, of whom a farther account will be given hereafter. The names of the other three wives have not been handed down to us by any of the oriental hiſtorians; tho' three more of his ſons, *Mohammed the ſecond*, *Mohammed the younger*, and *Amru*, have been mentioned by ſome of them. Beſides which, there was another that has been paſſed over in ſilence by all the eaſtern writers. For, it clearly appears from ſome authors of good repute, that he had fifteen ſons, five of whom only, *Haſan*, *Hoſein*, *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*, *Abbâs*, and *Amru*, left iſſue behind them. As for his daughters, who were no fewer than eighteen, we find no material particulars concerning them, preſerved by the *Arab* hiſtorians. And let this ſuffice for an account of the family of *Ali*, which we could not prevail upon ourſelves to omit here, as it will be of ſingular ſervice to us hereafter, by enabling us to underſtand ſeveral paſſages of the *Moſlem* hiſtorians; which, without it, would be almoſt, if not altogether, unintelligible [w].

Some farther particulars concerning him and his family.

A vaſt number of the *Moſlems*, and particularly all the *Shiites*, pretend, that *Ali* was the firſt who embraced their religion. Nay, ſome of them go ſo far as to aſſert, that he made profeſſion of it in his mother's womb; and even hindered her, during her pregnancy, from proſtrating herſelf before an idol ſhe commonly worſhipped. They alſo ſay, that his mother was delivered of him in the very temple of *Mecca* itſelf; which never happened to any one elſe. The name his mother gave him firſt was *Kaid*; but *Mohammed* changed it into *Ali*. The form of benediction added by the

[u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makîn, ubi ſup. ut & ipſe AL MAKIN, ibid. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 342—345. [w] ISM. ABULFED. EBN AL ATHIR, AL JANNAB AL KODAI, AHMED EBN YUSEF, &c. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 94, 95.

Moslems, when they name him, is, GOD *glorify the face of him.* *Mohammed* himself is reported to have said of him, Ali *is for me, and I for him*; *he bears the same relation to me that* Aaron *did to* Moses; *I am the city in which all knowledge is shut up, and he is the gate of it.* Several of the eastern writers have been very prolix in their accounts of the excellence and prerogatives of the house of *Ali*. One of them in particular, named *Amûd*, has produced a thousand pretended traditions of *Mohammed* concerning the excellence of this *Khalif*, and in favour of the *Shiites*; who gave him a large sum of money for drawing up that composition [x].

THE *Shiites* are the opponents of the *Khârejites*, of whom we have already given our readers some account. Their name properly signifies *sectaries*, or *adherents*, in general; but is particularly used to denote those of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*; who maintain him to be lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendents. They also teach, that the office of *Imâm* is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, but a fundamental article of religion, that could not have been left by the prophet to the fancy of the common people. Nay, some of them, thence called *Imâmians*, have not scrupled to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowlege of the true *Imâm*. The principal sects, or branches, of the *Shiites* are five, which are subdivided into an almost infinite number; so that some understand *Mohammed*'s prophecy of the seventy odd sects of the *Shiites* only. But *Ali* himself, according to *Ebn Al Athir*, was of a different opinion; since, a little before the *day of the camel*, he assured his subjects, that the worst of the seventy-three sects into which the *Moslems* were to be divided, would be that which set him at nought, and refused to follow his example. The *Kassabians*, one of the five primary sects of the *Shiites*, entertain very extravagant sentiments in several points. They believe, that *Ali* was more than a man; and that this supreme pontiff and director of *Islamism* is still living. They also reckon the succession of the twelve *Imâms* of the posterity of *Ali* in a manner peculiar to themselves, and different from the computation observed by every other sect. The general opinions of the *Shiites* are, 1. That the peculiar designation of the *Imâm*, and the testimonies of the *Korân* and *Mohammed* concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the *Imâms* ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins, as well as those that are more

An account of their particularities.

[x] ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. viii. p. 19, 20, & alib. AL BOKHARI, MOSLEM, &c. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 95. & GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 212.

grievous.

grievous. 3. That every one ought publickly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be not the least dissimulation. In this last point, however, the *Zeidians*, a sect of the *Shiites*, so named from *Zeid*, the great grandson of *Ali*, dissented from all the rest of the *Moslems*, whose tenets we are here considering. The great schism between the *Sonnites*, or *Traditionists*, that is, those of the *Moslems* who acknowlege the authority of the *Sonna*, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of *Mohammed*, and the *Shiites*, or partizans of *Ali*, still subsists, and is maintained on both sides with implacable hatred and most furious zeal at this very day. This most remarkable difference at first arose upon a political occasion, which commenced in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, as sufficiently appears from the preceding history of that reign; and was afterwards so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that, at present, both parties detest and anathematize one another as the most abominable of heretics, and even farther from the truth than either the *Christians* or the *Jews*. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. The *Shiites* reject *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, the three first *Khalifs*, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the *Sonnites* acknowlege and respect them as rightful *Imâms*. 2. The *Shiites* prefer *Ali* to *Mohammed*, or, at least, esteem them both equal; but the *Sonnites* admit neither *Ali*, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to *Mohammed*. 3. The *Sonnites* charge the *Shiites* with corrupting the *Korân*, and neglecting its precepts; and the *Shiites* retort the same charge upon the *Sonnites*. 4. The *Sonnites* receive the *Sonna*, or book of traditions of their prophet, from whence they derive their name, as of canonical authority; whereas the *Shiites* reject it as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit. And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has so long reigned between the *Turks*, who are *Sonnites*, and the *Persians*, who are of the sect of *Ali*. Some authors maintain, that these last are subdivided into no less than seventy different branches, or smaller sects; all of which hold a *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, and the *Al Holûl*, or descent of GOD upon his creatures, or the transmission of the spirit of sanctity from one person to another. The *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah* likewise, and their successors, the *Shiites* consider in the same light as they do the three first *Khalifs*, *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*. The *Sonnites* make use of the word *Shiites*, or *Shii*, and apply it to their adversaries, as a term of reproach, formed from *Shiyah*, denoting properly a scandalous reprobate sect. For, a sect that follows approved

approved opinions is called by the *Arabs Medheb*. The partizans of *Ali*, therefore, ſtile themſelves *Adaliyah*, which ſignifies the religion of them who follow juſtice and the right ſide; and ſtigmatize the *Sonnites* with the odious appellation of *Shiites*. At this day, the powerful kingdom of *Perſia*, one half of the princes of the *Uzbeks*, whoſe dominions lie beyond the *Jihûn*, or the *Amû*, the *Oxus* of the antients, and ſome *Mohammedan* kings of the *Indies*, are followers of *Ali*, and, amongſt the other *Mohammedans*, go under the aforeſaid opprobrious denomination [y].

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſepulchre of *Ali* is ſo well known to be near *Cûfa*, many of his followers believe him to be ſtill alive; and affirm, that he ſhall come at the end of the world with *Elias* in the clouds, and fill the earth with piety and juſtice. Nay, ſeveral of his votaries have carried their veneration for him and his deſcendents ſo far, that they have tranſgreſſed all bounds of reaſon and decency; tho' ſome of them have been leſs extravagant than others. The *Gholaïtes*, who had their name from their *exceſſive* zeal for their *Imâms*, were ſo highly tranſported therewith, that they raiſed them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them; tranſgreſſing in both extremes, by deifying of mortal men, and by making GOD corporeal: for one while they aſſimilated one of their *Imâms* to GOD, which was ſinning in exceſs; and another while they made GOD to reſemble a creature, which may be conſidered as a ſin in defect, and is conſequently placed in the oppoſite extreme. The ſects of theſe are various, and have various appellations aſſigned them in different countries. *Abd'allah Ebn Saba*, who had been a *Jew*, and had aſſerted the ſame thing of *Joſhua* the ſon of *Nun*, was the ring-leader of one of them. This man gave the following ſalutation to *Ali*, viz. *Thou art Thou*, i. e. *Thou art* GOD. And another, named *Alabâ Ebn Darâ Al Haſâdi*, preferred *Ali* to *Mohammed*; pretending that the latter was ſent by the former to call all men to him; but that, being an impoſtor, he called them to himſelf. Some of the *Shiites* aſſert, that the angel *Gabriel*, by miſtake, took *Mohammed* for *Ali*, being deceived by the reſemblance they bore to each other; thoſe two prophets having been as like one another as are two crows; whence it came to paſs, that they were called *Gora-*

The extravagant notions the Shiites *entertain of* Ali.

[y] AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 261, 262, 263, ut & ipſe Poc. ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hiſt. dynaſt. p. 169. EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Schiah*. RYCAUT's ſtate of the Ottoman empire, b. ii. c. 10, 12. CHARD. voy. de Perſe, tom. ii. p. 169, 170, &c. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182. See alſo OCKLEY's hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 30, 88.

bites,

bites, or the *Corvine* sect. The *Gholaïtes* above-mentioned were divided into several classes or branches; some maintaining the divinity, or something like it, of *Ali*, and others of some one of his descendents. By the *Al Holûl* hinted at above, according to *Al Shahreſtâni*, they mean that GOD is present in every place, speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual person: whence several of them have asserted their *Imâms* to be *prophets*, and at length *gods*. The *Nosairians* and the *Ishâkians* taught, that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies; and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They also assert, that GOD hath appeared in the form of certain men; and since, after *Mohammed*, there hath been no man more excellent than *Ali*, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that GOD hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands; for which reason, say they, *we attribute divinity to them.* And, in support of these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of *Ali*; as his moving the gates of *Khaibar*, which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity, and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form GOD appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands; wherefore, say they, he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth. In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in Scripture of CHRIST, by applying them to *Ali*. These extravagant fancies of the *Shiites*, however, in making their *Imâms* partake of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those *Imâms* in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other *Mohammedan* sects are tainted with the same madness; there being found many amongst them, and amongst the *Sûfis* especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people. We must not forget to observe here, that, amongst the descendents of *Ali*, there was one *Mohammed*, for whom one branch of the *Shiites*, ever since his death, have expressed a most particular regard and veneration. They are so firmly persuaded of the certainty of his second advent at the end of the world, that this notion is received amongst them as an article of faith, and he is deemed guilty of infidelity, who entertains the least doubt about so indubitable a point. Some of the *Shiites* believe, that there has been an interruption of the series of their *Imâms*, who are known by the name of *Al Wakefians*; tho' others contend for the uninterrupted succession of those *Imâms*, and maintain, that there shall never be one of them wanting to supply the place of their great prophet *Ali*: nay, several of them

them affirm, that there may be two lawful *Imâms* in different parts of the world at the same time, and even admit of the validity of all their decisions, how opposite and contradictory soever [z].

Ali's *surnames.*

We have already observed, that *Ali*, on account of his superior bravery, was sometimes denominated by the *Arabs the victorious lion of* God; to which we shall now beg leave to add, that they frequently gave him the appellation likewise of *Al Haidar*, or *Al Haidara*, which also denotes a *lion* in the *Arabic* language. The former of which appellations, *the victorious lion of* God, or *the lion of* God, was applied to persons remarkable for their valour by the *Hebrews* themselves, as may be inferred from Scripture. This ought to be considered as a proof of the great affinity between the proverbial expressions, as well as idioms, of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues, to omit an infinite number of similar instances that might be produced and viewed in the same light. But this point is so clear, that it will not be disputed by any one who is at all acquainted with the spirit and genius of those languages (the latter of which is undoubtedly the daughter, or descendent, of the former) as well as the history of the nations to which they belong. The *Arabs* have also conferred upon *Ali* the surnames, or honourable titles, of *Wâsi*, *legatee*, or *heir*, that is, of *Mohammed*, and *Mortada*, or *Mortadi*, which signifies *beloved by*, or *acceptable to*, God. The latter of which surnames corrupted, as has been observed by Mr. *Ockley*, some *European* travellers have prefixed to his name, and absurdly called him *Mortis Ali*. The *Shii*, who are his followers, or rather adorers, often denominate him *Faïd Al Anwâr*, *the distributer of lights and graces*; and in *Persian*, *Shâh Mordman*, *the king of men*, and *Shîr Khoda*, *the lion of* God; which last seems to be a sort of translation of the first *Arabic* title here mentioned, that is undoubtedly of *Hebrew* extraction [a].

[z] Al Shahrestan. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. Ism. Abulfed. in hist gen. cap. de gent. *Moslem.* sive *Mohammedan.* Ludovic. Marracc. prodr. par. iii. p. 80, &c. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. xliv. p. 90. Abu Rafe', apud Abulfed. ibid. Al Shahrest. & Poc. ubi sup. p. 266, 267. Al Ghazal. apud Pocockium, ibid. p. 267—269. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 96, 786, &c. [a] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 94. Joan. Gagn. not. ad Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. xlv. p. 90. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. Val. Schind. Lex. Pentaglot. p. 117. Hanoviæ, 1612.

But

Ali and his family cursed by the Khalifs *of the house of* Ommiyah.

BUT notwithstanding the fulsom, or rather impious, elogies bestowed on *Ali* and his family, they were cursed publickly, and excommunicated, in all the mosques of the empire, during the reigns of the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, from the accession of *Moâwiyah* to the time of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, who suppressed that solemn malediction. Several *Khalifs* likewise of the family of *Abbâs* expressed a great aversion both to him and his posterity; such were *Al Mo'taded* and *Al Motawakkel*, to whom he is reported to have appeared in their sleep, and threatened them with his indignation. On the contrary, the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Egypt* ordered his name to be added to that of *Mohammed* in the publication of the times of prayer, which the *Muedhdhins*, or *criers*, made from the *minârets*, or steeples, of their mosques. The oriental writers mention several apparitions of *Ali*, after his death, and particularly those that happened in the days of the *Khalifs Al Mo'tasem*, *Al Mo'taded*, *Al Motawakkel*, and *Al Kader*; in the last of which *Ali* seemed to be of an extraordinary stature, told *Al Kader* he should soon be advanced to the *Khalifat*, and recommended the care of his posterity to him [b].

The pieces ascribed to Ali.

AFTER what has been said, it cannot appear wonderful, that *Ali*'s wisdom should be so celebrated amongst all the *Mohammedans*. There is extant of his a *Centiloquium*, or *an hundred sentences*, which have been translated into *Turkish* and *Persian* out of the *Arabic*; as likewise a collection of verses under the title of *Anwâr Al Okail men ashâr wasi al resûl*, which is to be met with in the *French* king's library. We have in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* a large book of his sentences, or maxims; an *English* translation of which has been annexed to his history of the *Saracens* by the learned Mr. *Ockley*. But the most celebrated piece of all is intitled *Jefr we Jame*. It is written upon parchment in mysterious characters intermixed with figures, wherein are couched all the grand events that are to happen from the beginning of *Islamism* to the end of the world. This parchment is deposited in the hands of those of his family, and even to this time nobody has decyphered it in any manner but *Jaafar Sadek*. For, as to the intire explication of it, that is referred for the twelfth *Imâm*, who is surnamed, by way of excellence, *Al Mohdi*, or *the grand director* [c].

Some of his sentences and maxims.

BESIDES the books above-mentioned, several sentences and apophthegms, under the name of *Ali*, occur in the oriental writers. The author of *Rabi Al Akyar* quotes this, which is

[b] AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, pass. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. pass. [c] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali*, p. 95. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 84—87.

one

one of the moſt ſtriking and inſtructive: *If a man would be rich without means, powerful without ſubjects, and ſubject without a maſter; let him depart from ſin, and ſerve* GOD, *and he will find theſe three things.* One of his captains having one day aſked him, with impudence enough, what was the reaſon that the reigns of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, his predeceſſors, were ſo peaceable, and that of *Othmân* and his own ſo full of troubles? the *Khalif* anſwered, with great acuteneſs and ſagacity, in the following terms: "The reaſon is plain. It is "becauſe *Othmân* and I ſerved *Abu-Becr* and *Omar*, during "their reign; and *Othmân* and I found no body to ſerve us "but you, and ſuch as are like you [d]."

THERE is in the book *Rabi Al Akyar* likewiſe another of *Ali*'s maxims, which is extremely remarkable, and diametrically oppoſite to the conduct of thoſe who ſo highly value themſelves upon account of their being his followers: "Take "care," ſaid he, "never to ſeparate yourſelves from the ſo-"ciety of the other *Moſlems*. For, he that ſeparates himſelf "from them belongs to the devil, as the ſheep that leave the "flock appertain to the wolf. Give no quarter, therefore, to "him who marches under the ſtandard of *ſchiſm*, though he "wears my turbant on his head; ſince he carries along with "him the infallible mark of a man that walketh wrong." It has been remarked by M. *D'Herbelot*, that the ſectaries who entertain ſuch elevated ſentiments of *Ali* have not only a turbant of a particular form, but likewiſe that they twiſt their hair in a different manner from that of the reſt of the *Moſlems*. The family of *Ali* is divided into ſeveral branches; the principal of which is formed by the deſcendents of *Hoſein*, the ſecond ſon of that *Khalif*; as this branch continues the lineal deſcent of the twelve *Imâms*. Nevertheleſs, the family of *Haſan*, his eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded his father in the *Khalifat*, has produced ſeveral perſons, who have made a conſiderable figure, and even occaſioned inſurrections in different provinces of the empire, under the government of the *Khalifs* both of the houſe of *Ommiyah* and *Al Abbâs*. From the former of theſe branches, and not the latter of them, as M. *D'Herbelot* has been pleaſed to aſſert, ſprung *Mohammed*, who was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Medina* in the year of the *Hejra* 145, and who aſſumed the title of *Al Mohdi*, or *Mahadi*, that is, *the ſupreme*, or *general*, *director of the* Moſlems. This new *Khalif*, who was the great grandſon of *Hoſein*, had a brother called *Ibrahim*, who cauſed *Irâk*, and a great part of *Perſia*, to revolt at the ſame time from the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr*. But the movements occaſioned in the empire by theſe two princes were not of any long continuance;

[d] D'HERBEL. et OCKLEY, ubi ſup.

they having both been soon defeated by that *Khalif*'s nephew, who sent their heads to his uncle, who was then building the city of *Baghdâd*. *Al Mansûr* having received advice of that victory, which restored peace to his dominions, took occasion from thence to honour his new city with the title, or surname, of *Dar al Salâm*, that is, *the house, or habitation, of peace* [e].

Another of his sayings.

BESIDES the aforesaid maxims, or sentences, attributed to *Ali*, we find the following passage ascribed to him by *Hosein Waez*, in his paraphrase and commentary upon the *Korân*: "GOD has given men two *Imâms*, that is to say, two pontiffs, or mediators, between him and them. The first is "the prophet, who is gone, and is no more amongst them. "The second, which remains, and always shall continue "with them, is the prayer that they make to obtain pardon "of their sins [f]."

The descendents of Ali *occasion some disturbances in the empire.*

THERE was another great grandson of *Hosein*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by M. *D'Herbelot*, besides that above-mentioned, who began to make a noise in the *Khalifat* of *Harûn Al Rashîd*, named *Yahya Ebn Abd'allah*; but he was soon rendered incapable of executing any seditious designs. This ill success, however, did not hinder others of *Ali*'s descendents, in successive periods of time, from making themselves masters of several provinces; as of *Mazanderân*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Mostain* and *Al Mo'taded*, of *Kermân*, in the times of the princes of the family of *Seljûk*, of part of *Khorasân* and *Tabaristân*, in the days of the *Soltâns* of *Khowarazm*, of *Yaman* and *Cûfa*, and, in fine, of a great part of the provinces conquered by the *Moslems* in *Africa*. The *Khalifat* being afterwards transferred from the house of *Ommiyah* to that of *Al Abbâs*, which was nearly related to *Ali*, as being descended from their common ancestor *Hâshem*, the *Khalifs* of the former family were excommunicated in their turn, in the same solemn manner that *Moâwiyah* had excommunicated *Ali* and his family, in all the mosques within his jurisdiction. *Ahmed*, the third son of *Al Bûiyah*, surnamed *Moezo'ddawla*, having made himself master of *Baghdâd*, and consequently of the person of the *Khalif Al Mostakfi*, of the house of *Abbâs*, did not content himself with cursing and anathematizing publickly the family of *Ommiyah* by word of mouth, but he likewise ordered the malediction to be ingraved in large characters upon the gates of all the mosques; together with the principal causes of that fulmination. These were, 1. Because *Moâwiyah* and his family had deprived *Ali*'s descendents of the territory of *Fidâk*,

[e] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 95, 96. AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, pass. [f] HOSEIN WAEZ, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 95. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.

which

which *Mohammed* had given his daughter *Fâtema* as a dower, when he married her to *Ali*. 2. Becauſe the members of that family would not ſuffer *Haſan* to be buried near the remains of his grandfather *Mohammed*. 3. Becauſe the houſe of *Ommiyah* had excluded *Abbâs*, from whom the *Khalifs* of his family deduced their origin, from the number of thoſe who were rendered capable of aſpiring to the *Khalifat* after the death of *Omar*. The ſame *Ahmed* had ſo high a regard for the memory of *Ali*, that he once intended to transfer the *Khalifat* of *Baghdâd* from the branch of the houſe of *Ali*, or rather of *Hâſhem*, that then reigned, to his lineal deſcendents; tho' this deſign, however ſanguine that prince might be in the formation of it, was never carried into execution [g].

THUS have we finiſhed our hiſtory of the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, and given our readers a fuller and more perfect account of the memorable tranſactions of that great prince's reign than is to be met with in any other author. And if we have been a little more prolix than uſual in our deſcription of the principal events that happened during the ſhort interval he ſat upon the *Moſlem* throne, as well as of the principal tenets, and fate of his followers, even to the preſent time; this, we flatter ourſelves, will not only be excuſed by, but even prove acceptable to, our curious readers; as it contains in it ſo very conſiderable a part of the *Arab* hiſtory, and renders much more intelligible what is hereafter to follow. Beſides, it would have been unpardonable in us, and ſo deemed by all our judicious and intelligent readers, to have been in any reſpect deficient in our relation of the glorious exploits of *Ali*, who was certainly by much the moſt conſiderable perſon, after *Mohammed*, that ever was born in the peninſula of the *Arabs*. Nay, with regard to his courage, temper, and underſtanding, he ſeems to have been at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior, to the *Moſlem* prophet himſelf; and conſequently from thoſe who paid ſo great a deference to *Mohammed*'s deciſions, he ought to have met with a better fate [h].

Ali one of the greateſt men ever produced in Arabia.

SECT. V.

THE poiſon communicated to the maſs of blood by *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi*'s ſword having rendered the wound received by *Ali* from that aſſaſſin mortal, his friends deſired him to nominate a ſucceſſor before his death. But he told them, that, with regard to this affair, he would

He is ſucceeded by his ſon Haſan.

[g] AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et D'HERBEL. in Biblioth. orient. paſſ. [h] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali*. OCKLEY's introduct. to his hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. xxxviii. and his hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 89.

follow the example of the apostle of GOD, who left the election to the people. However, his son *Hasan*, inheriting his father's piety, though not his courage, and being greatly esteemed on *Ali*'s account, was advanced to the *Khalifat*, without any scruple or debate. In the public harangue that, as eldest son, he made to the people, immediately after his father was dead, he expressed his sense of the late *Khalif*'s assassination, as well as his superior merit, in the following remarkable terms: "You have killed," said he, "a man on "the same night in which the *Korân* came down from hea- "ven, in which *Isa* ascended into heaven, and in which "*Joshua*, the son of *Nun*, was slain. None of his predeces- "sors excelled him, nor will any of his successors be ever "equal to him." At his inauguration, which soon after followed, *Kais* addressed himself to him in this form: "Stretch "out your hand, as a token that you will adhere to the book "of GOD, as well as the collection of apostolic traditions, "and make war against all their opposers." *Hasan* answered, "Very willingly, as the book of GOD, and the traditions "of his apostle, will always stand their ground." The principal of his other subjects then approaching, he insisted upon their being obedient to him, at peace with his friends, and at war with his enemies. The last of which articles by no means pleased the troops of *Irâk*, who, being greatly fatigued with the *Syrian* war, had flattered themselves with the hopes of enjoying the sweets of a durable peace, after the new *Khalif* had mounted the *Moslem* throne [i].

A rupture apprehended between Hasan *and* Moâwiyah.

BUT it was soon perceived, that, notwithstanding a sort of treaty had been precipitately struck up between *Ali* and *Moâwiyah*, a little before the violent death of the former, such measures were pursued by the latter, as must in a short time infallibly disturb the public repose. That prince kept on foot a powerful army, with which he threatened to make an irruption into *Irâk*. He looked with an evil eye upon *Hasan*, both before and after his father's death; and even refused to recognize his authority after his accession. Nay, he assigned as a reason for this, that *Hasan* had been an accomplice in the murder of *Othmân*; which was a plain indication of his hostile intentions, as a greater affront than that could not have been offered him [k].

Hasan *offers to resign the* Khalifat *to* Moâwiyah;

IN the mean time, *Hasan* was pressed by those about him to come to an open rupture with *Moâwiyah*; tho' he was of a most pacific disposition, looked upon the effusion of *Moslem*

[i] EBN AL ATHIR, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. [k] ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

blood

blood with the greateſt horror, and conſequently was by no means qualified for ſuch an undertaking. However, he was at laſt prevailed upon, contrary to his inclination, to declare war againſt *Moâwiyah*, and even to begin his march for the invaſion of that prince's territories. As *Ali* had left behind him a well-diſciplined army, conſiſting of 60,000 men, who had entered into an engagement to ſupport him, and his pretenſions, to the laſt drop of their blood; *Haſan* was perſuaded to carry on the war with vigour, and to exert himſelf in the proſecution of it. Before the new *Khalif*, therefore, began his march, he ſent *Kais Ebn Saad* towards the frontiers with a body of 12,000 men; of which *Moâwiyah* receiving advice, he advanced to *Maſken*, a place in the neighbourhood and diſtrict of *Cûfa*, where he took poſt with all his forces. But, before his arrival there, he ſent *Baſher*, or *Baſhar*, *Ebn Artah* with a ſtrong detachment to reconnoitre the enemy, and give him intelligence of their motions. *Baſhar* happening to meet with the troops commanded by *Kais Ebn Saad*, a briſk diſpute enſued between them; but which ſide had the advantage, we are not informed by any of the *Arab* hiſtorians. Soon after the end of the action, *Haſan*, with the army he led againſt *Moâwiyah*, reached *Al Madâyen*; but had ſcarce entered that place, when a ſpirit of mutiny, excited by the ſudden murder of one of his men, inflamed the troops, and had like to have proved fatal to him. He was not only, without any regard to his diſtinction, thrown from his ſeat, but likewiſe wounded by ſome of the ſoldiery. Nay, upon his retiring into the caſtle of *Al Madâyen*, in order to avoid a more tragical fate, the governor's nephew ſollicited his uncle to deliver him up into the hands of *Moâwiyah*. To this the governor turned a deaf ear, and even rejected the propoſal made by his nephew with indignation. However, *Haſan*, finding himſelf deſerted by the troops of *Irâk*, perceiving the other part of the army wavering in their fidelity to him, and being ſufficiently frightened by the diſturbance that had lately happened, wrote a letter to *Moâwiyah*, offering, upon certain terms, to reſign the *Khalifat* to him [1].

and actually reſigns it.

BEFORE the letter was ſent away, his brother *Hoſein* did his utmoſt to divert him from the reſolution he ſeemed too precipitately to have taken; repreſenting to him, that nothing could be a more ſevere reflection upon his father's memory than ſuch an unſeaſonable and ill-timed abdication. But

[1] ISM. ABULFED. et EBN AL ATHIR, ubi ſup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makin, in hiſt. Saracen. lib. i. c. vi. p. 44. ut et ipſe AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hiſt. dynaſt. p. 191, 192.

Hasan being well apprized of *Moâwiyah*'s courage and activity on one side, and of the perfidious disposition of the forces drawn from *Irâk* on the other, was determined to persist in his former resolution. Nay, according to some authors, he had before rendered himself incapable of departing from it, by making a similar proposal to *Moâwiyah* before the last action between *Bashar Ebn Artah* and *Kais Ebn Saad*, or *Kais Ebn Said*, and the disturbance that had happened at *Al Madâyen*. In answer to which, as we find intimated by the same authors, *Moâwiyah* had sent him a *carte blanche*, or a full and unlimited power to prescribe what terms he should think fit; assuring him of an absolute compliance with them. This paper, however, according to what has been suggested by them, seems not to have reached *Hasan* till he had sent his second letter; which induced him to desire an interview with *Moâwiyah*; wherein he insisted upon more advantageous conditions than those he had formerly demanded. But with these *Moâwiyah* refused to comply; alledging, that it would be dishonourable in *Hasan* to deviate from his own terms. However, at last a treaty was signed by them both, which consisted of the following articles. First, *Hasan* shall receive all the money in the treasury at *Cûfa*. Secondly, *Moâwiyah* shall assign him the revenue arising from *Daraljerd*, a district of considerable extent in *Persia*. Thirdly, He shall never reflect upon the late *Khalîf* in the presence of *Hasan*. Fourthly, He shall grant a pardon and amnesty to all those who adhered to *Ali*; and, after his death, to *Hasan*, in the former troubles that so distracted the *Moslems*. Fifthly, in consideration of these concessions, *Hasan* shall renounce all pretensions to the *Khalifat*, and consequently henceforth recognize the authority of *Moâwiyah*, as supreme director of the *Moslems*, and emperor of the faithful. The money found in the treasury at *Cûfa* amounted to 5,000,000 *dirhêms*; but this never came into *Hasan*'s hands, as will hereafter more fully appear. *Abu'l-Faraj* relates, that the effusion of blood in the engagement between *Bashar* and *Kais*, which struck him with horror, first disposed *Hasan* to an accommodation; which manifestly implies, that, on both sides, many men must have been killed in that action. It has been observed by *Al Makin*, that *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah* had an interview at *Masken*, in the 41st year of the *Hejra*, a little before the conclusion of the aforesaid treaty [m].

Hasan *retires to* Medina.

FROM *Masken*, which seems to have been the scene of the late negotiation, *Hasan* and *Moâwiyah*, after they had settled

[m] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 192. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

I. the

the terms of the pacification, ſet out in company for *Cúfa*; into which they made their public entry together, in a very amicable manner. Upon their arrival there, *Moáwiyah* commanded *Haſan*, by *Amru Ebn Al Ás*'s advice, to notify to the people in a ſpeech his abdication; which he did in ſuch terms as ſeemed to preſage a new revolution. This ſo exaſperated *Moáwiyah*, that he ordered *Haſan* inſtantly to ſit down, and ſeverely reprimanded *Amru* for the advice he had given him. Nay, ſome authors ſay, that he was never afterwards thoroughly reconciled to that general. Be that as it will, as ſuch a public ſpeech from *Haſan* was altogether ſuperfluous, it ſeemed to indicate a great want of judgment and diſcretion in *Moáwiyah* to require this of him, eſpecially as he might have been ſenſible that it would furniſh an unhappy man with an opportunity of laſhing him who had been the ſource of all his misfortunes. Before his departure from *Cúfa*, *Haſan* accuſed publickly the people of *Irák* of his father's murder, of ſeveral inſults offered to his perſon, and of plundering him of his lawful effects. The laſt crime he laid to their charge, their conduct after the concluſion of the late treaty proved them to be guilty of; for tho', by one of the articles of that treaty, the public money at *Cúfa* ought to have been depoſited in his hands, *Moáwiyah* could not prevail upon the inhabitants of that city, the capital of the *Arab Irák*, to put him in poſſeſſion of it, by any motive whatſoever. However, in order to compenſate the loſs *Haſan* ſuſtained on this occaſion, *Moáwiyah*, whoſe ambition had been ſo fully gratified, aſſigned him an annual penſion of 150,000 *dinárs*, and made him ſeveral preſents of very conſiderable value. Being thus reduced to the condition of a private perſon, he and his brother *Hoſein* retired to *Medina*, where he ſpent the remainder of his days. Moſt of his vaſt revenue he diſpoſed of in acts of charity; and was ſo little attached to the things of this *world*, that he twice ſtripped himſelf of all he had, and thrice divided half of his ſubſtance amongſt the poor. Notwithſtanding his abdication, the *Perſians* affirm, that he was *Khalif* and *Imâm* to the day of his death. They alſo, as well as the other followers of *Áli*, maintain, that he and his two ſons were the three firſt lawful *Imâms* [n].

AL MAKIN obſerves, that the firſt day of *Haſan*'s *Khalifat* was *Monday*, and the laſt *Friday*; as alſo that he reigned ſix months and five days; but, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, he ſat upon the throne five months only. His father's laſt ſecretary

He reigns ſix months.

[n] Idem ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 119, 123. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Haſſan*. MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl Oxon.

continued in his poſt during the ſhort *Khalifat* of *Haſan*; whoſe ſymbol, or motto, on his ſeal was, *There is no* God *but* God, *the true and manifeſt king*. *Sharih Ebn Al Hâreth*, who had been *Ali*'s principal judge, ſerved his ſon *Haſan* alſo in the ſame capacity. After the concluſion of the late treaty, *Haſan* immediately ceded *Cúfa* to *Moáwiyah*, who, with his former competitor, made his public entry into that city on the 26th day of the former *Rabi*, or, as others will have it, on the ſame day of the former *Jomâda*, in the 41ſt year of the *Hejra*. That *Maſken*, the place where *Haſan* and *Moáwiyah* had had an interview before that entry, was about a ſtation diſtant from *Cúfa*, we may infer from *Abu'l-Faraj* [o].

He declines the command of a body of troops.

Upon *Haſan*'s arrival at *Medina*, ſome of his friends there greatly cenſured his conduct; which nevertheleſs has always been urged by the *Shiites* as a demonſtrative proof of the excellence of his diſpoſition, and his tenderneſs for the people over whom, by their unanimous ſuffrages, he was appointed to preſide. The reaſons he himſelf aſſigned for his conduct on this occaſion were, that he was tired of the world, and that the *Cúfans* were ſo faithleſs, perfidious, and miſchievous a people, that it would be impoſſible for him ever to meet with any aſſiſtance from them. Which character of them was extremely juſt, tho' afterwards they ſeemed to be touched with remorſe for their traiterous behaviour to him. For, when he firſt entertained thoughts of a reſignation, and told them, that "he was their commander and chief, of their prophet's family, from which all pollution had been removed, and "which God had purified," they all burſt out into tears, and wept ſo loud, that every one of them might have been heard to ſob. They alſo ſhed many tears at his final departure from *Cúfa*, after he had come to a fixed reſolution to make *Medina* the place of his reſidence. Nor did that reſtleſs people fail giving ſome diſturbance to his ſucceſſor *Moáwiyah*; tho' we do not find, that this was attended with any fatal effects. For, the *Khárejites*, not long after *Haſan*'s arrival at *Medina*, made an inſurrection againſt *Moáwiyah*, who thereupon deſired him to lead an army againſt them. But *Haſan* declined the command of the army offered him, telling the *Khalif*, that, had he had a military genius, he ſhould have exerciſed it againſt him, and not have taken leave of public affairs, *Moáwiyah* probably offered him that command, with a view of ſhortening his days; ſince 'tis certain he conceived an averſion to him, on account of the foregoing

[o] Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Al Makin, et Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 434.

ſpeech,

speech, which, in all likelihood, was never afterwards thoroughly obliterated or effaced P.

HASAN enjoyed the sweets of a private life about eight years after his abdication, and died at *Medina* in the 49th year of the *Hejra*, coincident with the year of our LORD 669. He was poisoned by his wife *Jaadah*, according to *Hafedh Abru*, who had been bribed by *Moâwiyah* with large presents to perpetrate that execrable crime. We are told by a very learned author, extremely well versed in oriental history, that, by an article of the foregoing treaty, *Moâwiyah* engaged himself not to nominate a successor during the life of *Hasan*; but to leave him the power of chusing a certain number of persons, in whose hands the election of a new *Khalif* was to be lodged, as had formerly been done by *Omar*. But *Moâwiyah* having afterwards an inclination to leave the *Khalifat* to his son *Yezid*, and not finding this practicable without the death of *Hasan*; in order to gratify his inclination, he prevailed upon *Jaadah*, by valuable presents, and by promising her his son *Yezid* in marriage, to put a period to her husband's days. This she did, by rubbing him with a poisoned linen cloth, that had been sent her by *Moâwiyah* for that purpose, which was the immediate cause of his death. Of which *Moâwiyah* being apprized, he remitted her a sum of 500,000 *dirhems*, as a reward for her villainy; but took care to keep far enough from her embraces his son *Yezid*. *Hasan* was born in the third year of the *Hejra*, and died when he was about 47 lunar years of age. When he was at the point of death, his physician told his brother *Hosein*, that his bowels were consumed with poison. This greatly affected *Hosein*, who begged *Hasan* to impart to him the name of the murderer, which it seems he knew, that he might take vengeance of him for so barbarous an action. But this *Hasan* refused to do; saying, "O brother! the life of this world is "made up of nights that vanish away. Let him alone, till "he and I meet before the divine tribunal, where he will "certainly have justice done him." Some authors relate, that *Jaadah* was clear of the horrid fact laid here to her charge; and that certain of his servants, at the instigation of *Moâwiyah*, found means to dispatch him. Be that as it will, it is universally agreed, that *Moâwiyah* was the principal agent in this tragical affair, and had the chief hand in effecting his destruction. *Hasan* was born in the middle of the month of *Ramadân*, and died either in the former *Rabi*, or *Safar*. Those who assert his wife to be innocent relate, that he had

He is poisoned in the year of the Hejra 49.

P MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 193.

a poisonous draught given him by one of his servants, at the request, or rather command, of *Moáwiyah*, which almost instantly destroyed him. *Hasan* was of a very mild, humane, beneficent, and pious disposition; and deserved a much better fate. From the year of the *Hejra*, in which this prince was born, it appears pretty plainly, that his father *Ali* must have been at least sixty-three years of age at the time of his death, in agreement with what we find advanced by some good authors; and therefore could not have been then so young as others have made him. *Hasan* performed five-and-twenty journies on foot, according to *Al Makin*, though he had horses attending him in all those peregrinations q.

Some remarkable particulars relating to him and his family.

AMONGST other traditions concerning this *Khalif*, current in all places where *Islamism* prevails, there is one that has been handed down to succeeding generations, containing several remarkable particulars of him. According to this, he was extremely like his grandfather *Mohammed*, who, as soon as he was born, spat in his mouth, and named him *Hasan*. That pretended prophet frequently expressed his fondness of this favourite child, says the same tradition, in a very disagreeable manner. When he was officiating in the mosque, little *Hasan* would sometimes clamber up to him; when, in order to please the boy, he would designedly prolong the prayers. Nay, sometimes in the midst of a discourse to the people, if he saw *Hasan* and *Hosein* approaching him, he would come down, embrace them, and take them up with him into the pulpit; and, after making an apology for his conduct on that occasion, proceed in his harangue. This could not but greatly endear *Hasan* to all the *Arabs*, who had any real regard or veneration for the memory of *Mohammed*. Nor is it to be doubted but he would have firmly seated himself upon the *Moslem* throne, had he been a man versed in military affairs; since the *Syrians* only set up *Moáwiyah*, because there was none to oppose them. We are told by an anonymous *Arab* writer, that, according to a tradition of *Sefinah*, the apostle's freed-man, *Mohammed* said, "The *Khalifat* shall continue after me thirty years, and then shall "commence a kingdom." From whence he inferred, that, as *Mohammed*'s death preceded *Hasan*'s abdication just thirty years, their apostle was a true prophet, and *Hasan* his rightful successor. *Al Bokhári* also relates, that *Mohammed* one day looking earnestly on little *Hasan*, then with him in the pulpit, broke out into the following prophetic exclamation:

q HAFEDH ABRU, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 434. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. EBN AL ATHIR, OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 97—101.

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" O people! by means of this son of mine, the LORD GOD " shall unite two great contending parties of the *Moslems*." No wonder then that *Hasan* should still be reckoned, even by a vast number of the *Sonnites* themselves, so illustrious an *Imâm*. He had in all twenty children; fifteen of whom were sons, and five daughters. The *Persians* maintain, that the succession of *Imâms* passed from *Hasan* to his younger brother *Hosein*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that *Hosein*, one of the descendents of *Hasan*, revolted in the *Khalifat* of *Al Hadi Ebn Al Mohdi*, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalif* at *Medina*, in the year of the *Hejra* 169. But of this our readers may expect a full and particular account in its proper place [r].

ANS EBN MALEC reports, that a woman having once Hasan's made him a present of a bunch of fine herbs, he asked, whether she was a free-woman, or a slave? To which she replied, a slave; but that nevertheless the herbs she had presented him with were rare and curious. Upon which, he gave her her liberty, and said to those about him, " We have " been instructed by GOD himself to give to those that make " us presents something more valuable than what they bring " us." By which he intimated, that this moral instruction was contained in the *Korân*; which the *Moslems* are taught to receive as the word of GOD. This may be considered as an instance of that generous and munificent disposition for which he has been celebrated by some of the *Arab* historians [s]. *generosity to a female slave.*

IT has also been related of this *Khalif*, that a slave having once thrown a dish of broth boiling hot, as he sat at table, upon him, and, fearing his resentment, immediately fell on his knees, and repeated these words: " Paradise is for those " who bridle their anger." *Hasan* answered, " I am not " angry." The slave proceeded; " and for those who for- " give men." " I forgive you," said *Hasan*. The slave, however, finished the verse; adding, " for GOD loveth the " beneficent." " Since it is so," said *Hasan*, " I give you " your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver." A noble instance this of moderation and generosity [t]! *His generosity to another slave.*

THE following sentence of *Hasan* has been quoted by some of the *Moslems*. " The tears which are let fall through de- " votion should not be wiped off, nor the water which re- " mains upon the body after legal ablution; because this " water makes the face of the faithful shine, when they pre- *One of his sentences.*

[r] MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 414, 415, 434. KHONDEMIR, AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, &c. [s] ANS EBN MALEC, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 47. [t] Aut. RABI AL AKYAR, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid.

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"sent themselves before GOD." In fine, the beneficent actions, and moral maxims, of this pious *Imâm* are considered almost in the same light, by a great number of the *Moslems*, as even those of his father *Ali* and the prophet *Mohammed* himself [u].

He frequently divorced his wives.

SOME of the *Shiites*, in opposition to the body of the *Persian* nation, deduce the line, or descent, of the *Imâms* from *Abd'allah*, one of *Hasan*'s sons, or rather from his son *Yahya*, and not from the descendents of *Hosein*. Tho' *Hasan*'s wives were all extremely fond of him, yet he frequently divorced them, and married new ones. As *Hasan* and *Hosein* were the sons of *Fâtema*, they were looked upon as the children of *Mohammed* himself, who in all respects ever treated them as such [w].

Where buried.

THOUGH *Hasan*, in his will, desired to be buried near his grandfather *Mohammed*, and therein left directions for that purpose; yet, as this was opposed by *Said*, the governor of *Medina*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, and all the grandees of the house of *Ommiyah* then in that place, *Ayesha*, in whose house the body of the prophet lay interred, would not suffer his remains to be deposited there. This gave great disgust to all the members of *Ali*'s family; so that the animosities between them and the house of *Ommiyah* rose to a greater height than ever. According to some authors, therefore, he was inhumed in the common burying-place, called *Al Baki*, at *Medina*. Others say, his body was placed in his mother *Fâtema*'s tomb; and, lastly, others relate, that it was buried at *Yanbo*, a town on the sea *Al Kolzom*, at no very great distance from *Medina*, without handing down to us any account of the circumstances attending that event [x].

SECT. VI.

Moâwiyah *becomes sole emperor of the* Moslems.

BY *Hasan*'s resignation of the *Khalifat*, and the cession he made of the territories over which he presided, *Moâwiyah* became sole and supreme emperor of the *Moslems*. *Hosein*, indeed, *Ali*'s second son, possessed the hearts of the people; but *Moâwiyah*, who was a man of steady conduct and great abilities, had the army at his devotion. He was the son of *Abu Sofiân*, who was one of the principal persons of the tribe of *Koreish*, and commanded the forces of that tribe both at the battles of *Bedr* and *Ohod*; in the latter of which he was victorious over the *Moslems*. His courage, riches, and great capacity, rendered him the most conspicuous person of his tribe; so that *Mohammed* met with vast opposition from him in the execution of his designs. After the action of *Ohod*,

[u] D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 435. [w] KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 435. [x] EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ABULFED. in descript. Arab. p. 45. Oxon. 1712.

as

as one of the commentators on the *Korân* pretends, the *Meccans* were afflicted, at the prayer of the prophet, with so terrible a famine, that they were obliged to feed upon dogs, carrion, burnt bones, and a sort of miserable food made of blood and camel's hair, called *ilhiz*, which the *Arabs* never used to eat but in times of extreme scarcity. At this sorrowful juncture, *Abu Sofiân* expostulated with *Mohammed* in the following terms: "Tell me, I adjure thee by GOD and the relation that is between us, dost thou think thou art sent as a mercy unto all creatures; since thou hast slain the fathers with the sword, and the children with hunger." This discovered a fixed and settled aversion at that time in this noble *Arab* to *Mohammed* and his followers; notwithstanding which, he found himself obliged to submit to that impostor, and embrace *Islamism*, in order to save himself and his family from immediate destruction, after the reduction of *Mecca*. *Moâwiyah* and his wife declared their assent to the two fundamental articles of the *Moslem* creed, the same day that their father *Abu Sofiân* made profession of the *Mohammedan* faith. *Abu Sofiân*, after his conversion, begged three things of *Mohammed*; that he would appoint him commander in chief of all his forces that were to act against the infidels; that he would make his son *Moâwiyah* his secretary, and marry his second daughter *Gazah*. The two first of which petitions he readily granted, but refused to comply with the third. Our curious readers will not be displeased to find here the substance of the prophet's prayer mentioned above, which was conceived in the following terms: "O GOD, set thy foot strongly upon *Modâr*," an ancestor of the *Koreish*, "and give them years like the years of *Joseph*." Whereupon, as the commentator here referred to intimates, the aforesaid dreadful famine immediately ensued [y].

SOON after *Moâwiyah* had assumed the government, the *Khârejites* took the field against him with a considerable army. The *Khalif* first made application to *Hasan*, to march against them with a body of *Arabs*; but that prince refusing to undertake such an expedition, he sent the *Syrian* troops to reduce the rebels to his obedience. These soon brought the *Khârejites* to a general action; but they were defeated with considerable loss, and the rebels remained masters of the field of battle. The *Cûfans*, however, who were much better troops than the *Syrians*, being prevailed upon to take up arms, soon extinguished the rebellion, and settled *Moâwiyah* more

The Khârejites *rebel.*

[y] MS. Hunt. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xxvii. p. 56—61. c. xxxi. p. 64—66. et c. li. p. 102—108. AL BEIDAWI.

firmly

firmly than ever upon the *Moslem* throne. We find this pernicious sect of the *Kharejites* called *Charurgites* by *Theophanes*, who just touches upon the rebellion mentioned here. He also denominates the *Háshemites*, or family of *Hâshem*, *Isamites*, and the people of *Irák*, *Heracites*, or *Herakites*; but has handed down to us very few particulars relating to them. This *Khalif* had been an officer twenty years under *Omar* and *Othmân*, and had greatly distinguished himself in several expeditions. He was inaugurated in the month of the former *Rabí*, and the forty-first year of the *Hejra*. Soon after *Hasan*'s abdication, he constituted *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba* governor of *Cûfa*, *Abd'allah Ebn Ámer* of *Basra* and *Khorasan*, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* of *Medina*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Hazem* of *Damascus*, where, immediately after his departure from *Cûfa*, he fixed his residence. He also appointed again this year, that is, the 41st year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makîn*, *Amru Ebn Al As*, who had adhered to him with so much fidelity, lieutenant, or viceroy, of *Egypt* [z].

Moâwiyah *secures* Ziyâd *in his interest.*

But notwithstanding the success *Moâwiyah* had hitherto met with, *Ziyâd*, his brother by the father's side, tho' a bastard, refused a recognition of his authority. *Ziyâd* was made governor of *Persia* in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, as has been already observed; and discharged his duty in that post with great reputation to himself, and advantage to the people. He was magnanimous and brave, and of an exceeding good capacity; tho' *Abu Sofián* durst not own him for fear of *Omar*. He was born in the very year of the *Hejra*, and, by his eloquence and great abilities, so distinguished himself, that, at a meeting of the COMPANIONS in *Omar*'s reign, *Amru Ebn Al As* publickly declared, that, had he been of the tribe of *Korcish*, he would have driven all the *Arabs* before him with his walking-stick. In *Omar*'s time, he had been made a *Kádi*, or *judge*; and *Al Mogheirah*, for incontinency, had been brought before him; but either out of favour, or because the witnesses failed in point of proof, he dismissed the person accused, and ordered the witnesses to be scourged severely. This could not but greatly indear him to *Al Mogheirah*, who, from that moment, contracted a most intimate acquaintance and cordial friendship with him. When *Hasan* resigned the *Khalifat* to *Moâwiyah*, *Ziyâd* was lieutenant of *Persia*, and resided in that quality at *Istakhra*, or *Estakhr*. Here he had erected a very strong citadel, for his farther security, which he made the place of his habitation.

[z] EBN AL ATHIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 193. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, apud Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 46. ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 289. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 344, 345.

Moâ-

Moâwiyah fearing leſt he ſhould join the houſe of *Hâſhem*, and by that junction give him no ſmall diſturbance, owned him publickly for his brother; thinking this might be a means of bringing him over to his intereſt. In order likewiſe to facilitate the execution of his ſcheme, he procured the aſſiſtance of *Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba*, his governor of *Cûfa*; who made ſo good a uſe of his friendſhip with *Ziyâd*, that at laſt he prevailed upon him to take the oath of allegiance to *Moâwiyah*. The *Khalif*, in return, by the teſtimony of the *Greek* ſlave, ſtill living, on whoſe wife *Abu Sofiân*, being heated with wine, before the publication of the *Korân*, had begotten *Ziyâd*, proved his baſtard brother to be the real ſon of *Abu Sofiân*, and conſequently a member of the tribe of *Koreiſh*. This teſtimony was ſo deciſive, that it amounted to a full eviction of the point to be proved, and of courſe demonſtrated, that *Ziyâd* was moſt nearly related to the *Khalif*. However, this was the firſt time that the *Korân* was openly violated in a judicial way of proceeding. For, by the deciſion of that book, the child belonged to the *Greek*, as its legal father, who had married its mother; ſince, according to this deciſion, which had been left by *Mohammed* as a direction in all ſuch caſes, *the child was adjudged to the blankets, and the whore to the ſtone*; that is, the child was to be brought up, and the whore to be ſtoned. This conduct, therefore, of the *Khalif* gave great diſguſt to his family, as a baſtard had been thereby introduced into it, and his father's memory ſeverely reflected upon. But this gave no manner of uneaſineſs to *Moâwiyah*; as, by bringing his ſcheme to bear, he had ſecured intirely in his intereſt the greateſt man of the age. This important affair was thus happily terminated in the 42d year of the *Hejra*, according to *Al Makin*, and not the 44th, as we find aſſerted by Mr. *Ockley*; who does not only oppoſe the aforeſaid author, but is likewiſe inconſiſtent with himſelf in what he has advanced on this occaſion [a].

THE 43d year of the *Hejra* was remarkable for the death of the famous *Amru Ebn Al As*, of whom *Mohammed* is reported to have ſaid, *There is no truer a* Moſlem, *nor any one and* Abmore *ſtedfaſt in the faith, than* Amru. He was juſtly eſteemed one of the greateſt men amongſt the *Arabs* of the age in which he lived, as ſtanding diſtinguiſhed from almoſt all his countrymen by his quick apprehenſion, his ſolid judgment, his undaunted courage, his ſingular reſolution, as well as his

Amru Ebn Al As

Abdallah Ebn Salâm *die.*

[a] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. hiſt. univ. vol. i. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 113. OCKLEY's hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 112—116.

moſt

moſt profound ſagacity and penetration. He was always excellent in his advice, ſure and fixed in his reſolves, and ſpeedy in their execution. He was made lieutenant of *Egypt*, which he conquered in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, and was continued by *Othmân* four years in that poſt. Being afterwards diſmiſſed by the laſt *Khalif* from that high office, he retired into *Paleſtine*, where he lived a private life. After *Othmân*'s death, at *Moâwiyah*'s invitation, he entered into his ſervice, and was, indeed, his principal ſupport. That *Khalif* ſent him once more into *Egypt*, in the quality of lieutenant of that rich and fertile country; the whole revenue of which he allowed him, upon condition that he kept on foot a body of troops ſufficient for its defence. We are told by an oriental author, that, before he embraced *Iſlamiſm*, he wrote ſome ſatirical pieces upon *Mohammed*; and that ſome of his proverbs and poetry are ſtill extant. The dying ſpeech he made to his children is ſaid to be maſculine and pathetic. In it he laments that he ever exerciſed his wit in expoſing the prophet. This year likewiſe died *Abd'allah Ebn Salâm*, a *Jew*, very intimate with *Mohammed*, and an early convert to his religion. One of the *Koreiſh* lent him once 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually paid at the time appointed; and to this honeſt action a paſſage of the *Korân* is ſuppoſed to allude. He was believed by ſome to have aſſiſted *Mohammed* in the compiling his pretended revelations; which if we admit, 'tis no wonder he ſhould be ſo commended for his knowlege and faith in the *Korân*. After the death of *Amru*, *Moâwiyah* made his brother, *Atha Ebn Abu Sofiân*, governor of *Egypt*, who died the following year. *Okba Ebn Amer* ſucceeded him, and was removed from his poſt in the year of the *Hejra* 45. After him came *Moſeilama Ebn Mokhalled* of *Medina*, who exerciſed the function of lieutenant of *Egypt* till the death of *Moâwiyah*. *Amru* died on the feſtival of *Al Fatar*, and his ſon *Abd'allah* prayed over him at the place of his interment. About this time, *Moâwiyah* proſcribed and exerciſed great cruelties upon the followers of *Ali*, as we learn from *Abu'l-Faraj* [b].

The Khalif *makes* Ziyâd *go-*

MOAWIYAH being informed, that the territory of *Baſra* was infeſted with robbers to ſuch a degree, that the people there could not follow their lawful occupations; and that this

[b] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 47. MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi ſup. AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, RICARDI confutat. legis Saracenicæ, c. 13. JOH. ANDREAS, de confuſ. ſectæ Mohametanæ, c. 2. PRID. life of Mahom. p. 33, 34. Al Kor. MOHAM. ſ. iii, iv, xvi. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. OCKLEY, ubi ſup. p. 110—112.

was chiefly occasioned by *Abd'allah*'s ill-judged lenity, who would bring none of them to condign punishment; he sent *Al Hâreth* to preside over the *Basrans* in *Abd'allah*'s room, and commanded him positively to put an end to all those disorders. But this *Hareth* not being able to effect, *Ziyâd* was dispatched to *Basra*, to extirpate the gang of banditti that so harassed the inhabitants of that place and the neighbouring district. When *Ziyâd* first came thither, he found such violences, and even murders, committed in the night-time there, that it was not safe to walk in the streets after sun-set. Having, therefore, convened the principal citizens, he expressed his abhorrence of those disorders that so disturbed the public repose in very severe terms; declaring, at the same time, his firm resolution to put an end to them. As he was the best orator of the age, except *Ali*, and the more he spoke the more he excelled, his speech made a deep impression upon the minds of all that heard it; and, to inforce what he there advanced with the greater spirit, he published an order, forbidding any person of what quality soever to appear in the streets, or in any public place, after the hour of evening-prayer, upon pain of death. To have this order punctually executed, he appointed parties of soldiers to patrol, and commanded them to put to the sword all that they should meet with out of their houses after that hour. This regulation produced an exceeding good effect. For, tho' the first night 200 persons were killed, the second night only five were slain, and the third none at all. In fine, by the prudent, as well as vigorous, measures taken on this occasion, the public tranquillity was restored; which so pleased *Moáwiyah*, that he annexed the lieutenancy of *Khoraſân*, *Sijistân*, *India*, *Bahrein*, and *Ammân*, to *Ziyâd*'s government. The very name of *Ziyâd* made all the villains within his jurisdiction tremble; tho' he was by no means of a cruel or barbarous disposition. However, as he ruled with the strictest justice, and obliged all men to pay a proper regard to his authority, the profligate part of the *Khalif*'s subjects in those parts stood in great awe of him. He was sent to *Basra*, according to *Al Makin*, in the 43d year of the *Hejra*; which renders it probable that he was constituted governor of *Khoraſân*, *Sejestân*, *Sejistân*, or *Sijistân*, *India*, *Bahrein*, and *Ammân*, the following year. Nor can it well be doubted but that peace and harmony reigned in all those countries at least the remaining part of that year [c].

error of Basra, Cûfa, Sijistân, India, Bahrein, *and* Ammân.

[c] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ziyâd*. Khondemir, MS. Hunt. ubi sup. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi sup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 110, 111, et alib.

In

Hakem Ebn Amer *and* Zeid Ebn Thabet *die.*

In the 45th year of the *Hejra*, *Ziyâd* sent *Hakem Ebn Amer* with a body of troops to possess himself of a fortress situated on mount *Ashal*. *Hakem* executed his orders with such success, that he killed a great number of the enemy, seized the place, and brought off with him all the riches he found in it. *Ziyâd* receiving advice of this, dispatched a courier to him, to demand the *white* and the *yellow*, that is, the *silver* and the *gold*, which had fallen into his hands, by virtue of a letter he had received from the *Khalif*; commanding him to send this, in order to have it deposited in the treasury for public use. But *Hakem* refused to comply with this demand; intimating to *Ziyâd*, at the same time, that an injunction of the *Korân*, which had settled the distribution of the spoil in such a manner as rendered his compliance unlawful, was superior in point of authority to any of the *Khalif*'s letters. He, therefore, took out the fifth part of the spoil, declared by the *Korân* to belong to GOD, *to the apostle, his kindred, the orphans, the poor, and the traveller*, and divided the rest amongst the captors. After which, as he expected to fall a sacrifice to the *Khalif*'s resentment, for adhering so closely to the text of the *Korân*, he said, "O GOD! if I be in thy favour, take me." Which request, says a *Moslem* writer, was granted, and he soon after died. This year was likewise fatal to *Zeid Ebn Thabet*, one of *Mohammed*'s secretaries, when he dictated the *Korân*, who departed this life in it. He wrote the copy which was used by the *Khalifs*, or *Imâms*, at the command of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, that remained many ages after, and was written in an exceeding fair hand. *Zeid* was a man of surprizing parts. He learned *Hebrew* so well in fifteen days, as to be able to read the books of the *Jews* with great facility. *Persic* he also learned of one of *Khosrû*'s embassadors, in eighteen days; as likewise *Ethiopic*, *Greek*, and *Coptic*, of one of *Mohammed*'s slaves, in a very short time. He was extremely pleasant and facetious at home, but very reserved abroad. We are told by an *Arab* author, that, at the battle of *the ditch*, he was fifteen years old. One of his remarkable sentences was, *He that pays not a proper regard to men will not reverence* GOD. In the year we are now upon, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, the governor of *Medina*, performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to Mr. *Ockley*'s writers, *Ziyad* was appointed lieutenant of *Bajra* by *Moawiyah*, in the 45th year of the *Hejra*; nor that this is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [d].

[d] MS. Hunt. ubi sup. Al Kor. Moham. f. viii. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 144, 145. OCKLEY, ubi sup p. 116. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

THE

THE following year, *Moâwiyah* bribed a *Chriſtian* ſlave to poiſon *Abd'alrahmân*, the ſon of the famous *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who was become extremely popular amongſt the ſoldiers, both on his father's account and his own, being himſelf a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit; which not a little excited the jealouſy of the *Khalif*. *Abd'alrahmân* had juſt before made an incurſion into the imperial territories, where, notwithſtanding the *Greek* gariſons left to defend them, he committed dreadful depredations; laying waſte almoſt whole provinces, without oppoſition. The ſlave was prevailed upon to perpetrate this villainy, by a promiſe *Moâwiyah* made him, not only to remit his tribute, but likewiſe to confer upon him the government of *Hems*. However, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedneſs, having been ſoon cut off by *Abd'alrahmân*'s ſon, *Khâled*; who was impriſoned for this by the *Khalif*, but afterwards releaſed on paying the money for expiation demanded in all ſuch caſes. This year was alſo remarkable for the execution of *Hejer*, a perſon of ſingular piety and auſterity of life, but a great friend to *Ali*, and conſequently an avowed enemy to the houſe of *Ommiyah*. He was not afraid ſeveral times to affront *Ziyâd*, nor even to curſe him to his face; which induced that governor, who reſided ſix months of the year at *Cûfa*, where *Hejer* had his habitation, and the other ſix at *Baſra*, to preſs the *Khalîf* to put him to death, leſt, during the time of his abſence, he ſhould raiſe at *Cûfa* ſome commotions. *Moâwiyah*, therefore, eſpecially as he had not ſcrupled likewiſe to ſpeak reproachfully of him, ſent an order for his execution; which was performed at *Gadrah*, or *Gadarah*, a village near *Damaſcus*, where *Hejer* behaved with ſurprizing intrepidity and reſolution. After his head was ſtruck off, his body was waſhed, and buried in the chains that had been faſtened upon it before his death, in purſuance of the directions he had given. Several of his accomplices alſo ſuffered with him. Theſe executions not a little diſpleaſed *Ayeſha*, who had interceded for *Hejer* and his companions in vain, and who did not fail to upbraid *Moâwiyah* with the cruelty he diſcovered on this occaſion, the next time ſhe ſaw him at *Medina*. In the mean time, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, one *Sapor*, who had ſeized *Armenia*, ſent an embaſſador to *Moâwiyah*, named *Serji*, or *Sergius*, to deſire his aſſiſtance againſt the *Greeks*. Another embaſſador likewiſe came at the ſame time from the *Greek* emperor, called *Andrew*, who was a eunuch, and one of that prince's particular favourites, in order to hinder *Moâwiyah* from ſending any ſuccours to the rebel *Sapor*. *Moâwiyah* did not ſeem ſtrongly diſpoſed to liſten to either of them; but only in general told them, that, as both their maſters were enemies to him, he would grant his

The remarkable events that happened in the 46th year of the Hejra.

protection to that prince who would pay him the moſt for it. Upon which, *Andrew* retired, and had the next day another audience of the *Khalif*, whom he found in conference with *Sergius*, his antagoniſt. As the latter did not riſe from his ſeat, when *Andrew* made his appearance, the *Greek* embaſſador took great offence at his conduct, and gave him ſome very opprobrious language for it; which the other returned, by reproaching him with the loſs of his virility. This ſo incenſed *Andrew*, that he threatened him with the infliction of a certain puniſhment that ſhould occaſion a ſimilar defect in him. After which, begging the *Khalif* again not to aſſiſt *Sapor*, that prince anſwered him in the following terms: "Give "us the whole revenue of your dominions, and we will permit "you to be called the lords of them; which if you refuſe, "we will drive you out of them." "Then," replied *Andrew*, "you look upon the *Arabs* as the ſubſtance, and the "*Greeks* as the ſhadow only; we muſt, therefore, implore "the aſſiſtance of the Lord of heaven and earth." Then, after having obtained an audience of leave, he returned home, by the way of *Malatia*, the *Melitene* of *Ptolemy*, which ſome place in *Cappadocia*, and others in *Armenia*; acquainting the imperial governors, or prefects, poſted on the frontiers, with the affront he had received from *Sergius*, whom he begged them to intercept in his paſſage through the emperor's territories. This they did, carried him to *Malatia*, caſtrated him there, and then diſmiſſed him with his teſticles hung about his neck. *Moâwiyah Ebn Amer* and *Baſbar Ebn Artah* greatly extended the *Moſlem* conqueſts in *Africa* this preſent year, penetrating to the very heart of *Africa Propria*, or the territory of *Carthage*, and the ſpot on which the city of *Kairwân* ſtood. The forces commanded by thoſe generals in this expedition, conſiſting of about 10,000 men, reduced *Karan*, or *Karana*, *Caſsa*, and ſeveral other towns. When they came to the ſpot above-mentioned, they found that a town had been erected there by *Moâwiyah Ebn Khodbaj*, which, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Al Makin*, by no means pleaſed them. We are told by a very learned author, that the city of *Kairwân* was either built, repaired, or enlarged, by *Okba Ebn Naſe'*, who formed a ſettlement upon this ſpot immediately after *Amru Ebn Al Âs* had conquered *Barka*. The ſame author alſo relates, that the *Khalif Moâwiyah* ordered a proper gariſon to be left at *Kairwân*, which ſtood about 33 paraſangs of *Carthage*, and 12 of the ſea, in order to ſecure the country from the inſults of the *Roman* and *Sicilian* fleets, to keep the perfidious *Africans* in awe, and to have a place of ſafety in which he might depoſite the prodigious treaſures he had amaſſed. Some of the writers followed

lowed by *Golius* affirm, that the *Moſlems* carried their arms as far as the borders of *Nigritia* this campaign; which may not be very remote from truth: but that the conqueſts here mentioned were made in the 40th year of the *Hejra*, as *Golius* ſeems to believe, or rather poſitively aſſerts, we muſt not admit; ſince certain *Arab* hiſtorians of good repute, who place this expedition in the 46th year of that æra, will not permit us to give our aſſent to ſuch an opinion [e].

Nothing very remarkable happens in the year of the Hejra 47.

THE next year, being the 47th year of the *Hejra*, we meet with ſcarce any thing remarkable performed by the *Khalif Moâwiyah*; except we will allow, that he firſt harangued the people this year from the pulpit in a ſitting poſture, to which he was obliged by the prominence of his belly, and the great quantity of fat he carried about with him; and that he began this year to preach before he ſaid prayers, fearing that the people would otherwiſe retire out of the moſque before he had delivered all that he had to ſay to them. As the introduction of theſe two cuſtoms may be conſidered as a variation from the practice of all his predeceſſors, it has been looked upon as a remarkable event, and ſeems to have been placed in the 47th year of the *Hejra* by *Abu'l-Faraj*. About this time alſo *Baſhar*, one of *Moâwiyah*'s commanders, as we learn from *Theophanes*, made ſeveral dreadful incurſions into the *Chriſtian* territories, plundering and laying waſte all the country through which he moved [f].

The Arabs *beſiege* Conſtantinople *in vain.*

ABOUT the latter end of the following year, *Moâwiyah* ſent his ſon *Yezid* with a powerful army to beſiege *Conſtantinople*. The *Arab* authors have tranſmitted down to us no account of the particulars of that ſiege; but only mention three or four of the moſt eminent of the COMPANIONS, whoſe zeal, notwithſtanding their great age, prompted them to attend the army on this occaſion, and to ſuſtain incredible fatigues. The *Moſlem* forces ſuffered extremely in their march; but they were animated to ſurmount all difficulties, by a famous tradition; according to which, the prophet, in his life-time, declared, that "the ſins of the firſt army which "ſhould take the city of *Cæſar* were forgiven." According to *Theophanes*, this army, when on its march, was joined by a body of *Arab* troops, under the command of one *Fadal*, or *Fadl*, an *Arab* general, ſent by *Moâwiyah* to the aſſiſtance of *Sapor*, who came to an untimely death. After which

[e] MS. Hunt. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. EBN AL ATHIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 193, 194. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164, 264—269, et alib. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moaviah*, p. 587. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 289. [f] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 194. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 289, 290.

event, *Fadl* had been reduced to great straits, out of which he was happily delivered by the forces under the conduct of *Yezid*. After this junction, *Yezid* marched to *Chalcedon*, where for some time he remained, and consequently kept *Constantinople* in a manner blocked up; tho' it does not appear from *Theophanes*, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by the *Moslem* historians, that he ever formed the siege of that city. After a short stay in the neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, the *Moslem* army decamped, and took its rout through *Phrygia*, on its return home, with a considerable number of prisoners. In their passage, the *Arabs* possessed themselves of *Amorium*, a city of *Phrygia*, in which they left a garison of 5000 men. In this expedition, the famous *Abu Ayub*, who had been with *Mohammed* at the battles of *Bedr* and *Ohod*, lost his life. His tomb is held in such veneration amongst the *Moslems*, that the *Soltâns* of the *Othmân* family gird their swords on at it, upon their accession to the throne. A detachment of the imperial forces retook *Amorium* the following winter, when all the neighbouring tract was covered with snow, by surprize, and put all the *Arab* garison they found therein to the sword [g].

The death of Hasan. THE 49th year of the *Hejra* produced no remarkable event, an account of which has been handed down to us by the *Moslem* historians, except the death of *Hasan*, the last *Khalif*, who was poisoned in the manner already related. *Moâwiyah* is said to have insulted his ashes in an indecent manner; which occasioned some verses to be written upon him by one, who seems not to have been a friend of the house of *Ommiyah*. These verses, or rather some few of them, have been preserved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [h].

Yezid declared Moâwiyah's *successor.* THE next year *Al Mogheirah* died of the plague, which made great havock there, at *Cûfa*. He was the governor of that city at the time of his death, a very active man, of quick parts, and had lost one of his eyes at the battle of *Yermouk*; tho' some pretend, that this loss was occasioned by viewing an eclipse. According to *Abulfeda*, the new city of *Kairwân*, was pretty near finished this year, though the last hand was not put to it till the 55th year of the *Hejra*. Some authors affirm, that the *Arabs* considered it as the capital of *Africa Propria*, or the territory of *Carthage*; and that it stood upon the spot which had been formerly occupied by

[g] EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Hunt. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah*, p. 587. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 291, 292. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 436. [h] ABU JAAFAR. AL TABAR. apud Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 47, 48. ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid.

the antient *Cyrene*. We have a confused and indistinct account of this city given us by Mr. *Ockley*, that does not sufficiently correspond with what has been related of it by the authors to whom he refers his readers. *Kairwân* afterwards became very eminent, not only for its stately buildings and immense wealth, but likewise for the study of the sciences and polite literature, which flourished there. This year also *Moâwiyah* prevailed upon many of the *Moslems* to take the oath of allegiance to his son *Yezid*, as his partner, or collegue, in the *Khalifat*; but neither *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, *Hosein Ebn Ali*, *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, nor *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, would concur with the other principal *Arabs* in this particular. About this time died *Rabiya*, one of the earliest converts to *Islamism*, who, according to *Mohammed*, resembled more than any of his countrymen the angel *Gabriel*[1].

THE following year, being the 51st year of the *Hejra*, *Saad Ebn Zend*, the last of those who had a positive promise of paradise from *Mohammed*, departed this life. About the same time, *Moâwiyah*, who then resided at *Damascus*, not thinking it proper, that the pulpit and walking-stick of the prophet should remain in the hands of the murderers of *Othmân*, gave orders to have them both carried from *Medina*. But the moment some of the *Arabs*, in obedience to the *Khalif*'s commands, were upon the point of removing them, to their great astonishment and surprize, there happened such an eclipse of the sun, that the stars themselves very clearly appeared. This threw them into the utmost consternation, as it seemed to them a manifest indication of the divine displeasure, for their presuming to lay hands upon the apostle's pulpit, in order to remove it from the place where he himself had ordered it to be fixed. Being, therefore, extremely frighten'd at so unusual, and, as they apprehended, so supernatural, an event, they immediately desisted from carrying the *Khalif*'s design into execution. Nay, it made so deep an impression upon their minds, that it was not forgotten some years afterwards, when the *Khalif Abd'almalec* had the same design in view. One of the citizens of *Medina*, in order to divert him from it, then represented to him, that a prodigy had happened on a similar occasion in the reign of *Moâwiyah*; and that a tradition, derived from *Mohammed* himself, pronounced such an attempt highly criminal: upon which, that prince laid aside all thoughts of executing any part of the

Moâwiyah *dares not remove* Mohammed's *pulpit*.

[1] MS. Hunt. ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162, 163, 164. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48.

scheme he had formed. After him, *Al Walid*, in his pilgrimage, meditated the removal of the prophet's pulpit from *Medina*; but the people of that city discovering a great reluctance to put it into the hands of the messenger he sent for it; telling him, that "his master, by removing it, would expose himself to the divine displeasure;" he permitted it to remain in its former situation. *Amru Ebn Abd'alaziz* afterwards proposed the attempt *Moâwiyah*, *Abd'almalec*, and *Al Walid*, intended to have made, to *Soliman Ebn Abd'almâlec*, when he came in pilgrimage that way; but neither would he give his consent that the pulpit should be taken from the spot on which it had been first erected. *Moâwiyah*'s intention in the point above-mentioned, or rather his discovery of that intention, has been placed by *Ebn Al Athir* some-where near the 51st, or the 52d, year of the *Hejra*; but as a remarkable solar eclipse is said to have happened in the 54th year of this æra, it may perhaps, with greater propriety, be ranked amongst the principal events of that year [k].

When the expedition to Constantinople *was undertaken.*

THO' the authors followed by Mr *Ockley* place *Yezid*'s expedition to *Constantinople*, or rather *Chalcedon*, in the 48th year of the *Hejra*, as has been already observed; yet it was not in reality undertaken till four years after, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. According to that historian, *Abú Ayub*, who either was killed, or died a natural death, whilst the *Moslem* army remained in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, was buried at the foot of the wall of that city. He had distinguished himself in *Mohammed*'s life-time against those who endeavoured to obstruct the progress of *Islamism*, and was one of the most celebrated of the COMPANIONS [l].

Ziyad *dies.*

IN the 53d year of the *Hejra*, the famous *Ziyád*, who makes so considerable a figure in the *Arab* history, departed this life; being at his death about fifty-three years of age. He died of the plague on the third day of the month of *Ramadân*. A little before he was seized by the fatal distemper that put a period to his days, he informed the *Khalif*, that he had intirely reduced *Irâk* to a state of subjection to him, and begged that he might have the lieutenancy of *Arabia Petræa* conferred upon him; which was immediately granted. The *Arabs* of that country, being apprized of this, were struck with great terror and consternation, as knowing with what rigour and severity he had governed the people of *Irâk*. Upon the first news of it, *Ebn Amer*, attended by a vast number of the people, went to the temple of *Mecca*, and, with great fer-

[k] ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. OCKLEY's hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 130—132.
[l] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48.

vency

vency and devotion, begged, that GOD would never permit him to come amongſt them. In the mean time, *Ziyâd* being ſeized with the plague, felt ſuch an intolerable pain in one of his hands, that he conſulted a *Kâdi*, as a ſpiritual director, whether he might not cut it off, without being guilty of any crime; but received for anſwer from him, that ſuch an action was abſolutely unlawful. However, notwithſtanding this deciſion, the pain increaſing to ſuch a degree as rendered it inſupportable, he came to a reſolution to ſubmit to amputation; tho', at the ſight of the fire and the cauterizing irons, that were to be made uſe of in the operation, his heart immediately failed him. We are told by a *Moſlem* author of good repute, that, at this time, *Ziyâd* had an hundred and fifty phyſicians about him; three of whom had formerly belonged to *Khoſrû*, the ſon of *Hormuz*, king of *Perſia*; but as the time of his death was coming on, or, to make uſe of our author's words, *the decree was ſealed, and the thing determined*, they found it impoſſible to ſave him. He was buried near *Cûfa*, by which place he paſſed in his journey to *Arabia*, whither he was going, in order to take poſſeſſion of his new government there. When *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* heard of his death, he is reported to have ſaid, "Go thy way, thou ſon "of *Somyah*; this world did not ſtay with thee, neither haſt "thou attained to the other." In order to underſtand which ſentence more perfectly, it will be proper to obſerve, that *Somyah* was the name of the *Greek* ſlave's wife, on whoſe body *Abu Soſiân* was ſuppoſed to have begotten *Ziyâd*; and that *Abd'allah Ebn Amer* was the perſon *Ziyâd* ſucceeded in the government of *Baſra* [m].

UPON *Ziyâd*'s firſt arrival at *Cûfa*, the lieutenancy of which place was annexed in his favour to that of *Baſra*, as has been already obſerved, he told the *Cûfans*, that at firſt he propoſed to have brought with him a body of 2000 men, as his guards; but that afterwards conſidering that they were honeſt men, he had taken care only to be attended by his own family. This did not hinder them from throwing duſt, or rather gravel, at him. Upon which, he ordered his domeſtics to ſecure the doors of the moſque where the people of the city were aſſembled, and commanded every man there to ſeize his neighbour. Then he had the perſons ſeized brought before him, and as many of them as would purge themſelves by oath of the late inſult that had been offered him, he immediately diſmiſſed; but ordered the hands of all the others, who amounted to about eighty, to be cut off upon the ſpot. Soon after which,

Some account of him.

[m] MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon num. 495. EBN AL ATHIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 46.

he issued an order, injoining all the citizens of *Cûfa* to leave their doors open all night; engaging himself to indemnify every particular person for any loss he should sustain by complying with it. No theft, or robbery, was committed after the introduction of this custom; but some cattle one night finding their way into a shop, did considerable damage there. Of which when *Ziyâd* was informed, he permitted every one of the inhabitants to leave a hurdle, or rake, at his door; which practice prevailed ever after at *Basra*, and many other towns of *Irâk*. As no one durst appear out of his house after the hour of evening-prayer, 'tis no wonder the *Cûfans* should have been so secure in the possession of their properties and effects; nor can it be any matter of surprize, that the order injoining this should have been so punctually observed, when it is known, that the least contravention of that order was punished with immediate death. Of this the following instance may serve as an evident proof: A shepherd coming one night through the town with his flock, was seized by one of *Ziyâd*'s patrols, and instantly brought before him. The poor man, in defence of himself, when he was accused of having contemned the governor's late edict, said, that he was intirely ignorant of it. *Ziyâd* replied, "I am willing to "believe, that what thou tellest me is true; but as the safety "of all the *Cûfans* depends upon thy death, it is necessary "that thou shouldst die." This sentence was no sooner pronounced than his head was struck off, to the inexpressible terror of all those who were present at the execution. But tho' *Ziyâd*'s wholsome severities fell heavy upon certain individuals, and in some other countries might seem to have savoured of cruelty, yet they kept the inhabitants of *Irâk*, a very faithless and treacherous people, in awe of him; insomuch that, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, the citizens of *Basra*, as well as those of *Cûfa*, never feared any one more than *Ziyâd*, tho' they enjoyed an uninterrupted repose under his just and impartial administration [n].

But whatever may have been advanced to the contrary by the last-mentioned author, the following remarkable story of him is an evident proof that he had something cruel and savage in his disposition. One *Abu'l Mogheirah* having been once brought before him, by his command, as the most religious man in *Cûfa*, he offered to give him as much money as he should desire, if he would confine himself to his apartment, and not go to the mosque to perform his devotions. *Abu'l Mogheirah* replied, that he would not omit saying his prayers

[n] Iidem ibid. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ziad*, p. 933. Khondemir, &c.

publickly

publickly on the *congregation-day*, or *Friday*, for the empire of the world. "Then," ſaid *Ziyâd*, "go to the congrega-"tion, but do not talk in the moſque when you are there." "I muſt," anſwered the religious, "encourage that which is "good, and reprove that which is bad." For which anſwer, tho' it be a precept pretty frequently mentioned in the *Korân*, *Ziyâd* commanded him to be immediately beheaded. Nay, as a farther inſtance of ſomething that at leaſt reſembled cruelty in him, it may be obſerved, that he aſſembled the people a little before his death, in order to impoſe upon them a ſort of abjuration, or renunciation by oath of every kind of connexion with the friends of the houſe of *Hâſhem* threatening with death all who would not ſubmit to ſuch a renunciation. But at the appointed time, when this affair ſhould have been brought to a concluſion, the people being aſſembled for that purpoſe, he was ſeized with the plague, and never afterwards made his appearance amongſt them; which they all, and eſpecially thoſe who retained any veneration for the memory of *Ali*, conſidered as a very providential deliverance. To what has been ſaid of this famous *Moſem*, we may add, from *Khondemir*, the *Perſian* hiſtorian, that the laſt letter he wrote to *Moâwiyah* was couched in the following terms: "My left-hand is here employed in governing the "people of *Irâk*; but my right-hand is idle; put *Arabia* in-"to it, to be governed, and it will give you a good account "of it." Which requeſt being granted, and the inhabitants of *Medina* thereby greatly alarmed, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, one of them, in his public prayers, offered up to GOD this petition: "O GOD! ſatisfy this right hand, which is "idle and ſuperfluous to *Ziyâd*." Which words, as has been juſtly remarked by Mr. *Ockley*, contain a very beautiful alluſion to the name of *Ziyâd*; ſignifying, in *Arabic*, *abundant*, or *ſuperfluous*; and are perfectly conſonant to the ſpirit and genius of that expreſſive and harmonious language. Soon after this prayer, according to an *Arab* author, a peſtilential ulcer ſeized one of the fingers of his right-hand, of which he lay ill a few days, and then expired in exquiſite torture. Some of his deſcendents formed a dynaſty in *Yaman*, where they reigned under the name of the *Banu Ziyâd*. The *Khârejites*, as well as the partiſans of *Ali*, made ſome attempts to diſturb his adminiſtration; but, by his ſevere and rigorous conduct, he proved ſuperior to them, and in a ſhort time extinguiſhed all their commotions. In fine, by the ſword which he drew, to make uſe of *Abu Jaafar*'s expreſſion, he ſmoothed the *Khalif*'s government in *Irâk*, and ſo effectually ſilenced all murmurings and complaints there, that not one of the

the *Irâkians*, how powerful ſoever he might be, durſt open his mouth againſt him o.

Samrah's *cruelty.*

BUT *Ziyâd*'s adminiſtration, rigorous and ſevere as it was, muſt have been deemed gentle and mild in reſpect of that of *Samrah*, his lieutenant at *Baſra*, who was abhorred by all men for his cruelty. During *Ziyâd*'s ſix months abſence from *Baſra*, he reſiding one half of the year at *Cûfa*, *Samrah* had put to death no leſs than 8000 perſons there; which greatly ſhocked *Ziyâd*; who aſked him, whether he was not afraid, leſt, in ſuch a number, he might have murdered one innocent *Moſlem?* *Samrah* replied, that, if he had deſtroyed double that number of *Baſrans*, it would not have given him the leaſt uneaſineſs or concern. According to *Abu Sawâr*, he killed forty-ſeven *Moſlems* one morning; every one of which had got the *Korân* by heart. A party of his horſe marching out of the city on a certain occaſion, and meeting a peaſant at a little diſtance from it, one of them ſtruck him through with his lance. *Samrah*, ſoon after coming up, found the poor wretch wallowing in his own blood; and, upon inquiry, was told, that one of his men had accidentally killed him. To which he made no other reply than, "When you hear "we are mounted, beware of our lances." This year, being the fifty-third of the *Hejra*, *Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham*, the laſt king of *Ghaſſân*, a large account of whom our readers will find in a preceding part of the hiſtory we are now upon, departed this life; but what country, city, or town, was the ſcene of this event, we are not certainly informed. If *Yezid* did not penetrate through *Armenia* and *Natolia*, and advance as far as the ſuburbs of *Conſtantinople* with his army, before the 52d year of the *Hejra*, as we find aſſerted by M. *D'Herbelot*, he could not well have finiſhed his expedition, and arrived at *Damaſcus*, before the commencement of the following year; eſpecially if we will admit, with the laſt-mentioned author, that he ſowed and reaped whilſt his forces remained in the neighbourhood of that capital. Be that as it will, the *Turks*, even at this day, viſit the tomb of *Abu Ayub* above-mentioned with great devotion, and call the ſpot where his body lies interred *Eyub*. Some of the writers followed by *D'Herbelot* ſeem to intimate, that, ſoon after the foregoing expedition, *Moáwiyah* ſent his ſon *Yezid* with an army to reduce the rebels of *Ahwâz*, who refuſed a recognition of his authority. *Yezid*, in purſuance of his orders, according to theſe writers, marched with great celerity to the plain of *Dowlâb*, on the con-

o ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 47. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Hunt. num. 495. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR. OCKLEY, ubi ſup. p. 139, 140.

fines of *Syria* and *Arabia*, where the rebels had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops. Theſe he attacked with ſo much bravery, that, after a ſharp engagement, he intirely defeated them, and thereby reſtored peace to that part of the *Khalif*'s dominions. The authors, who mention this action, call the people out of whom the rebel army was formed, and who exerted themſelves the moſt on this occaſion, in favour of the houſe of *Háſhem*, *Azrakheens* P.

The Arabs make an incurſion into Bukharia.

In the 54th year of the *Hejra*, *Moâwiyah* diſmiſſed *Saad* from the government of *Medina*, and reſtored *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* to that honourable poſt. After this, he diſpatched an order to *Merwân*, to demoliſh *Saad*'s houſe, and ſeize all his effects in *Hejâz*. Upon *Merwân*'s appearance at *Medina*, with a mule to carry off every thing valuable that belonged to *Saad*, the latter was extremely ſurprized, and begged *Merwân* not to ſtrip him in ſo unmerciful a manner. But the new governor told him, that the *Khalif* muſt be obeyed; and that if he had received an order, during his government, to have pulled down his, *Merwân*'s, houſe, he would not have failed executing it. Upon this, *Saad* produced a letter, formerly ſent him by *Moâwiyah*, commanding him to demoliſh *Merwân*'s houſe; which, out of friendſhip, he had ventured to diſobey, and thereby incurred the *Khalif*'s diſpleaſure. This generous action of *Saad* ſo ſtruck *Merwân*, that he never ceaſed interceding with *Moâwiyah* for his friend, till he had prevailed upon him to revoke the late unjuſt command. Both the governors now clearly perceived, that the *Khalif*'s view in iſſuing the foregoing orders, was to ſet them at variance; but the diſcovery of this wicked deſign ſerved only the more effectually to ſtrengthen the ties of friendſhip between them. About the ſame time, *Moâwiyah* depoſed *Samrah*, *Ziyâd*'s deputy at *Baſra*, whoſe enormous cruelty had rendered him juſtly odious to all the inhabitants of that city. As ſoon as *Samrah* heard this news, he is reported to have ſaid, "God "curſe *Moâwiyah*. If I had ſerved God ſo well as I have "ſerved him, he would not have damned me to all eter-"nity." A ſaying this, which ſufficiently diſcovered the internal deformity of his ſoul, and the deſperation to which he had been driven by a conſciouſneſs of his crimes. Within the courſe of this year, the *Khalif* likewiſe appointed *Obeid'allah*, the ſon of *Ziyâd*, who gave him a very ſatisfactory account of the conduct of all his father's deputies, in their reſpective provinces, lieutenant of *Khoraſân*. Soon after he

P Ebn Al Athir, MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. Abu Sawar, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah*, p. 587.

had

had taken poſſeſſion of his new government, *Obeid'allah*, tho' not then above twenty-five years of age, advanced at the head of a body of troops as far as the mountains of *Bukhâria*, and defeated a *Turkiſh* army that pretended to oppoſe him. The *Turks* loſt a very conſiderable number of men in the action, and the queen, who commanded them, with great difficulty made her eſcape. She had only time to put on one of her buſkins; ſo that ſhe was obliged to leave the other behind her. This, therefore, fell into the hands of the *Arabs*, who valued it at no leſs than 2000 *dinârs* [q].

An inference drawn by Mr. Ockley from ſome obſervations not altogether to be depended upon.

It has been remarked by Mr. *Ockley*, that there was a pretty extraordinary eclipſe, and ſuch a one as happened at *Medina*, when *Moâwiyah* ordered *Mohammed*'s pulpit to be removed from that place, in the 54th year of the *Hejra*; from whence he ſeems to infer, that the command relative to this affair was given in that year, tho' he actually places it two or three years earlier. But perhaps this inference is not altogether to be depended upon, as he has produced no authority in ſupport of the obſervations from whence it is drawn, and as *Eutychius* aſſerts that a ſolar eclipſe, equally remarkable, happened in the 50th year of that æra. For, from thence we may with at leaſt equal juſtice infer, that the aforeſaid attempt was made in the 50th year of the *Hejra* [r].

The Khalif ſends new governors to Baſra and Khoraſân.

Abd'allah, the ſon of *Amru*, having commanded a *Moſlem*'s hand to be cut off, for throwing duſt, or gravel, at him whilſt he was preaching to the people of *Baſra*, of which place he then was governor; ſome of the principal men of the city complained of his conduct to *Moâwiyah*, who removed him from his poſt, and ſubſtituted *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd* in his room. The lieutenancy, therefore, of *Khoraſân* becoming vacant by this removal, the *Khalif* conferred it upon one *Aſlam*, who had not the leaſt merit to recommend him to his maſter's favour; ſo that nothing worthy the attention of an hiſtorian happened in that province during the ſhort term he preſided over the people there. Nor did the year we are now upon, that is, the 55th of the *Hejra*, produce any other remarkable occurrences, at leaſt ſuch as have been taken notice of by the *Moſlem* hiſtorians [s].

Several remarkable occurrences about this time.

But notwithſtanding the taciturnity of the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, the *Chriſtian* writers have mentioned ſeveral remarkable events, as happening about the preſent time, that are not to be paſſed over altogether in ſilence. *Baſhar*, or as he

[q] Een Al Athir, MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495.
[r] Ockley, ubi ſup. p. 130. Eutych. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 360, 361. [s] MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495.

is

is called by *Theophanes*, *Busur*, continued his incursions into the *Christian* territories, which he ravaged without opposition, and conducted from thence a vast number of captives into the *Khalif*'s dominions. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah* and *Kais*, two *Moslem* commanders, appeared at the head of a considerable squadron of ships on the coast of *Cilicia*, with a body of land-forces on board; the first of whom took up his winter-quarters at *Smyrna*, and the other in *Lycia* and *Cilicia*. The *Khalif* also fitted out another fleet, the command of which he gave to one *Khâled*, called by *Theophanes Chale*, with orders to sustain that sent to cruize on the coast of *Cilicia*, in case of need. The following spring the combined *Moslem* fleet presented itself to the view of the *Christians* on the coast of *Thrace*, stretching along from the western promontory, known by the name of *Magnaura*, to the eastern one, called *Cyclobium*. Frequent conflicts happened between it and that of the *Christians*; the particulars of which have not been handed down to us. However, it should seem as if the *Arabs* were superior in those engagements; since we have been told by some writers, that they besieged *Constantinople* the whole summer and spring for several years after the 53d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 672; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, that they thought it advisable to withdraw always in the month of *September* to *Cyzicus*. In this long siege, or rather repeated sieges, the *Arabs* lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships consumed by sea-fire, as it was called, because it burnt under water; being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. The *Arabs* at length, despairing of success, abandoned the enterprize; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the *Scyllæan* promontory. About the same time, three of the emperor's lieutenants, *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, gained a signal victory in *Syria* over *Sofián Ebn Áwf*, who commanded there a numerous body of *Arabs*; but lost in the engagement 30,000 of his men. These misfortunes encouraged the *Mardaites*, or *Maronites*, to seize on mount *Libanus*, where they fortified themselves; and being joined by multitudes of *Christian* captives, slaves, and others, flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount *Taurus*, written corruptly *Maurus* in the present copies of *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, and *Jerusalem*, made frequent incursions into *Syria*, and so harassed and terrified the *Arabs*, who thought that GOD himself at this juncture interposed, in favour of the *Christians*, that *Moáwiyah* not imagining himself able to contend with them and the *Romans* at the same time, sent embassadors to treat of peace with *Constantine*, who met with a gracious reception at the imperial court.

The

The emperor, in order to facilitate an accommodation, which *Moâwiyah* seemed so ardently to desire, sent with the *Arab* embassadors, on their return home, *John Pitzigaudes*, a person of great age and experience, to *Syria*; where, after several conferences, a peace was concluded on the following terms. 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years. 2. That the *Arabs* should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors 3000 pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. It may not be improper to observe here, that, according to the *Christian* historians referred to, in the 53d year of the *Hejra*, there was a dreadful mortality in *Egypt*; in the 54th, *Sofiân Ebn Awf* was defeated by *Florus*, *Petronius*, and *Cyprianus*, in *Syria*; in the 55th, the year we are now upon, *Abd'allah Ebn Kais* and *Fadl*, two *Arab* generals, made a descent on *Crete*, with a body of *Moslem* troops, and passed the ensuing winter there; and, in the 58th, a treaty was signed between *Constantine* and *Moâwiyah*. The articles of the treaty here mentioned not having been extremely honourable to the *Arabs*, 'tis not so much to be wondered at, that both they, and the military operations that preceded them, should have been denied a place in the writings of the *Moslem* historians [t].

Saad takes Samarkand, and defeats the Usbeks.

THE next year, *Moâwiyah* conferred upon *Saad*, *Othmân*'s grandson, the government of *Khorasân*; having removed his predecessor, *Aslam*, as utterly unqualified for that post. *Saad*, soon after his promotion to that dignity, passed the *Jihûn*, or *Amu*, the *Oxus* of the antients, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, and advanced to *Samarkand*, which open'd its gates to him at his approach. Having soon after overthrown an army of the idolatrous *Uzbeks*, he marched directly to *Tarmud*, or *Tirmid*, which immediately surrendered to him. Nor is it said that he lost any considerable number of men in this successful expedition [u].

Four of the principal of the Koreish refuse to acknowledge Yezid Moâwiyah's successor.

IT has been already observed, from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that, in the 50th year of the *Hejrah*, *Moâwiyah* prevailed upon many of the *Moslems* to take the oath of fidelity to his son *Yezid*, as his partner, or collegue, in the *Khalifat*; but that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, *Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Al Khattâb*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm*, would not comply with the *Khalif*'s request in that particular. This memorable event, however,

[t] THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 293—296. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 437. [u] ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182, et alib.

has

has not been set in a full light by that author; so that we shall find ourselves obliged to have recourse to another *Arab* writer, who places it in the 56th year of the *Moslem* æra, in order to give our readers a more perfect and satisfactory account of it. *Moâwiyah* intending to secure the succession in his family, formed a design to render the government, that had been hitherto elective, hereditary; and, for this purpose, used all means imaginable to oblige the people to declare *Yezid* his heir and successor. In order to carry which design effectually into execution, he imagined nothing farther would be requisite than to engage them to take an oath of fidelity to *Yezid*, as his collegue, and partner in the empire. This had been first suggested to *Moâwiyah* by *Al Mogheirah*, the late governor of *Cûfa*; but was disapproved of by *Ziyâd*, whom the *Khalif* had consulted upon the affair, because he knew *Yezid* to be a profligate young fellow, addicted to gaming and drinking, and by no means qualified to govern the *Arabs*. He, therefore, persuaded both *Yezid* and *Moâwiyah*, at least for the present, to lay all thoughts of it aside. But, after *Ziyâd*'s death, *Moâwiyah*, who was always fond of the project, in the 56th year of the *Hejra*, revived it, and wrote circular letters to the principal men in all the provinces about it. The *Syrians*, and people of *Irâk*, came readily into the scheme; as did also *Malec*, the commandant of *Medina*, who advised the *Khalif* to cause *Yezid* to be proclaimed his heir apparent, or rather, as we should imagine, such a notion being countenanced by *Abu Jaafar*, *Al Makin*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, his partner and collegue, in that city. But *Hosein Ebn Ali*, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, the brother of *Ayesha*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, refusing to give their consent to it, the people could by no means be induced to concur with such a measure; tho' *Moâwiyah* did his utmost to prevail upon those chiefs to oblige him in this particular. He came in person to *Medina*, at the head of 1000 horse. He had a conference there with *Ayesha* about the affair; the result of which was, that the *Arabs* in general of the province of *Hejâz* took the oath of allegiance to *Yezid*. He even threatened those that opposed him in this favourite point with his resentment. But all his efforts, with regard to the above-mentioned chiefs, proved ineffectual. They were too powerful to be brought into any of his measures by compulsion. However, as *Hosein* was a man of merit, a near relation, and had the people of *Irâk* at his devotion, he advised *Yezid* never to offer him any violence, if he ever came into his power. *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, being wholly given up to devotion, would, as he told him, declare in his favour, when nobody else opposed him; and therefore would be a proper object of his mercy, if he should ever prove

prove ſuperior to all his enemies. With regard to *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr*, his attention being ſolely fixed on women and play, and he being altogether influenced by the example of others, continued *Moâwiyah* to his ſon *Yezid*, if ever he comes in, he is to be treated with lenity and moderation. But as for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, he has the ſubtilty of the fox, as well as the ſtrength of the lion, ſaid the *Khalif*; and therefore, if ever he can be ſeized, he muſt be cut to pieces. Theſe *Arab* leaders perſiſting in their refuſal to acknowlege *Yezid* either his father's collegue or heir apparent, *Moâwiyah* found himſelf obliged to acquieſce in the meaſures that had already been taken, and durſt not proceed to any acts of violence againſt them. However, he ſo far carried his point, that the *Syrians*, the people of *Irâk*, and the bulk of the *Arab* nation, took the oath of fidelity to *Yezid*; to which they were bribed by large ſums of money, according to *Al Tabari*; tho', if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, this oath was extorted by force from the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina*. Be this as it will, it was certainly a great action, at this juncture, to change an elective monarchy into an hereditary one, when the family of *Hâſhem* had ſo powerful a party amongſt the *Arabs* and the people of *Irâk*, that would infallibly in all points oppoſe *Moâwiyah*, whom they conſidered as their mortal enemy; when there were ſtill living ſeveral of the COMPANIONS, who themſelves aſpired to the *Khalifat*, and who conſequently with great impatience expected *Moâwiyah*'s diſſolution; and when, laſtly, *Yezid* was ſo abandon'd a youth, that his uncle *Ziyâd*, a man of great experience and capacity, thought that nothing could be more diſagreeable than the preceding ſcheme to all the provinces. To which we may add, that the attempt itſelf was an innovation, and might therefore have been attended with fatal conſequences in an empire that had not long been formed, and that had been lately very much weakened by civil diſſenſions. This affair, which had been for ſome time in agitation, being thus brought to a happy concluſion, *Yezid* gave audience to ſeveral embaſſadors, who came to congratulate him on the occaſion, as well as to ſeveral of the *Arabs*, who had undertaken a journey to *Damaſcus*, then the ſeat of the *Moſlem* emperor, to offer him their allegiance. Amongſt the latter, *Al Ahnaf*, *Yezid*'s uncle, made his appearance; and, at his father's requeſt, took an opportunity of converſing with him: after which, being aſked by *Moâwiyah* what he thought of his nephew's capacity, he ſcrupled not to anſwer him in the following terms: "The fear "of GOD will not permit us to lie, and that of you not to "ſpeak truth. You know beſt both his night and his day; "his outſide and his inſide; his going out and his coming "in.

" in. You also know best what you design to do. It is our " business to hear and obey; yours to give counsel to the " people." The *Damascenes* seem to have been some of *Yezid*'s most zealous adherents, and to have distinguished themselves in a particular manner on this occasion [w].

As *Yezid* was now destined to be his father's successor, the old *Khalif* grew extremely fond of him; imagining him to have something grand and majestic in his deportment, and that he was every way qualified to sit at the helm of a puissant empire. Nay, *Moâwiyah*, tho' in other respects a person of great discernment and penetration, could not forbear frequently expressing in conversation the high opinion he entertained of his son's superior abilities. It is said, that, in one of his harangues to the people, he offered up to GOD the following remarkable prayer: " O GOD! if thou knowest " that I have settled the government upon *Yezid*, because, " according to the best of my judgment, I think him quali- " fied for it, confirm it to him; but if I have done it out of " affection, confirm it not." It seems to be insinuated by an *Arab* author, that the road from *Medina* to *Mecca* was about this time infested by robbers, and that great disorders were committed upon it; since, according to him, *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, the commandant of *Medina*, was obliged himself to conduct the *Hadji's*, or pilgrims, to *Mecca*, the preceding year [x].

Moâwiyah *extremely fond of his son.*

THE 57th year of the *Hejra* scarce produced a single event that has merited the attention of any historian. *Theophanes* only observes, that vast swarms of locusts appeared in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, and consequently did incredible damage there, this year. There were likewise at this juncture in *Arabia* great murmurings and discontents, occasioned by the transaction of the preceding year, of which we have just given our readers a full and ample relation. However, such care was taken by the *Khalif*, and the officers he employed, that no open attempt was made against the government [y].

Great murmurings and discontents in Arabia.

THE following year, *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Abu Becr*, and *Mohammed*'s best-beloved wife, departed this life at *Medina*. Her father derived from her his name of *Abu Becr*, the *father of the girl*; she being very young when the prophet married her. She was ever treated by all the *Khalifs* with the utmost respect, except when she exposed herself in the expedition undertaken at her impulse against *Ali*. The *Moslems*

Ayesha and Abdalrahmân Ebn Abu Becr *died*;

[w] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hist. dynast. p. 195. MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Yezid*.

[x] MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. [y] THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 295. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ubi sup.

sometimes called her the *prophetess*; and, when they addressed themselves to her, generally gave her the title of the *mother of the faithful*. She made her exit on the seventh day of the month of *Ramadân*. Her brother *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Beer*, of whom we have spoken above, died a little before her. Soon after the conclusion of the late treaty of peace between the *Christians* and the *Arabs*, the ratifications were exchanged, and *John Pitzigaudes*, the imperial minister, who had been amply rewarded by *Moâwiyah*, for the part he acted in that important affair, returned home to *Constantinople* this same year [z].

as also Abu Horeira.

THE next year, being the 59th of the *Hejra*, died *Abu Horeira*, or the *father of the cat*, so called by *Mohammed*, because of his fondness of a cat, which he always carried about with him. He so constantly went under this appellation, that neither his true name, nor his pedigree, is certainly known. He was one of the prophet's intimate companions, and had so many traditions father'd upon him, that the very number of them renders them suspected to some people; tho' others receive them all as of undoubted authority, without the least hesitation. He is looked upon by many of the *Moslems* as one of the six authors of the *authentic traditions*. His true name, according to the common opinion, was *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Sakhar*; and his conversion to *Islamism* is said to have been effected in the seventh year of the *Hejra*. This year there was a great earthquake in *Mesopotamia*, which did considerable damage to the church of the *Christians* at *Edessa*; but it has not been observed either by the *Christian* or *Moslem* historians, that the edifices in other parts of that country suffered in the least by any of its concussions [a].

Moâwiyah *dies.*

THE 60th year of the *Hejra* was rendered remarkable by the death of *Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân*, who died at *Damascus* about the beginning, or, as others will have it, the middle of the month of *Rajeb*. His last public speech, which he made when he found himself in a declining condition, was to the following effect. "I am like corn that is to be reaped, and "have governed you till we are weary of one another. I "am superior to all my successors, as my predecessors were "superior to me. GOD desires to approach all who are de- "sirous of approaching him. O God! I love to meet thee, "do thou love to meet me!" When he perceived himself at the point of death, he ordered a captain of the guards,

[z] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 296.

[a] ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. et de vit. Moham. p. 158. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 45. THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

and another faithful ſervant, to impart from him the following advice to *Yezid*. "Conſider the *Arabs* as the root and foun-" dation of your empire; and therefore always treat their em-" baſſadors with kindneſs and reſpect. The *Syrians* are your " natural friends, and will defend you from the inſults of " your enemies; and therefore ſhew yourſelf a father to " them: but never keep them long out of their own coun-" try; for they degenerate abroad. Oblige the people of " *Irâk* to the utmoſt of your power, even tho' they ſhould " demand of you a new deputy every day: you had better " abandon the deareſt friend you have in the world, than have " 100,000 ſwords drawn upon you. There are only three " of the *Koreiſh* that will attempt to diſturb your govern-" ment; *Hoſein*, *Ebn Amer*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. If " the laſt of theſe appears in arms againſt you, oppoſe him; " if he offers you peace, accept of it; and ſpare the blood " of your people as much as poſſible." In his *Khalifat*, *Moſlemah Ebn Mokhalled Al Anſâri* added a new tower to the temple, or moſque, erected by *Amru Ebn Al As* at *Al Foſtât*, which afterwards went by his name. We muſt not forget to obſerve here, that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, as well as *Eutychius*, aſſerts, that, in the 50th year of the *Hejra*, there happened ſo remarkable a ſolar eclipſe, that the ſtars in the day-time very clearly appeared; which will farther evince the truth of the inference we have already drawn from that aſſertion [b].

How long he reigned, and how old he was at his death.

Moawiyah reigned, if we compute from *Haſan*'s reſignation, nineteen years, three months, and five days, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. He preſided over *Syria*, either as governor or *Khalif*, about forty years, *viz.* four, as lieutenant, in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; twelve in that of *Othmân*, who continued him in his former poſt through the whole courſe of his reign; five in the *Khalifat* of *Ali*, during which term he ſupported himſelf by force; and nineteen after *Haſan*'s renunciation, when he governed the *Moſlem* empire without a competitor. *Abulfeda* differs a little from *Al Tabari* in the length he aſſigns *Moâwiyah*'s reign. With regard to his age, authors are not perfectly agreed; ſome making him 70, others 73, others 75, others 78, others 80, and, laſtly, others 85 years old, at the time of his death. Be that as it will, as ſoon as he was dead, *Dehâk Ebn Kais* went into the moſque, and aſcended the pulpit with *Moâwiyah*'s winding-ſheet in his hand; where, having made an enco-

[b] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 50. Ebn Al Athir, MS. Hunt. num. 495. Ism. Abulfed. in hiſt. univ. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 195. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 360, 361. Theophan. chronograph. p. 296.

mium on the deceaſed, and ſatisfied the people of his death, he ſaid the funeral ſervice, or the prayers uſual on ſuch occaſions, over him. *Yezid* was then at a town called *Hawarin*, in the territory of *Hems*, and did not arrive at *Damaſcus* till after his father had been interred; but, upon his arrival there, he went and prayed at his tomb. For what has been obſerved here, we are obliged to *Abulfeda*; tho' *Yezid* himſelf ſaid the funeral prayers over *Moâwiyah*, at his interment, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [c].

Deſcription of his perſon and character.

WITH regard to his perſon, *Moâwiyah* was tall, according to *Al Tabari*, though this is contradicted by *Eutychius*, extremely fat, and of a fair complexion. His eyes projected out of his head; he had a loud voice, a large breaſt, and a long beard, which he tinged with *Al Henna* and *Al Catâm*, after the example of his predeceſſors. As for his diſpoſition, he was merciful, of an exceeding quick apprehenſion, courageous, and thoroughly verſed in all the arts of government. His good-nature got the aſcendant over his reſentment, and the ſweetneſs exceeded the ferocity of his temper. He was affable, eaſy of acceſs, and of a winning behaviour; tho', by his diſputing the *Khalifat* with *Ali* and *Haſan*, he had juſtly incurred the diſpleaſure of the houſe of *Hâſhem*. *Haſan* of *Baſra*, a man of great authority with the *Sonnites*, objected four things to his conduct; every one of which, he ſaid, merited deſtruction. 1. He took upon himſelf the *Khalifat* by force, without either conſulting the people, the perſons of diſtinction, or the ſurviving COMPANIONS. 2. He rendered the *Khalifat* hereditary in his family, and appointed *Yezid* his ſucceſſor, tho' he was a perſon of a very bad character, a drunkard, a lover of muſic, and one that wore ſilk. 3. He owned *Ziyâd* for his brother, tho' in oppoſition to one of the expreſs deciſions of *Mohammed* and the *Korân*. 4. He treated with the utmoſt cruelty *Hejer*, a man of uncommon piety, and his companions. According to *Al Shâfeï*, he put *Abu Rebiyah* in chains, becauſe he objected to the teſtimony of four of the COMPANIONS, *viz. Moâwiyah*, *Amru*, *Al Mogheirah*, and *Ziyâd*. It has been remarked by *Al Tabari*, that, when he laughed, his upper lip was inverted; and that *Saturday* was the firſt, and *Friday* the laſt, day of his reign [d].

Some farther account of him.

As the *Arabs* in general, and the *Khalif* in particular, at this time, were much delighted with poetical performances, a young man once repeated to *Moâwiyah* a copy of verſes,

[c] ISM. ABULFED. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, EUTYCH. et THEOPHAN. ubi ſup.

[d] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. EUTYCH. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. AL SHAFEI, &c.

wherein

wherein he gave a full and explicit account of his preſent miſerable ſituation. He had, it ſeems, married a fair *Arabian* girl purely for love; and, out of mere fondneſs, had ſpent all his ſubſtance upon her. The governor of *Cufa* caſting his eyes upon her, and perceiving her to be a charming creature, had raviſhed her from her huſband's boſom. The poor man, to whom the loſs of his ſubſtance was nothing in reſpect to that of his wife, being pierced to the very heart, and ready to die with ſorrow for this misfortune, addreſſed the *Khalif* in verſe, in theſe calamitous circumſtances. *Moawiyah*, being very well pleaſed with the verſes, reſolved to do him juſtice; and therefore ſent an expreſs to the governor, with orders inſtantly to reſign the woman.' He being a perſon of not the moſt unrefined taſte, told the expreſs, that, if the *Khalif* would permit him to enjoy her one year, he would be contented to have his head ſtruck off at the end of it. But the *Khalif* having abſolutely inſiſted upon her diſmiſſion, ſhe was brought before him. He was extremely ſurprized at her beauty, but much more at the politeneſs and elegancy of her expreſſion. Tho' he had received many embaſſies, and frequently converſed with the greateſt men of his country, he he had never before heard ſuch a torrent of eloquence as that which flowed from the mouth of this charming *Arabian*. The *Khalif* aſked her jocoſely, whether ſhe would chuſe him, the governor, or her huſband, for a conſtant companion? She, with a modeſty peculiar to her ſex, anſwered in verſe, that tho' a perſon in his exalted ſtation could do infinitely more for her than either ſhe expected or deſerved, yet that this would by no means be a balance againſt eternal damnation. She begged of him, therefore, if he intended her any favour, to reſtore her to her dear huſband. Which he not only did, but preſented her likewiſe with a ſplendid equipage, as well as plenty of gold, in order to reſtore the ſhattered circumſtances of her huſband, who had ſpent a good fortune upon her. This ſtory perfectly agrees with what we find related of this *Khalif* by other authors, and with the character given of him even by *Khondemir*, the *Perſian* hiſtorian. For we are told by an oriental author, already cited in this work, that an *Arab* robber having been condemned to have one of his hands cut off, in conformity to what is injoined by the *Koran* in caſes of this nature, the criminal immediately compoſed and repeated four elegant and ingenious *Arab* verſes upon the ſpot; which ſo mollified the *Khalif*, that he inſtantly pardoned him. However, it has been remarked, that this was the firſt ſentence pronounced amongſt the *Moſlems* that was not put in execution; none of his predeceſſors having taken the liberty of ſhewing favour to thoſe whom the ordinary judges had

condemned. And with regard to *Khondemir*, we are informed by that historian, that *Moâwiyah* used to say, "The *Hâ-*
"*shemites* are famous for their valour, and the descendents of
"*Zobeir* for their generosity; but I only desire to pass amongst
"the *Moslems* for a prince of clemency and humanity." But how laudable soever this might seem, if we will believe *Ali*, it was not spoken by *Moâwiyah* absolutely without artifice and design [e].

His munificence. His munificence was equal to his clemency, if we will believe the *Moslem* authors. He made a present to *Ayesha* of a bracelet worth 100,000 *dinârs*. He presented *Hasan* at one time with 300,000 *dinârs*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* with 100,000. He frequently had those who came to pay their duty to him to take away any thing in his palace that pleased them. He gave 100,000 *dinârs* at once to *Hosein*, 100,000 to *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, 100,000 to *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, and 4,000,000 at another time to *Hasan*. However, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that ambition, and an insatiable thirst after empire, almost wholly occupied his mind; as very clearly appeared from the tenor of his conduct, during the *Khalifat* both of *Ali* and *Hasan*, and even his own [f].

His patience and clemency. The following remarkable instance of his patience and clemency has been transmitted down to us by *Abulfeda*. *Arwah*, the daughter of *Hâreth*, the son of *Abd'almotalleb*, the son of *Hâshem*, a very old woman, and his aunt, of *Ali*'s branch of the family, made him once a visit. As soon as *Moâwiyah* had saluted her, she began to reproach him in the following terms. "O nephew," said she, "you have been
"very injurious and ungrateful to your cousin, who was one
"of the Companions. You also called yourself by a name
"that was none of your own; and took possession of what
"you had no right to. Our family exceeded all men in
"sufferings for this religion, till God thought proper to take
"his prophet, in order to reward his labours, and advance
"him to a more exalted station. Then you insulted us, and
"we were amongst you like the children of *Israel* in the fa-
"mily of *Pharaoh*; tho' *Ali* bore the same relation to the
"prophet that *Aaron* did to *Moses*." *Amru* being then present, said, "Hold your tongue, old woman, and don't talk
"like one out of his wits." "What," replied she, "do
"you prate, you son of a whore! Your mother was known
"to be the cheapest and most notorious strumpet in all

[e] MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. Aut. Rabi Al Akyar, apud D'Herbel. Bibl. orient. in art. *Moaviah*, p. 587. ut et ipse D'Herbel. ibid. Al Kor. Moham. s. v. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 140. Ockley, ubi sup. p. 85, 86. [f] MS. Hunt. num. 495. ubi sup.

Mecca;

" *Mecca*; who, when she was examined about her com-
" merce with five of the *Koreish*, confessed that she had
" lain with them all, and declared, that he must be deemed
" your father whom you resembled most. As, therefore,
" you were most like old *Al As*, he was obliged to acknow-
" ledge himself your father." This unparalleled scurrility, however, did not ruffle nor discompose *Moâwiyah*, who only said to her, " GOD forgive what is past; what would
" you have?" She answered, " Two thousand *dinârs*, to
" purchase an estate for the poor of our family; two thou-
" sand more, to marry our poor relations; and two thousand
" more for myself, to support me in time of extremity." All which, by the *Khalif*'s command, was paid down to her immediately. Several other instances of this kind might be produced, had we room here to insert what has been related of *Moâwiyah* by the oriental authors, especially those of the *Sonnite*, or *Traditionist*, persuasion [g].

To what has been said of this *Khalif*, we must beg leave to add, that he was the first who introduced the *Mekssowrah* into the mosque. The *Mekssowrah* was a sort of elevated place, separated from all the rest, where the *Khalif*, who was the supreme pontiff in religious as well as the sovereign in civil affairs, read, or chanted, the prayers that form the liturgy or public office of the *Moslems*. From the same place he also made the *Cotbah*, which is a sort of homily or predication, to the people. This, before his time, followed the prayers; but he began with it, for the reason already assigned. He also introduced the practice of laying post-horses upon the roads, and was the first of the *Khalifs* who spoke to the people in a sitting posture. According to *Theophanes*, *Moâwiyah* reigned four-and-twenty years; from whence we may infer, that he makes his *Khalifat* to have commenced at the death of *Othmân*. It has been already observed, that *Dionysius Telmarensis* calls *Ali Abbâs*, and relates, that *Moâwiyah* reigned alone, or after the death of *Abbâs*, or *Ali*, only sixteen years; tho' *Ebn Arraheb* and *Abu'l Walid*, in agreement with the other eastern writers, affirm, that he sat on the *Moslem* throne, without any collegue, except his son, or competitor, nineteen years and three months, and died in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 679. As *Dionysius* wrote in *Syria*, and the *Syrians* adhered to *Moâwiyah*, 'tis no wonder that he, in common with his countrymen, should have had the memory of *Ali* and his sons in such abhorrence, as to leave their names out of the list or series of *Khalifs*. It may be farther observed, that he called *Ali Abbâs*, because the latter was the name applied to that *Khalif*'s whole family by the *Syrians*;

Some authors that he introduced.

[g] ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

as also because *Ali* had a son, destroyed by *Yezid*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu'l Walid*, who went under that appellation [h].

Where buried. MOAWIYAH was interred at *Damascus*, which he made the residence of the *Khalifs*; and this prerogative that city enjoyed, as long as his descendents, or the *Khalifs* of the house of *Ommiyah*, kept possession of the *Moslem* throne. But those of the family of *Abbâs* transferred the imperial seat to *Anbâr*, *Hashemiyah*, and *Baghdâd*, as will be seen in the sequel of this history. The inscription upon *Moâwiyah*'s seal was, *Every work hath its reward*; or, as others say, *There is no strength but in* GOD. His secretary was *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*; his principal *Kâdi*, or judge, *Fadala Ebn Abd'allah*, of *Medina*; his chamberlain *Yezid* his servant, and afterwards his servant *Safwân*; the captain of his guards *Yezid Ebn Al Horra Al Abasi*, *Kais Ebn Hamzah*, and *Dahak Ebn Kais Al Fahri*. *Eutychius* makes *Riyah*, one of his servants, to have been his chamberlain. For the story of *Obeid Ebn Sariba*, the *Nestor* of the *Arabs*, who is said by the *Moslems* to have arrived at the age of 300 years, and lived in the *Khalifat* of *Moâwiyah*, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Al Makin*, or rather *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [i].

SECT. VII.

Yezid *proclaimed* Khalîf. YEZID, according to *Abu Jaafar*, was proclaimed *Khalif*, in consequence of his nomination to the succession, the same day his father died. His inauguration was performed on the new moon of the month of *Rajeb*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*, coincident with the 7th day of *April*, in the year of our LORD 680. He was born in the 26th year of the former æra, and consequently thirty-four lunar years old, when he ascended the *Moslem* throne. Immediately after his inauguration, he wrote to *Al Walid Ebn Otba Ebn Abu Sofiân*, his governor of *Medina*, to seize *Hosein Ebn Ali* and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, if they refused to acknowledge his right to the *Khalifat*. The letter was conceived in the following terms: "In the name of the most merciful GOD. From "*Yezid*, emperor of the faithful, to *Al Walid Ebn Otba*. "*Moâwiyâh* was one of the servants of GOD, who honoured

[h] Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. in art. *Moaviah*. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 194. DIONYS. TELMARENS. EBN ARRAHEB, et ABU'L WALID, apud Joseph. Simon. Assem. in Biblioth. orient. tom. ii. p. 103, 104. ut et ipse JOSEPH. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, &c. [i] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 48, 49. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 360, 361. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. pass.

"him,

" him, made him *Khalif*, extended his dominions, and eſta-
" bliſhed him. He lived his appointed time, and GOD took
" him to his mercy. He lived beloved, and died pure and
" innocent. Farewell. Take care not to ſuffer *Hoſein*,
" *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, to deviate in
" the leaſt from the inauguration." Upon the arrival of this letter, *Al Walid* conſulted *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem* about the contents of it, which he immediately communicated to him. *Merwân* adviſed him to tender the perſons therein mentioned the oath of fidelity to *Yezid*, before they were apprized of the *Khalif*'s death; and, upon their refuſal to take it, to order their heads to be cut off. *Al Walid*, therefore, according to *Abulfeda*, ſent for *Hoſein* to his houſe, informed him of *Moâwiyah*'s death, and invited him to recognize the authority of the new *Khalif*. *Hoſein* anſwered, that men of his diſtinction did not uſually do things of that nature in private; that he did not expect to have had ſuch a thing propoſed to him; and that he thought ſuch a declaration as was required of him ought to be made in the moſt public manner. *Merwân*, who was preſent, plainly ſaw that the anſwer was evaſive; nor was the governor ignorant of this; and therefore gave it as his opinion, that *Al Walid* either ought to oblige *Hoſein* to be explicit on this occaſion, or to ſtrike his head off upon the ſpot. This *Al Walid* refuſing to do, *Hoſein*, after he had reproached *Merwân* for his advice, by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends and domeſtics he had poſted at the governor's door, eſcaped to his own houſe. *Merwân* then cenſuring *Al Walid* for permitting *Hoſein* to retire, the governor told him, that he was very eaſy in his preſent ſituation; and that he thought it would be a very criminal action to ſpill the blood of *Hoſein*. After this, *Al Walid* ſent for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, in order to make the ſame propoſal to him that he had before done to *Hoſein*. But *Abd'allah* deferred, under various pretences, waiting upon him for the ſpace of twenty-four hours; at the end of which, with his family, and his brother *Jaafar*, he made his eſcape to *Mecca*. *Al Walid* ſent a party of horſe in purſuit of him, but without effect. In the mean time, *Hoſein*, by the advice of his brother *Mohammed Hanifiyah*, made ſecret preparations to follow him, with his family; which he at laſt found means to do. However, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Perſia*, and, in fine, all the *Moſlem* dominions, except the cities of *Mecca* and *Medina*, and part of *Irâk*, declared in favour of *Yezid*. Notwithſtanding which, the people of *Cûfa*, receiving advice of *Hoſein* and *Abd'allah*'s eſcape to *Mecca*, invited the former to *Cûfa*, and promiſed to ſupport him in any war he ſhould undertake againſt *Yezid*. He, therefore, diſpatched to them his couſin *Moſlem Ebn Okail*, to whom,

whom, as *Hosein*'s representative, they took the oath of allegiance. *Yezid*'s mother, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was *Kaisun Bint Bahdal*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, *Misua Bint Yahdak*, of the tribe of *Calb* [k].

The people of Cûfa *declare for* Hosein.

THE new *Khalif* being informed by *Merwân* of *Al Walid*'s indolent, not to say treacherous, conduct, dismissed him from the government of *Medina*, and substituted *Amru Ebn Saad*, then commandant of *Mecca*, in his room. *Amru*, who was a very proud man, soon after he had taken possession of his post, detached *Amer Ebn Zobeir* with a body of troops against his brother *Abd'allah*, whom he mortally hated. *Abd'allah* engaged *Amer* in the field, routed him, and put him in prison, where he kept him confined till his death. This victory procured *Abd'allah* no small respect from the people of *Medina*, who seemed now greatly prejudiced in his favour. However, *Hosein*'s superior interest amongst them rendered him incapable of aspiring, by their assistance, to the *Khalifat* himself. Besides, *Hosein* was supported by the forces of *Irâk*, who still retained a vast veneration for the memory of his father *Ali*, and considered the government of *Moâwiyah* as a downright usurpation. The citizens of *Cúfa* had actually declared for him, as has been already observed; and were at this very juncture pressing him to honour them with his presence. *Moslem* had, with great difficulty, traversed part of the deserts of *Irák*, in order to come at them; but, upon his arrival at their city, the reception they gave him made him ample amends for the hardships he had sustained. They not only came to a resolution to spend all their blood and treasure in support of *Hosein*'s just pretensions, but determined likewise to enter immediately upon action with an army of 18000 men. And what crowned all was, that the affairs concerted between them and *Moslem* were carried on with so much secrecy, that *Al Nooman*, *Yezid*'s lieutenant, himself was a stranger to their deliberations. In the mean time, *Hosein* receiving advice of the happy situation of his affairs at *Cúfa*, made the proper dispositions for his departure from *Mecca*, in order to set out upon his journey for the former city [l].

Yezid *removes* Al Nooman *from his government of* Cûfa.

AL NOOMAN being informed at last of the steps that had been taken in favour of *Hosein*, and roused out of his lethargy, made a speech to the people; wherein he exhorted them to avoid all occasion of strife and contention. He told them, that he would take up no man upon suspicion, however strong

[k] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 50. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 360—363. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 195.

[l] MS. Hunt. ABULFED. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

circum-

circumſtances might appear againſt him, nor be the aggreſſor in any ſhape whatſoever, unleſs he ſhould be forced to act contrary to his inclination by ſome groſs inſult offered to his perſon. But he ſwore by that GOD beſides whom there is no other, that, if they revolted from their *Imâm*, he would fight as long as he could hold his ſword in his hand. Upon which, one of thoſe that ſtood by told him, that the preſent conjuncture did not ſo much require words as action; and that he talked like one of the weak ones. To which he replied, that "he would rather be one of the weak ones in obedience to "GOD, than one of the ſtrong ones in rebelling againſt "him." This inactive conduct not pleaſing *Yezid*, he removed *Al Nooman* from his poſt, and annexed the government of *Cûfa* to that of *Baſra*, in favour of *Obeid'allah*, the ſon of *Ziyâd*, to whom *Yezid* had been reconciled by the interpoſition of *Sarkhun Ebn Moâwiyah*; he having before conceived a diſlike to him, on account of his father *Ziyâd*, who had refuſed to concur with thoſe who had nominated him to the ſucceſſion in his father's life-time. *Al Nooman*, or *Al Noaman*, as he is called by *Abu Jaafar*, was the ſon of *Baſhar*, a citizen of *Medina*, and a man of too indolent a temper to ſuſtain the weighty office of commandant of *Cûfa* at this juncture, when moſt of the citizens in reality were diſaffected to *Yezid*; and therefore this was a ſufficient reaſon for removing him from that poſt. But as he belonged to a city that bore an implacable hatred to the houſe of *Ommiyah*, 'tis not improbable that the *Khalîf* might have had ſome cauſe to ſuſpect his integrity; which if we admit, this muſt have been an additional reaſon for his diſmiſſion. Be that as it will, the new *Khalîf*, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, upon his firſt acceſſion to the throne, kept all his father's officers and lieutenants in the places that had been aſſigned them; and had nothing more at heart than an attempt to win over thoſe who had always oppoſed his intereſt by gentle means. In conſequence of which diſpoſition, he reſolved, if the conduct of the houſe of *Hâſhem* did not oblige him to deviate from the plan he had laid down, to have recourſe only, for the reuniting the divided members of the *Arab* nation, to methods of lenity and perſuaſion [m].

OBEID'ALLAH was received by the people of *Cûfa*, at his Moſlem firſt appearance amongſt them, with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy; which was owing to a black turbant he had upon his head, reſembling that which *Hoſein* uſually wore. As he, therefore, entered the town in the evening, they miſtook him

and Hani *executed.*

[m]. MS. Hunt. et ABULFED. ubi ſup. ABU JAAFAR AL TAAAR. et AL MAKIN. ubi ſup. p. 50, 51.

for

for *Hoſein*, of whoſe arrival they were in hourly expectation. But they were extremely mortified, when they diſcovered this ſtranger to be the *Emir Obeid'allah*; who went immediately to the apartments fitted up for him in the caſtle, attended only by an eſcorte of ſeventeen horſe. The firſt object of his deliberations was the extinction of the preſent ſedition, but too viſible to him, that had been excited in the city by *Moſlem*. In order to which, he commanded a truſty ſervant to diſguiſe himſelf, and to perſonate a ſtranger come out of *Syria* to ſee the inauguration of *Hoſein*; that he might gain admiſſion into *Moſlem*'s houſe, by his addreſs inſinuate himſelf into that officer's confidence, and by this means penetrate all his councils. Which having done, he made a faithful report of what he had learned to his maſter. In the mean time, *Moſlem* lodged at one *Sharik*'s houſe, to which he had removed from *Hani*'s, where he had taken up his quarters at his firſt coming to town. *Obeid'allah* having been let into all the ſecrets of the adverſe party by his ſervant, ſent a meſſenger to *Sharik*, who was one of the grand *Omera's*, to inform him, that he intended him a viſit on a certain day, which he named. *Sharik* being apprized of this, tho' he was then ſick, immediately came to a reſolution to receive him, and to place *Moſlem* in a corner of the room, that he might deſtroy him, upon a ſignal given. The viſit was accordingly made, and *Moſlem* had a proper place aſſigned him, for the purpoſe above-mentioned; but his heart failing him, *Obeid'allah* eſcaped, and *Sharik* died three days after. As for *Hani*, in whoſe houſe *Moſlem* at firſt had lodged, and who attended the new governor in the aforeſaid viſit, upon ſearching the regiſters, he was found to be an old offender, and one that had before oppoſed *Obeid'allah*; wherefore he was conducted by ſome of the *Omera's*, at the governor's command, to the caſtle. Upon his arrival there, *Obeid'allah* aſked him where *Moſlem* was, and how he came formerly to admit him into his houſe? *Hani*, after he had in vain endeavoured to deny the fact laid to his charge, anſwered, that *Moſlem* forced himſelf into his houſe, and did not come thither by his invitation. *Obeid'allah* then commanded this prevaricator to produce him; who inſtantly replied, that if he was under his feet, he would not take them off from him. This ſo exaſperated *Obeid'allah*, that he gave him a blow on the face with his mace, which broke his noſe; upon which, *Hani* attempted to ſnatch a ſword from one of the guards, but was prevented, and the governor ordered him to be cloſely confined in a room of the caſtle that had been prepared for his reception. The news of this event ſoon reached the ears of *Moſlem*, who thereupon mounted his horſe, aſſembled a body of 4000 men, and immediately

mediately inveſted the caſtle. This at firſt ſurprized *Obeid'allah*, tho' he ſoon recovered himſelf, and made a ſpeech to the people; wherein he uſed a great variety of arguments to diſſuade them from withdrawing their allegiance from the *Khalif*. This produced the deſired effect; inſomuch that all *Moſlem*'s followers, except about thirty, gradually deſerted him. He, therefore, found himſelf obliged to leave the city; which, by the favour of the night, he did, and made his eſcape to a little cottage, belonging to an old woman, in a field at a little diſtance from *Cûfa*. However, her ſon, in hopes of meeting with the reward promiſed by the governor to the perſon who ſhould give any intelligence of him, diſcovered to *Obeid'allah* the place of his retreat; who thereupon ſent a detachment of eighty horſe to ſeize him. *Moſlem* for ſome time made a gallant defence, and thrice cleared the houſe of them; but being at laſt overpowered by numbers, and grievouſly wounded in ſeveral places, both his lips particularly being almoſt cut to pieces, he was ſeized, diſarmed, and carried bound upon his own mule to *Cûfa*. One of the governor's men perceiving him to ſhed tears, told him, that it did not become a man imbarked in ſo great an undertaking to weep. *Moſlem* replied, that he wept not for himſelf, but for *Hoſein* and his family, who were then, as he apprehended, on the road to *Cûfa*. After which, turning to *Mohammed Ebn Al Aſhat*, he deſired him to acquaint *Hoſein* with his bad ſucceſs, and intreat him, if upon his journey, to return to *Mecca*. This *Mohammed* not only promiſed to do, but likewiſe actually ſent an expreſs to *Hoſein*, to hinder him from advancing to *Cûfa*; tho' the perſon employed on this occaſion never came near him. When *Moſlem* arrived at the caſtle, he aſked for a draught of water; but one of the men there told him, he ſhould have nothing to quench his thirſt, till he drank the *Hamim*, or boiling liquor that the *Mohammedans* pretend the damned ſhall drink in hell. When *Obeid'allah* appeared, *Moſlem* refuſed to ſalute him; ſaying, he ſhould ſerve *Yezid* himſelf in the ſame manner, if he were preſent, unleſs he would promiſe him a pardon. The governor then upbraided him with coming to *Cûfa*, in order to ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion amongſt a people who were perfectly well ſatisfied with the preſent adminiſtration. *Moſlem* reſolutely anſwered, "That is abſolutely falſe. The people "of this province know very well, that your father *Ziyâd* "inhumanly butchered their principal men, and exerciſed a "tyranny over them more intolerable than that of the worſt "of the *Khoſrû's*, or the *Cæſars*: whereas our intention is "to govern them with juſtice and moderation, and appeal "to the determination of the book." *Obeid'allah* then called him

him rogue, and reproached him with drinking of wine at *Medina*; which he denied in the ſtrongeſt terms. Perceiving that he was to fall a ſacrifice to the governor's reſentment, he left one of his friends 700 *dinârs*, to take care of his body, and to hinder *Hoſein* from approaching *Cûfa*. After which, he was beheaded on the top of the caſtle, as *Hani* was in the ſtreet. Both of their heads were ſent for a preſent to *Yezid*, together with a letter containing an account of their crime, and the circumſtances attending their execution; which happened on the 8th day of the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, in the 60th year of the *Hejra*. With regard to the collection of regiſters, or *book of records*, as 'tis called in Scripture, abovementioned, we muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the antient *Perſians*, to whom the province of *Irâk*, in which *Cûfa* is ſituated, appertained, preſerved the memory of the principal events of their ſtate every year, and even every day, in a ſort of annals and journals, which formed that collection, and were recited in order of time as they happened, as may be inferred from ſacred and profane authors. In theſe annals and journals the names of the benefactors to the public, as well as of malefactors, were inſerted, both amongſt the *Perſians* and the *Medes*. This moſt clearly appears from *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Joſephus*, as well as from ſeveral paſſages of Scripture. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that the ſame cuſtom ſhould prevail in the time of *Yezid* amongſt ſome of the deſcendents of thoſe antient nations. The detachment ſent by *Obeid'allah* to ſeize *Moſlem* at the old woman's cottage, and conduct him to *Cûfa*, conſiſted of 1000 horſe, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by an *Arab* author here referred to, according to *Abu'l-Faraj* [n].

Hoſein *ſets out for* Cûfa.

THE favourable advices he had received from *Moſlem*, together with the earneſt and repeated ſollicitations of the *Cûfans*, who had ſent him a liſt of 140,000 men that were ready to obey his orders, induced *Hoſein* to think of ſetting out directly for *Cûfa*. The wiſeſt of his friends, however, conſidered this as a deſperate enterprize, and therefore endeavoured to diſſuade him from it. *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, in particular, told him, that as the *Emir Obeid'allah*'s forces had the proper poſts aſſigned them for the defence of the country, and as the *Cûfans* at beſt only had invited him to a war, in which they would probably deſert him, he ought by no means to imbark in ſo perilous an undertaking. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* alſo endeavoured to prevail upon him to lay aſide his de-

[n] MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. EZR. vi. 1. ESTH. vi. 1. x. 2. HERODOT. lib. viii. c. 85. THUCYDID. lib. i. JOSEPH. antiquit. lib. xi. c. 6. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 195.

ſign,

ſign, tho' in a more faint and languid manner; he being in reality rather deſirous of precipitating him into dangers, than of delivering him from them; ſince, in caſe of *Hoſein*'s death, he thought he might, with the greater eaſe, aſpire to the *Khalifat* himſelf. But *Hoſein* ſtill perſiſting in his former reſolution, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*, who had a moſt ſincere and cordial reſpect for him, repreſented to him, that if he was fixed in his intention of entering into a war againſt *Yezid*, he ought to ſtay till his friends at *Cûfa* had diſpatched the new governor impoſed upon them by the pretended *Khalif*, and then either join them, or retire to ſome place of ſtrength in *Hejáz*; that, in the mean time, he ſhould write circular letters to his friends, deſiring them to aſſemble their forces with all poſſible expedition, and not ſuffer any part of the ſcheme he had formed to tranſpire; and that at leaſt, if nothing could divert him from appearing immediately at the head of the *Cûfans*, he ought not to entertain any thoughts of taking his wives and children along with him, leſt he ſhould meet with the fate of *Othmân*, who was murdered in his family's ſight. Beſides, added he, your departure from *Mecca* at this juncture, eſpecially if you leave him behind you, will give infinite pleaſure to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who wiſhes for your death, in order to diſpute himſelf the *Khalifat* with *Yezid*. But *Hoſein* ſtill proving inflexible, *Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs* left him, and told *Ebn Zobeir*, whom he met ſoon after, that he had no reaſon to be ſad, ſince *Hoſein*, hurried by his deſtiny, was obſtinately bent upon his own deſtruction. Nay, tho' the ſame *Ebn Abbâs* ſat up with him afterwards a whole night, in order to prevail upon him to remain at *Mecca* a little longer, and at leaſt till his troops were ready to enter upon action, he could make no impreſſion upon him. *Hoſein*, therefore, with his family, and ſome other attendants, ſet out from *Mecca* either on the 8th of *Dhu'lhajja*, the very day on which *Moſlem* and *Hani* were executed at *Cûfa*, of which *Hoſein* had not yet received advice, or the day before, as we learn from an anonymous oriental hiſtorian °.

THE *Emir Obeid'allah*, being apprized of *Hoſein*'s approach, detached *Harro Ebn Yezid*, of the tribe of *Temimah*, with 1000 horſe, to meet him on the road, and conduct him, with all the people attending him, to *Cûfa*. *Harro*, who was far from being an enemy to *Hoſein*, advanced at the head of his troops to *Aſheraf*; and, when *Hoſein* came up, imparted to him the orders he had received. *Hoſein* at firſt attempted

Obeid'allah *ſends a body of troops againſt him.*

° MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 51. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 196.

to

to engage *Harro* directly in his interest; but finding this impracticable, he said, he would die rather than suffer those orders to be put in execution; and commanded his men instantly to continue their march. But this *Harro* opposed; which provoked *Hosein* to curse him in the following terms, pretty frequently used amongst the *Arabs*, *May your mother be childless of you!* This not a little exasperated *Harro*; who, nevertheless, only replied, "If any other person had treated "me as you have done, I should not have failed recriminat- "ing; but there is no room to speak of your mother without "the highest respect." Then ordering his men to retreat, he told *Hosein*, that he was not commanded to fight him, but only to conduct him to *Cûfa*; adding, that if he thought fit either to go to *Medina*, or take any other road that did not lead directly to *Cûfa*, he should meet with no opposition from him. Nay, he ventured farther to assure him, that if he could assemble a body of troops sufficient to enable him to fall upon *Obeid'allah*'s forces, and not suffer himself to be attacked first by that commander, he would, in his opinion, be in a fair way of carrying his point. After which, *Hosein* moved towards *Kadesia*, famous for the bloody battle fought there between the *Arabs* and the *Persians*, and was accosted at *Adib* by a small party of four horse; whose guide *Thirmah* informed him, that the noblesse of *Cûfa* were resolved to oppose him; and that tho' the rest of the *Cûfans* were his friends, to-morrow their swords would all be drawn against him. He also assured him, that his messenger *Kais*, who had been sent before to dispose the *Cûfans* to give him a good reception, had been thrown down headlong from the top of the castle, for cursing *Obeid'allah*, and his father *Ziyâd*, when he was commanded by the former to curse *Ali* and *Hosein*. This news greatly affected *Hosein*; upon which, *Thirmah* offered to conduct him to mount *Aja*, a place impregnable by its situation, in the province of *Najd*, and even to attempt assembling a body of ten thousand men, of the tribe of *Tay*, to support him. But *Hosein* still persisting in his resolution of advancing towards *Kadesia* and *Nineveh*, *Thirmah* took his leave of him, and, with the four horse he was conducting, continued his rout. The next day *Hosein*, with *Harro*, who still attended him, arrived at *Niniveh*, a town distant from the antient city going under the same name, which stood on the eastern bank of the *Tigris*. Here *Harro* met with an express, who brought him an order from *Obeid'allah* to prevent *Hosein* from possessing himself of any fortified town, or place of strength, before the arrival of his forces. This order came to hand on *Friday* the second day of the month *Al Moharram*, in the 61st year of

year of the *Hejra*; and the next day *Amer Ebn Saad*, having received advice of *Hoſein*'s approach, appeared with a body of 4000 men, who had for ſome time pitched their tents without the walls of *Cûfa*. Thoſe troops were upon the point of marching to *Deylam*; but as the partiſans of the houſe of *Hâſhem* began now to be in motion, *Obeid'allah* commanded *Amer* to lead them againſt *Hoſein*. This, for ſome time, at the inſtigation of his nephew and others, *Amer* refuſed to do; but at laſt, being intimidated by *Obeid'allah*'s menaces, he moved with all his forces to *Kerbelâ*, where *Hoſein* was at that time poſted. Here he was joined by *Harro* with 1000 horſe; ſo that, after this junction, the *Moſlem* troops deſtined to act againſt *Hoſein* amounted to 5000 men. However, before the commencement of hoſtilities, ſeveral meſſages paſſed between *Amer* and *Hoſein*; when the latter finding his affairs in a deſperate ſituation, and that the *Cûfans* had deſerted him, offered to return home, if *Obeid'allah* would permit him. Upon this, *Amer* wrote to the governor, and acquainted him with the overture made by *Hoſein*; but received for anſwer, that no propoſal from him would be liſtened to, till he had acknowledged *Yezid* to be the true and lawful emperor of the faithful. At the ſame time, *Obeid'allah* commanded *Amer Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs* to cut off all communication between *Hoſein*'s camp and the *Euphrates*, or rather thoſe branches of it called by *Abu'l-Faraj* the rivers of *Kerbela*; that by this means he might oblige him to ſurrender to the *Khalif*'s forces, without any effuſion of *Moſlem* blood. In theſe calamitous circumſtances, *Hoſein* and *Amer*, at the requeſt of the former, held a conference between the two armies; each of them being attended by an eſcorte of twenty horſe. In this conference, *Hoſein* deſired to be permitted either to accommodate matters in perſon with *Yezid*, or to return into *Arabia*, or, laſtly, to command ſome remote gariſon in *Khoraſân*, where he might diſtinguiſh himſelf againſt the *Turks*. But *Obeid'allah* was diſſuaded from accepting of any of theſe conditions by *Shamer Ebn Dhu'ljeyowſh*, who ſcrupled not to accuſe *Amer* of carrying on a clandeſtine negotiation with *Hoſein*; though the governor at firſt diſcovered no repugnancy to an accommodation. According to a tradition, mentioned by Mr. *Ockley*, tho' he names not the author of it, *Hoſein* begged he might either have leave to return to the place from whence he came, or be permitted to ſound the people of *Irâk*, in order to diſcover whether they had really any intention of declaring for him. Be that as it will, *Obeid'allah* would grant neither *Hoſein*, nor the people attending him, any terms; offering them only this alternative, either to ſubmit

to the *Khalif*, or leave the point in dispute to the decision of the sword P.

The battle of Kerbela.

OBEID'ALLAH being at this time sufficiently apprized of the seditious disposition of the *Cúfans*, was resolved to bring matters to an eclaircissement, before *Hosein* advanced nearer to the gates of their city. He, therefore, sent *Shamer*, upon whom he could intirely depend, with a body of 5000 men, to reinforce the troops under *Amer*; whom he ordered once more to assure *Hosein*, that if he and his men would submit to *Yezid*, no violence should be offered them; but that if they refused such submission, they should all be put to the sword. He likewise ordered *Shamer* to strike off *Amer*'s head, if he discovered any reluctance to an engagement with *Hosein*, and to take upon himself the command of all the forces. At the same time, the governor offered his protection to *Abbâs*, *Abd'allah*, *Jaafar*, and *Othmân*, four of *Ali*'s sons; which they refused to accept; saying, that the security of GOD was better than that of the son of *Somyah*. By which appellation, they intended to stigmatize *Obeid'allah*; intimating thereby, that he was the son of one of *Somyah*'s bastards, his father *Ziyâd* having been the fruit of an illicit commerce between that strumpet and *Abu Sofiân*. *Amer* having received *Obeid'allah*'s orders by *Shamer*, together with a letter severely reprimanding him for not attacking *Hosein* sooner, drew up his army in order of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. This happening after evening-prayer, *Hosein*, who, with his brother *Abbâs*, was then in his tent, begged a truce till the following day; which was easily granted by *Amer*. In the mean time, *Hosein*'s sister viewed with the utmost horror and consternation her brother's approaching fate. She was quite disconsolate, fainted away, and discovered all the symptoms of grief and despair; tho' *Hosein* did every thing in his power to comfort her. He endeavoured also to calm the minds of his men, who seemed then to be under the most dreadful apprehensions, by advising them to retire to their respective habitations. This, however, they could by no means be induced to do, most of them being determined not to survive him. But notwithstanding the ferment they were in, he did not omit making the proper dispositions for his defence. He ordered all the tents, of which his camp was composed, to be fastened to one another with ropes and cords, and to be fortified at one

P MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 234. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Houssain*. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

end with a trench; ſo that the whole, which was finiſhed in the night, formed a ſort of barricade. Into the trench he cauſed to be thrown a large quantity of wood, and other combuſtible materials, which his men ſet on fire, to prevent their being ſurrounded; ſo that they could be attacked only in front. They ſpent the night in prayers and ſupplications, whilſt the horſe of the enemy's guard were perpetually moving round them. The next morning, the troops on both ſides made ſuch movements, as are for the moſt part immediately previous to an engagement. *Hoſein* drew up his ſmall army, which, according to an *Arab* writer of good authority, conſiſted only of thirty-two horſe and forty foot (tho' *Abu Jaafar* makes the whole number to have amounted to fifty horſe and an hundred foot) in order of battle, and made as good a diſpoſition of this inconſiderable force, as the nature of the ground on which he incamped, and the ſhort ſpace of time, allowed him to do it in, would permit. *Amer*, as ſoon as the day appeared, having ranged his troops in battle-array, approached the barricade, in order to begin the attack; and found *Hoſein*, who had before waſhed and perfumed himſelf, according to the *Arab* cuſtom, wherein he was followed by his principal officers, prepared to receive him in a proper manner. Upon this motion of *Amer*, *Hoſein* inſtantly mounted his horſe, as did his ſon *Ali*, laid the *Koràn* before him, and earneſtly preſſed the ſoldiers that attended him to a performance of their duty. This drew a freſh flood of tears from his ſiſters and daughters, who rent the air with their lamentations; upon which, he ſent his ſon *Ali*, and his brother *Abbâs*, to pacify and appeaſe them, declaring, that he would die in the field of battle rather than renounce his right in ſo ſervile a manner as was required of him to any tyrant whatſoever. Which moving ſcene ſo affected *Harro*, that he expreſſed great ſorrow for having intercepted *Hoſein*, immediately joined him with thirty horſe, and came to a determination to die with him. He alſo made a final effort to mollify *Amer*, but without effect; that general alledging, that the expreſs orders he had received from *Obeid'allah* would not permit him to follow pacific meaſures. Upon which, *Harro* upbraided him, as well as the *Cûfans* in general, with having impoſed upon *Hoſein*, and with having deprived him and his men of the water of the *Euphrates*, of which *Jews*, *Chriſtians*, and *Sabians*, were permitted to drink, and in which even hogs and dogs were ſuffered to ſport themſelves. An accommodation, therefore, being impracticable, *Shamer Ebn Dhu'ljeyowſh* began the attack, and ſhowers of arrows were on both ſides diſcharged. But before the action became general, *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, having obtained leave of *Hoſein* to fight them, killed *Yaſer* and *Salem*, two of *Amer*'s men, in ſingle

combat; and another of the enemy attempting to engage *Hoſein*, his horſe threw him, dragged him with his left foot in the ſtirrup, his right leg having been cut off by one of *Hoſein*'s men, and at laſt deſtroyed him, by daſhing his head againſt ſome ſtones. Several other combats were fought, wherein *Hoſein*'s men, being animated by deſpair, were ſuperior to their antagoniſts; which induced *Amer* to order his ſoldiers to deſiſt from that kind of engagement. After this, *Amru Ebn Hejâj*, who commanded the right wing, charged *Hoſein*'s troops with great fury, crying out aloud to the *Cûfans*, "Behave with bravery againſt thoſe who ſeparate from "the religion, from the congregation, and from the *Imâm*." To whom *Hoſein*, with great coolneſs, replied, "You are "the ſeparatiſts; when your ſouls have taken their flight "from your bodies, you will know which of us deſerve hell-"fire moſt." In this attack, *Moſlem Ebn Auſâjah*, the firſt that fell on *Hoſein*'s ſide, was killed, after he had behaved with unparalleled bravery. Several other *Arab* officers likewiſe at this time loſt their lives; though the *Cûfans*, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, were not able to make themſelves maſters of the perſon of *Hoſein*. The little body of cavalry that ſurrounded him ſuſtained the ſhock with incredible firmneſs and intrepidity, and at laſt forced the enemy to retire with conſiderable loſs [q].

Hoſein *defeated and killed.*

THE right wing thus failing in its attempt upon *Hoſein*, *Shamer*, who commanded the left, fell upon the *Arab* cavalry with ſuch fury, that he had well nigh broke them, and even penetrated to *Hoſein*. However, he was at laſt repulſed, and obliged to ſend to *Amer* for a reinforcement of 500 archers. Upon the arrival of theſe ſuccours, the *Cûfans* under *Shamer* renewed the attack upon *Hoſein*'s camp, and ſo galled his cavalry, or rather their horſes, with their arrows, that they were obliged to diſmount, and fight on foot. Amongſt the reſt, *Harro* being forced to abandon his horſe, by reaſon of a wound he had received, defended himſelf with his ſword for a conſiderable time. *Shamer*, finding his efforts hitherto ineffectual, reſolved to deſtroy the barricade; and therefore commanded his men to advance, and overthrow the tents that formed it. But they met with ſuch a warm reception from the troops which defended them, that, after a vigorous action, they were again repulſed, leſt ſeveral of their men dead upon the ſpot, and were obliged to betake themſelves to

[q] MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Hunt. num. 405. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup. et in art. *Jezid*.

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a precipitate flight. *Shamer* then attempted to set fire to *Hoſein*'s tent, but without effect; the *Arabs* driving his troops before them; and forcing them to abandon the camp they had attacked, with conſiderable loſs. The battle now grew hot in all parts; notwithſtanding which, *Hoſein* performed his devotions with great fervency, ſaying the noon-prayers amongſt the poor remains of his ſhatter'd troops, to which he added that of *Fear*, which is never uſed but in caſes of the laſt extremity. The fight having already proved almoſt fatal to *Hoſein*, notwithſtanding the incredible valour of the *Arabs*, moſt of his men having been killed, and amongſt the reſt *Habib*, an officer of great merit and diſtinction; *Shamer* charged the ſmall phalanx that ſupported him with ſuch fury, that he broke it, put to the ſword ſeveral of the ſoldiers that formed it, particularly one that had killed no leſs than ten of his men, as alſo *Ali*, the ſon of *Hoſein*, who was firſt wounded with a lance, and afterwards cut to pieces, with unrelenting barbarity. Moſt of the reſt were ſhot by the *Irâkian* archers; ſo that *Hoſein*, his little ſon *Abd'allah*, and a nephew of his, that was likewiſe a child, were almoſt the only perſons who ſurvived the common deſtruction. The laſt of theſe had his hand cut off, and was killed, when he was upon the point of embracing his uncle *Hoſein*; and *Abd'allah* was ſtruck dead with an arrow, whilſt he was in his father's lap. As for *Hoſein* himſelf, he firſt received a wound in the head, which filled his helmet with blood, and was afterwards ſhot in the mouth with an arrow, whilſt he was quenching his thirſt. However, he continued ſtill to defend himſelf like a man animated by deſpair; inſomuch that none of the *Irâkians* durſt, for a conſiderable time, attempt to give him the fatal ſtroke. Nay, his ſiſter *Zeinab*, the daughter of *Fâtema*, turning to *Amer*, aſked him whether he could have the heart to ſee *Hoſein* ſlain? Upon which, the tears ran down his beard, and he turned his face away from her. But *Shamer*, who was of a more fierce and brutal diſpoſition, curſed and upbraided his men for not approaching *Hoſein*; whereupon one of them wounded him in the hand, another in the neck, and a third thruſt him through with his ſpear. In fine, he received thirty-four contuſions, and thirty-three wounds. After his death, his head was cut off, and the *Irâkians* rode over his dead body ſo often, that they trod it into the very ground. *Shamer*, not ſatisfied with his blood, intended to have butcher'd likewiſe his youngeſt ſon *Ali*, afterwards called *Zein Alabedin*, or *Zein Alab'addin*, i. e. *the ornament of the religious*, who was then very ſick, and young; but was diverted by one of his officers from putting in execution ſo cruel a deſign. All the riches and ſpoil taken from *Hoſein* and his family, even the womens

richeſt cloaths, were divided amongſt the *Khalif*'s troops; tho' the particular manner in which this was done has not been handed down to us by any of the *Moſlem* authors. The night after the battle, *Hawla* carried *Hoſein*'s head to his own houſe; which ſo diſguſted his wife, that ſhe abandoned his bed, and could never afterwards be perſuaded to cohabit with him. Nay, the woman that he took to ſupply her place that night, was terrified, as we are told by an *Arab* writer, by a ſupernatural light aſcending from the ſpot on which *Hoſein*'s head was depoſited towards heaven, and certain white birds that continually hovered over it. The next morning, *Hawla* carried the head to *Obeid'allah*, who ſtruck it over the mouth with his ſtick, and treated it with great contempt. This ſo offended *Zeid Ebn Arkom*, that he gave the governor opprobrious language, for diſcovering ſo ſavage a diſpoſition; which had like to have coſt him his head. Thus ended the battle of *Kerbela*, fought on the 10th day of the month *Al Moharram*, in the 61ſt year of the *Hejra*; which proved ſo fatal to the houſe of *Hâſhem*, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed *Yezid* upon the *Moſlem* throne. The *Arabs*, according to an eaſtern author, much eſteemed by Mr. *Ockley*, had 72 men killed in the action, 17 of whom were deſcended from *Fâtema*; and the troops of *Irâk* 88, beſides a conſiderable number wounded; tho', if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, not above thirty-eight of the *Khalif*'s men fell on the field of battle. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Obeid'allah* ordered the head of *Hoſein* to be carried through the city, expoſed to public view, fixed for ſome time, with forty others, upon one of the gates of *Cûfa*, and afterwards, with the women, and his ſon *Ali*, ſent to *Yezid* at *Damaſcus*. *Hoſein*, as ſome ſay, was about fifty-five or fifty-ſix, or, as others will have it, fifty-eight or fifty-nine, years old, at the time of his death. The principal officers ſlain on the ſide of the *Arabs*, in this unfortunate action, beſides *Hoſein*, were *Habib*, *Abd'allah Ebn Moſlem Ebn Okail*, *Mohammed* and *Awn*, the ſons of *Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar Ebn Abu Táleb*, *Ali* the elder ſon of *Hoſein*, *Harro Ebn Yezid*, and *Moſlem Ebn Auſâjah*. Some authors relate, that *Hoſein* was killed by *Senân Ebn Anas*, and others by *Shamer* himſelf. The *Arab* hiſtorians likewiſe differ in their opinion concerning the perſon who cut off *Hoſein*'s head; ſome of them aſcribing this barbarous action to *Hawla Ebn Yezid*, and others to *Naſr*. *Zeinab*, *Hoſein*'s daughter, went, after the battle, to the citadel, where *Obeid'allah* had a conference with her, in which he reflected, with great warmth and aſperity of expreſſion, upon the family of *Hoſein*; which provoked *Zeinab* to reproach him for his cruelty in ſuch ſevere terms, that he was near iſſuing an order

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for her execution. After examination, finding that *Hoſein*'s youngeſt ſon *Ali* was arrived at puberty, he alſo threatened to execute him before her face; but, being mollified by her tears, he was at laſt prevailed upon to ſpare both of them, notwithſtanding the high provocation he pretended to have received. We muſt beg leave to inform our curious readers here, that *Kerbela*, or *Kerbala*, was the name of a diſtrict, or territory, in *Babylonian*, or *Chaldæan*, *Irâk*, famous for the death and ſepulchre of *Hoſein*. This diſtrict, or territory, lies a little to the weſt of the city called *Kaſr Ebn Hobeïrah*, and at a ſmall diſtance from *Cûfa*. The *Perſians* ſtill retain the name of *Kerbala* in their ſongs and elegies, made to commemorate the fatal death of *Hoſein*; from whom the bulk of thoſe ſectaries, as has been already obſerved, derive the deſcent, or ſucceſſion, of their *Imâms* r.

THE firſt time *Obeid'allah* went to the great moſque in *Cûfa*, after the defeat of *Hoſein*, he made a ſpeech to the people, which contained ſeveral expreſſions injurious to the memory of *Ali*, and highly reflecting upon his family. He praiſed GOD therein for diſcovering the truth, and thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of it; as alſo for aſſiſting *Yezid*, the emperor of the faithful, and his party; and, laſtly, for deſtroying the liar *Hoſein*, the ſon of the liar *Ali*, and his adherents. This ſo incenſed the friends of the houſe of *Hoſhem*, many of whom were then preſent, who roſe up from their ſeats with great indignation, that they could ſcarce forbear ſhewing their reſentment in the moſt public and violent manner. One of them in particular, who in two battles had loſt his eyes, and continued for the moſt part in the moſque from morning till evening, performing his devotions, cried out, whilſt the governor was in the midſt of his harangue, *O ſon of* Merjânah! *the liar, and the ſon of the liar, you, your father, and thoſe from whom you derive your commiſſion, kill the ſons of the prophets, and yet pretend to ſpeak the words of honeſt men.* Upon which, *Obeid'allah* ordered him to be inſtantly ſeized; but he was ſoon reſcued by thoſe of his own party, about 700 of whom were at that time in town. However, he was killed not long after, and hung upon a gibbet, erected for that purpoſe at a ſmall diſtance from *Cûfa*; which barbarity rendered *Obeid'allah* extremely odious to the inhabitants of that place. Nor was his bloody treatment of *Hoſein* at all reliſhed by the *Khalif*; who, upon the arrival of an expreſs diſpatched from *Cûfa*, to

Yezid's behaviour to the family of Hoſein.

r MS. Laud. num. 161. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. MS. Hunt. num. 495. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 51, 52. GREG ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 196, 197. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup. et in art. *Kerbela*. OCKLEY's hiſt. of the Saraç. vol. ii. p. 105, 211, &c.

bring him advice of what had happened, and to congratulate him upon the success of his arms, is reported to have shed tears, and said, "GOD curse the son of *Somyah*," meaning *Obeid'allah*; "I should have been well pleased without the "death of *Hosein*. Had he been with me, I should have "pardoned him. GOD loved *Hosein*, but did not suffer him "to arrive at the dignity to which he aspired." Before young *Ali*, and the women of *Hosein*'s family, entered *Damascus*, *Yezid* consulted his courtiers about the disposal of them. One of these told the *Khalif*, that nothing could better support his interest than the extinction of the line of *Hosein*; to whom *Yezid*, not approving of what he proposed, made no manner of reply. Another of a milder disposition delivered his sentiments in the following terms: "O emperor of the faithful, "treat them as would the apostle of GOD himself, were he "to see them in this disconsolate condition." This moved his compassion; which was farther excited, when he saw the head of *Hosein*; insomuch that he could not forbear breaking out into this pathetic exclamation: "O *Hosein*, had it been "in my power to have saved thee, thy life should not have "been taken away!" When *Hosein*'s wives and children were brought before him, and he saw the women appear in such mean and sordid attire, he cursed *Obeid'allah* again, calling him by way of contempt the son of *Somyah*, for suffering his troops to strip them of their most valuable effects in so shameful a manner. He afterwards entered into discourse with *Ali*, the son of *Hosein*, and his sisters *Fâtema* and *Zeinab*, wherein some warmth and asperity of expression, not to say personal reflections, on both sides were used; tho', when the conversation was over, the *Khalif* ordered them to be conducted to the hot bath, and sent them cloaths suitable to their quality, as well as all sorts of refreshments, to comfort them after the fatigues they had sustained. He also treated the women with the utmost respect; *Moâwiyah*'s widows keeping them company for the space of three days, at his command, and mourning with them for *Hosein*. He once asked *Amru*, *Hosein*'s son, a child, whom he took with him, as well as his brother *Ali*, whenever he walked abroad, whether he would fight his son *Khâled*? *Amru* answered, "Give me one knife, "and him another." Which an enemy of the house of *Hâshem* taking advantage of, said to *Yezid*, in order to incense him against the child, "One serpent naturally begets an-"other." But this produced no alteration in the *Khalif*'s conduct. He continued to treat with lenity, not to say tenderness, the distressed family of *Hosein*; and dismissed them with great politeness, after they had sufficiently refreshed themselves, and were upon the point of setting out for *Medina*.

dina, the place of their deſtination. He ordered his wives and children to take leave of them in a friendly manner; commanded *Nooman Ebn Baſhar* to furniſh them with a proper eſcorte, as well as a quantity of proviſions ſufficient to enable them to perform the journey they were to undertake; and once more aſſured them, in the moſt moving terms, that he would have ſaved *Hoſein*, had it been in his power, even tho' this could not have been done without the loſs of ſome of his own children; and that he would endeavour, by all poſſible means, to make the place of their reſidence agreeable to them. The commander of the eſcorte that attended them ſo won the hearts of *Fâtema* and *Zeinab*, by his tenderneſs and indulgence, that they offered him all the jewels the plunderers had left them; which he modeſtly declined accepting, telling them, that, "had he been influenced by any worldly "conſiderations, a leſs reward would have been ſufficient; "but that the kindneſs they had met with from him was "ſhewn them for GOD's ſake, and on account of their rela"tion to the prophet." Upon their arrival at *Medina*, they were viſited immediately by the whole family of *Hâſhem*, who came to condole with them for the loſs of their father, and their unhappy fate. We muſt not forget to inform our readers, that, according to *Khondemir*, *Ali*, ſurnamed *Zein Alabedin*, or *Zein Alab'addin*, i. e. *the ornament of the religious*, as has been already obſerved, at this time conducted with the reſt of the family to *Medina*, has all along been conſidered by the *Perſians* as the fourth lawful *Imâm* [s].

FROM the preceding account of *Yezid*'s behaviour to the family of *Hoſein*, extracted from ſome *Arab* writers of good authority, it appears highly improbable, that he ſhould have inſulted the head of that *Imâm*; and not, without great difficulty, have permitted it to be buried at *Damaſcus*, as we find aſſerted by M. *D'Herbelot*; in which article, as well as many others, he ſeems to have been miſled by the *Perſian* hiſtorians. The place in which the *Khalif* ordered it to be interred there was called *Bab al faradis*, *the garden-gate*; from whence it was removed firſt to *Aſcalon*, or *Aſhkelon*, in *Paleſtine*, and afterwards to *Cairo* or *Al Kahirah*, by the *Fâtemite Khalifs* of *Egypt*. Some of thoſe *Khalifs* erected a monument, or moſque, over it, which went under the name of *Maſhhad* HOSEIN, *the ſepulchre of* HOSEIN *the martyr*. Theſe *Khalifs* were maſters of *Syria* and *Egypt*, from before the year 400 till after the year 660 of the *Hejra*, and pretended that *Hoſein*'s head came not in-

Where Hoſein's head and body were buried.

[s] MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ali Ben Huſſain*, p. 96, 97. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 197.

to

to *Egypt* till after the 500th year of that *æra*. But that ſtory has been rejected, ſays a reputable *Arab* author, by the *Imâms* of the learned. Thoſe princes deduced their origin from *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*, and conſequently looked upon themſelves as deſcended from *Ali*; for which reaſon they aſſumed the name, or rather the ſurname, of *Fâtemites*, as an appellation more immediately pointing out the nobility of their extraction. With regard to the body of *Hoſein*, it was interred in the plain of *Kerbela*, where he was ſlain; and *Adado'ddawla*, ſurnamed alſo *Abu Shaja'*, the ſecond *Soltán* of the dynaſty of the *Buiyans*, or *Deylamites*, raiſed a ſumptuous monument upon the ſpot where it was inhumed, which is to this day viſited with great devotion by the *Perſians*. This *Soltán* called his magnificent edifice *Kunbud Faïz*, which, in the *Perſian* language, ſignifies *the magnificent dome*; but at this time it goes amongſt the *Arabs* under the denomination of *Maſhhad* HOSEIN, *the ſepulchre of* HOSEIN *the martyr*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, being an enemy to the houſe of *Ali*, forbad, under rigorous penalties, any of his ſubjects to perform the pilgrimage to *Hoſein*'s tomb. Nay, in order effectually to prevent this, he intirely razed the moſque built upon the ſpot, where had been depoſited the remains of that *Imâm*; and not content with this, being reſolved to efface all traces of it, he attempted to draw a canal of water over that place. But the water, ſay the *Shiites*, would never approach it, keeping its diſtance out of reſpect; from whence that water received the denomination of *Haïr*, that is, *aſtoniſhed* and *reſpectful*; a name which has ſince paſſed to the ſepulchre itſelf, on account of this miracle. The *Shiites* call that ſepulchre *Maſhhad Mokaddes*, *Moali*, and *Mozzeki*, i. e. *the holy, ſublime, and pure place*, or *ſepulchre*; becauſe *Hoſein*, whom they regard as a martyr, ſuffered death there. Nor did this impious attempt of *Al Motawakkel*, according to ſome *Perſian* traditions, go long unpuniſhed; *Ali* ſoon after appearing to him in his ſleep, and, after having reproached him with the outrages committed upon his deſcendents, gave him ſeven laſhes with a whip that he had in his hand. The *Khalif* telling his friends the next day what had happened, one of them aſſured him, that the whip *Ali* had in his hand was no other weapon than the famous ſword *Dhu'l-Fakar*, which belonged at firſt to *Monba Ebn Hejah*, the *Sahamite*, and fell into the hands of *Mohammed* at the battle of *Bedr*, and, after the prophet's death, came into the poſſeſſion of his ſon-in-law *Ali*; to which he likewiſe added, that this dream, or viſion, portended ſome ſignal misfortune to him, by way of puniſhment, for the hatred he bore the family of that *Imâm*. Which prediction, or prognoſtication, continue the ſame traditions, was verified two days after, when *Al Motawakkel* was

was aſſaſſinated by ſome of his ſervants, that were *Turks*, at the inſtigation of his ſon *Al Montaſer*, who, after his death, mounted the *Moſlem* throne. We are told by an author extremely well acquainted with the oriental hiſtorians, that the ſepulchre of *Hoſein* ſtood not very far from that of his father *Ali*; tho', according to an *Arab* writer of conſiderable credit, one *Naïm* was angry with any one who would pretend to point out the place where the former of thoſe *Imâms* lay interred [t].

THE death of *Hoſein* did not remain long unrevenged; ſeveral perſons appearing in this and the following reigns, who demanded the blood of *Hoſein*; that is, in the language of the *Moſlems*, inſiſted upon vengeance being taken of the murderers of that *Imâm*. *Al Mokhtâr*, one of the chiefs of that faction, in particular, boaſted that he had deſtroyed near 50,000 of the enemies of the houſe of *Ali*, without reckoning thoſe who were ſlain in the battles which he fought. The two titles generally given by the *Perſians* to *Hoſein* are *Shahîd*, *the martyr*, and *Seid*, *the lord*. By the words *Al Seidân*, *the two lords*, without any addition, they always underſtand the two eldeſt ſons of *Ali*, *Haſan* and *Hoſein*. According to *Ebn Shohnah*, the latter of thoſe *Imâms* made before GOD every twenty-four hours a thouſand adorations, or proſtrations; and, at the age of fifty-five years, had performed 25 pilgrimages to *Mecca* on foot; whereas one of them would have been ſufficient to have procured ſalvation for a pious *Moſlem*. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that there fell no leſs than three of his own ſons, and ſeven of thoſe of *Ali*, with *Hoſein*, when he was killed in the battle fought on the plain of *Kerbela* [u].

Hoſein's death avenged.

YEZDI, in a treatiſe concerning divine love, relates, that *Hoſein* having one day aſked his father *Ali* if he loved him, and received for anſwer, that he loved him tenderly; he then demanded of his father if he loved GOD? to which he alſo anſwered in the affirmative. Upon which, *Hoſein* ſaid to him, "Two loves can never meet in the ſame heart." At theſe words, *Ali* was ſo moved, that he could not forbear

A remarkable ſaying of Hoſein.

[t] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Houſſain*, p. 462. et in art. *Motavakkel*, p. 640, 641. ISM. ABULFED. in hiſt. univ. MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED de vit. Mohammed. c. lxx. p. 153. AL JANNAB. GAGN. la vie de Mahom tom. ii. c. viii. p. 355. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, in hiſt. Sarac. lib. ii. c. xi. p. 151, 152, 153. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hiſt. dynaſt. p. 261, 262. OCKLEY, ubi ſup. p. 221, 222, 223. See alſo SALE's map. of Arabia, prefixed to his preliminary diſcourſe.

[u] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Houſſain*, p. 463. EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 196.

ſhed-

ſhedding tears; when *Hoſein*, touched with the impreſſion his words had made, in order to comfort his father, again aſked him, "Whether he ſhould conſider the ſin of infidelity, "or his death, as the greater evil?" *Ali* replied, "I would "rather deliver you up to death than abandon my faith." "By this mark then," ſaid *Hoſein*, "'tis apparent that the "love you have for me is only a natural tenderneſs; and that "you bear towards GOD a true love." Many other ſayings, attributed to *Hoſein*, have been preſerved by the *Perſians*, who hold his memory in the higheſt veneration, and conſider him as the great progenitor of their *Imâms*. Hence it comes to paſs, that the day of his death, the 10th of the month *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 61, is ſo celebrated amongſt them, that they have all along, from that very year to this day, called it *Yaum Hoſein*, *Rúz Hoſein*, *the day of* Hoſein. Nor can it be doubted, but the anniverſary weeping and extravagant lamentation on this day, ſtill kept up by the *Perſians*, principally contribute to the ſubſiſtence of the averſion bore by that nation to the other *Moſlems*, who entertain different ſentiments of this great *Imâm*. The ſuperſtitious obſervance of this day, and the many ridiculous fictions framed by the *Shiites* concerning *Hoſein*, have been ſufficiently expoſed by an *Arab* author, cited often in this work; to whom, for farther ſatisfaction on this head, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious and inquiſitive readers [w].

The Moſlems *make themſelves maſters of the kingdom of* Khowarazm.

THE ſame year, *Yezid* appointed *Salem Ebn Ziyâd* to preſide over *Sejiſtân* and *Khoraſân*, when he came embaſſador to him. *Salem* was then but twenty-four years of age, tho' he was in all reſpects qualified for the honourable poſt aſſigned him. Soon after he had entered upon his government, he aſſembled a body of troops, in order to make an irruption into the *Turkiſh* territories. He took his wife along with him in this expedition, who was brought to bed of a ſon in the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, or the circumjacent villages and plains in the neighbourhood of that city. This child, from the place of his nativity, was ſurnamed *Al Sogdi*, or *the Sogdian*. *Salem*'s wife, at this juncture, borrowed ſome jewels of the prince of *Sogd*'s lady, which ſhe carried off with her, upon the return of the *Arabs* into their own dominions. In the mean time, *Salem* ſent a ſtrong detachment, under the command of *Mohalleb*, to *Khowarazm*, the principal city of the *Turks*, or *Tartars*, in thoſe parts, which exacted an immenſe ſum of the inhabitants, amounting to 50,000,000 pieces of

[w] YESIDI, in reſalat fi biyâni'l mehabbat. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. MS. Huntingt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. ubi ſup. OCKLEY, ubi ſup. p. 226—231.

money;

money; part of which he reſerved for his own uſe, and ſent the reſt to *Yezid*. Then he advanced to *Samarkand*, forced the citizens to pay him likewiſe a vaſt ſum of money, and afterwards retired with little loſs into the provinces he governed. The city of *Khowarazm*, in the time of the *Khalif Yezid*, was the capital of the kingdom of the ſame name, the *Chorafmia* of *Ptolemy* and *Herodotus*, and the ſame with that afterwards called *Kharizme*, *Korkang*, *Orkang*, and at preſent *Urgens*. It was ſituated in a weſtern direction from the *Jihûn*, the *Oxus* of the antients; or, as the ſituation of *Urgens* has been more accurately determined by the modern geographers, in a great plain to the north of the river *Amû*, in lat. 39° 50′, twenty-five *German* leagues from the eaſtern ſhores of the *Caſpian* ſea. The tract called *Sogd*, or the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, went under the name of *Sogdiana* in the days of *Ptolemy* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and of *Sugdias* in thoſe of *Dionyſius Afer*. The natives were denominated *Sogdiani* and *Sogdii*, in the *Roman* times, as appears from *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*. The *Moſlems*, under the conduct of *Mohalleb*, did not only acquire an immenſe quantity of plunder in this expedition, but likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the kingdom of *Khowarazm* [x].

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir *proclaimed* Khalif *at* Medina.

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, after the death of *Hoſein*, finding himſelf at the head of the partiſans of the houſe of *Hâſhem*, who were greatly oppreſſed by *Yezid*, began to entertain thoughts in earneſt of aſpiring to the *Khalifat*. As he had, therefore, never recognized *Yezid*'s authority, he now declared publickly againſt him, and depoſed him in a formal manner at *Medina*; being ſupported by the inhabitants of that city, as well as thoſe of *Mecca*; who, ſoon after the arrival of *Hoſein*'s family at *Medina*, proclaimed him *Khalif*. After his inauguration, in order to render himſelf more popular amongſt them, he aggravated all the circumſtances of *Hoſein*'s death to the laſt degree, and repreſented the *Cûfans*, who had firſt invited *Hoſein* to their city, and afterwards deſerted him, as the moſt faithleſs and perfidious villains upon

[x] MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi ſup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 120, 121, et alib. Prol. geogr. lib. vi. c. xii. p. 160. edit. Bert. Herodot. lib. iii. c. xciii. p. 200. Lond. 1679. Strab. lib. xi. Arrian. lib. iv. c. 15. Curt. lib. vii. c. iv. et lib. viii. c. 1. Dionys. perieg. v. 746, 747. Athen. deipnoſoph. lib. ii. ſub fin. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii. c. 26. Plin. lib. vi. c. 16. Christoph. Cellar. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. xxi. p. 832—835. Lipſiæ, 1706. An account of the preſent ſtate of the Northern Asia, par. i. c. ii. p. 420, 438, 440. Lond. 1729. Vide etiam Ism. Abulfed. in tab. Ulugh Beigh, in tab. &c.

earth,

earth, in his speeches to the people; which produced the desired effect. For, the citizens, who had always been well-affected to *Hosein*, heard these discourses with delight; especially as *Abd'allah* took care, in them, to give the highest character of that *Imâm*; to expatiate upon his heroical conduct, in preferring to an ignominious life an honourable death; to magnify his merits, and remind them of his supereminent sanctity; and, in fine, to exhibit to their view every thing that might excite in them a desire of revenging his death, and inspire them with an abhorrence of that government, which had been the cause of it. They, therefore, flocked to him in such numbers, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable force. *Yezid*, being informed of his progress, swore he would have him in chains, and accordingly sent a silver collar for him to *Merwân*, then governor of *Medina*, with orders to put it about his neck, and send him to *Damascus*, if he did not immediately desist from his attempt. But *Abd'allah*, having secured the affections of the people, ridiculed both the *Khalif* and his deputy, as well as the collar that had been prepared for him. As *Yezid* was a man of a very dissolute life, spending his time wholly in drinking wine, and with his dogs, and had not the least regard for religion, he was perfectly abhorred by the *Arabs*; and consequently the menaces he uttered against *Abd'allah* did not in the least tend to the diminution of his authority. Besides, it was very well known in *Arabia*, that when his father *Moâwiyah* had reprimanded him for his abandoned course of life, and advised him to conform his actions more to the precepts of the *Korân*, he had slighted his wholsome reproofs, and treated with contempt his salutary admonitions; which made the *Arabs* to consider him as a wretch altogether incorrigible. About this time, *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, governor of *Mecca*, having been assured by *Abd'allah Ebn Amru* in *Egypt*, a person who had studied the prophet *Daniel*, and was celebrated amongst all the *Moslems* for his wisdom and knowledge of future events, whom he had consulted on this occasion, that, in his opinion, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* would live and die a king; this prejudiced farther in his favour the bulk of the *Arab* nation. Nay, *Amru Ebn Sa'id* himself, tho' he secretly hated him, thought it policy, as affairs then stood, to keep up a good understanding with him. This induced some of *Yezid*'s courtiers, who probably before were no friends to *Amru*, to suggest to the *Khalif*, that, had the commandant of *Mecca* been heartily in his master's interest, he might have seized *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and sent him to *Damascus*. Upon which suggestion, *Yezid* dismissed *Amru* from his post, and substituted *Walid Ebn Otbah* in his room. These commotions happened

in

in the 61ſt year of the *Hejra*, about the ſame time that *Salem Ebn Ziyâd* was employed in the expedition to *Samarkand*, or at leaſt a little before the commencement of that expedition. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Salem* firſt advanced to *Niſabor*, or *Naiſabour*, the capital of *Khoraſân*, which he reduced; and from thence penetrated to *Khowarazm*, which likewiſe ſurrendered to him. The ſame author alſo relates, that he detached *Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra* with a body of troops againſt *Khatûn*, queen of *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, who had been joined by the king of *Sa'id* with an army of 120,000 men. *Mohalleb*, continues he, notwithſtanding the prodigious inequality of numbers, defeated *Khatûn*, and the king of *Sa'id*, and diſperſed their numerous forces. The king of *Sai'd*, on whom *Khatûn* had promiſed to beſtow herſelf in marriage, was killed in the action, together with a conſiderable part of his troops; after which, *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, a very famous and antient city of *Mawara'lnahr*, *Tranſoxiâna*, or, as it is now called, *Great Bukhâria*, ſubmitted to the victors, and was, with the territory belonging to it, annexed to the *Moſlem* empire. The city of *Bukhâra*, the capital of *Great Bukhâria*, or rather of the province of *Bukhâria*, properly ſo called, and ſituated in lat. 39° 30′, is at preſent the reſidence of the *Khân* of *Great Bukhâria*, of a vaſt extent, and fortified with a ſtrong rampart fenced with earth. It ſtands about ſeven days journey to the ſouth of *Samarkand*, upon a little river, that is ſaid to fall into the *Jihûn*, the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*, about the 92° of longitude. This river is called by the *Arabs Sogd*, or *Al Soghd*, and, as ſome writers aſſert, has its ſource in the cold and mountainous part of *Fargana*. Its water is ſaid to be very bad, and to breed worms in the legs of thoſe who drink it. One of the three parts of *Bukhâra* is formed by the *Khân*'s caſtle, and the buildings depending upon it; another by the places deſtined for the *Murſas*, or officers of the court, and others belonging to the retinue of the *Khân*; and the third, which is larger than the others, for the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. The moſques, baths, and ſuch-like public edifices, are built of brick, and of a fine ſtructure; but the other buildings conſiſt only of earth. The ſituation of this place is very convenient for trade, eſpecially that between *Grand Tartary*, *Perſia*, and the *Indies*; and the inhabitants actually ſupply the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Perſia*, with all ſorts of dried fruits of a moſt exquiſite flavour. It has produced a very conſiderable number of learned men, and ſome of the brighteſt genius's of the eaſt; amongſt whom we may reckon the famous *Ebn Sina*, or *Avicenna*, ſo well known by his writings even in our part of the world. Some authors place it above a day's

day's journey from the *Oxus*. It was surrounded with delicious gardens, stately towers, magnificent palaces, or rather splendid country-seats, pleasant villages, and fine verdant fields; all which were inviroued by a wall of twelve parasangs in extent, in the days of *Abulfeda*. We are told by *Yâkût*, that the *Arabs* passed the *Jihûn*, the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*, overthrew the *Bukhârian* forces assembled by *Khatûn*, and possessed themselves of *Bukhâra*, in the *Khalifat* of *Moáwiyah*, about the 55th year of the *Hejra*. But the best and most antient *Arab* historians fix this expedition, as has been already observed, with greater accuracy and precision, in the 61st year of that æra [y].

Great commotions at Medina.

WALID EBN OTBAH had no sooner entered upon the government of *Mecca* than he began to exert his authority, by imprisoning 300 of his predecessor *Amru*'s dependents. However, *Amru* found means soon to release them; which having done, he undertook a journey to *Damascus*, was introduced to the *Khalif* there, and met with a gracious reception from him. But notwithstanding this, *Yezid* rebuked him for being remiss in the execution of his commands, and for not being active enough in extinguishing the rebellion of *Abd'allah* and his adherents. *Amru*, being a man of great address and penetration, easily justified his conduct, and that so much to the *Khalif*'s satisfaction, that he told him he was an honester man than those who had taken such pains to misrepresent him; and that he should, for the future, repose an intire confidence in him. About this time, one *Najdah*, a powerful *Arab* of *Yamâma*, appeared at the head of a body of troops he had assembled against *Yezid*, and discovered a strong disposition to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. In the mean time, the new governor *Walid* made use of all his skill to circumvent *Abd'allah*; but without effect, that general being always upon his guard. This conduct, however, giving great disgust, as well as terrible apprehensions, to *Abd'allah*, he sent a letter to *Yezid*, informing him therein, that *Walid* was totally unfit for the post he had honoured him with; and that if he would send to *Medina* a person of a more tractable disposition, all differences between them might easily be composed. *Yezid*, desirous of peace upon any terms, indiscreetly dismissed *Walid*, a man of an unshaken fidelity to him, at the instigation of his mortal enemy, and sent *Othmân Ebn Mo-*

[y] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 52, 53. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 177, 178, 179, 188, 189. SAID EBN ALI AL JURJIANI, in sua climat. descript. ISM. ABULFED. in geograph. YAKUT. See an account of the present state of the NORTHERN ASIA, par. i. c. iii. p. 465, 466.

hammed

hammed Ebn Abu Sofián, a man by no means qualified for so important a truſt, to take upon him the government of *Medina* in his room. Soon after this event, ſome embaſſadors, or rather deputies, were ſent from that city to *Damaſcus*, where they waited upon *Yezid*, who received them kindly, and made them conſiderable preſents; but his converſation gave them ſuch offence, that, upon their return to *Medina*, they inflamed the people there greatly againſt him. They repreſented him as a man wholly addicted to wine, ſinging girls, and dogs, and void of all religion; for which reaſon they publickly renounced their allegiance to him, and were joined herein by many of their fellow-citizens, who came to a reſolution to depoſe him in a formal manner. *Al Mondar*, one of the embaſſadors, inſtead of returning home, went to *Baſra*, where he was courteouſly entertained by *Obeid'allah*, who had formerly been acquainted with him. *Yezid* being apprized of this, and of the ſeditious proceedings of the embaſſadors at *Medina*, wrote to *Obeid'allah* to put him under arreſt till farther orders. But *Obeid'allah*, conſidering a compliance with the *Khalif*'s commands in this point as a violation of the laws of hoſpitality, enabled *Al Mondar* to make his eſcape; who, upon his arrival at *Medina*, confirmed what the other deputies had related of *Yezid*; to which he likewiſe added, that his almoſt total neglect of prayers had rendered him infamous in the ſight of all who had any regard for the *Moſlem* faith; and that he would not be bribed by the hundred *dinârs* given him by the *Khalif* for that purpoſe to conceal the truth. This coming to *Yezid*'s ears, he threatened *Al Mondar* with his reſentment, and diſpatched *Al Nooman Ebn Baſhir* to *Medina*, to bring the people there back to a ſenſe of their duty. This he endeavoured to do, by pointing out to them the effuſion of *Moſlem* blood, that muſt be the natural conſequence of their perſiſting in ſuch a rebellion; but without effect. The troubles mentioned here commenced in the 62d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 681; in which alſo died *Moſeilama Ebn Mokhalled*, of *Medina*, the governor of *Egypt*. He was ſucceeded in that poſt by *Sa'id Ebn Yezid-Al Azdi*, who continued in it till the death of *Yezid*. The tribe of *Azd*, to which *Sa'id* belonged, which was very famous amongſt the *Arabs*, produced ſeveral illuſtrious men, who aſſumed the ſurname of *Al Azdi*, or *the Azdite*; amongſt whom were *Abú Beer Mohammed Ebn Il'aſa* and *Abu Iſhák Ijmael*, two celebrated *Moſlem* doctors. The firſt of theſe, who died in the 127th year of the *Hejra*, was one of the moſt learned of the *Tabein*, or *Tabeites*; that is to ſay, the *followers*, or *adherents*, who were the ſucceſſors of the COMPANIONS; and the latter was a native of *Bagra*, who wrote a piece much

esteemed by those of his religion, intituled, *Ahkam Al Korân*, i. e. *the laws and statutes of the* Korân. He departed this life, in what place is uncertain, about the 282d year of the *Hejra* [z].

The inhabitants of Medina *depose* Yezid.

THE people of *Medina* having renounced all allegiance to *Yezid*, and being highly incensed against him, appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Moti* to preside over the *Koreish*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Hantelah* over the *Ansârs*. The latter of these was a person of great distinction, and adorned with many excellent endowments. He was one of the embassadors sent lately to *Damascus*, and took his eight sons along with him. *Yezid* having been before apprized, that he was very religious and devout, and for that reason extremely popular amongst his fellow-citizens, took care to caress him more than any of the other deputies that attended him. He made him a present of 100,000 *dinârs*, and every one of his sons 10,000, besides a proper number of vests suitable to the quality of the persons for whom they were designed. In the beginning of the 63d year of the *Hejra*, the *Arabs* of *Medina* put their menaces against *Yezid* in execution. After they had assembled about the pulpit in the mosque there, one of them said, *I lay aside* Yezid *as I do this turbant*; and then threw his turbant upon the ground. Another said, *I put away* Yezid *as I do this shoe*; casting away the shoe at the same time from him. These examples being followed by others, there was a large heap of shoes and turbants almost instantly formed upon the spot. Then they dismissed *Othmân*, *Yezid*'s lieutenant, and banished from *Medina* the house of *Ommiyah*, together with all their friends and dependents. These, to the number of about a thousand, took refuge in *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*'s house, where they were so closely besieged by the *Hâshemite* faction, that they found themselves obliged to send to *Yezid* for immediate assistance; intimating in the letter they wrote to him, that, unless they received speedy relief, they must all inevitably perish. *Yezid* wondered that so considerable a number of men should suffer themselves to be confined, without making the least resistance; and asked *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, the former governor of *Mecca*, whom he had lately recalled from thence, whether he would march with a body of troops to *Medina*, in order to chastize the rebels there? But *Amru* declining the command of the forces offered him, the *Khalif* put *Moslem Ebn Okba*, tho' very antient and infirm, at the head of the troops

[z] MS. Laud. num. 161. & MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN. ubi sup. p. 53. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 154. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. v. p. 340.

that

that were to undertake the intended expedition. However, the conduct of the friends of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, who had ſuffered themſelves to be cooped up in ſo ignominious a manner, irritated *Meſlem* to ſuch a degree, that he pronounced them both cowards and traitors to their prince, and declared that they ought not to be delivered before they had at leaſt made one effort to extricate themſelves out of the difficulties in which their puſillanimity had chiefly contributed to involve them. But *Yezid*'s command being peremptory, he was obliged to ſubmit. The *Khalif* ordered him to ſpare *Ali*, the ſon of *Hoſein*, and his family, as they had had no hand at all in the preſent commotions. He alſo ordered him to ſummon the city of *Medina*, upon his arrival before it, three days ſucceſſively; and if, after ſuch ſummons, the citizens refuſed to ſurrender the town, to take it by ſtorm, and give it up to the ſoldiers to be plundered for three whole days. The inhabitants of *Medina*, being apprized of the impending ſtorm, permitted all the members of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, together with their friends and adherents, to retire quietly out of the city; tho', before their departure, they extorted from them a promiſe never to appear in arms, or commit any hoſtilities, againſt the dominant faction [a].

Meslem Eben Okba Al Marsi, having received his inſtructions from the *Khalif*, begun his march for *Medina* with 5000 foot and 12,000 horſe; and, upon his arrival before the town, the citizens having refuſed to ſurrender, made the neceſſary preparations for a general aſſault. He propoſed to attack the place on the eaſt ſide, that the troops which defended it, and had ſurrounded it with a ditch for their ſecurity, might have the ſun in their faces; and this proved of ſignal ſervice to him. However, the gariſon, for a conſiderable time, made a vigorous defence; inſomuch that *Meſlem* advanced very ſlowly in the ſiege. But at laſt moſt of the *Anſars* and the principal officers being killed, the *Arabs* within the town offered to capitulate. *Meſlem* refuſed to grant them any terms, and inſiſted upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion. But this laſt ſummons not being complied with, the *Meſlem* general, after a faint oppoſition, entered the place; ſent *Ali*, whom he treated with great reſpect, in purſuance of the orders he had received, home upon his own camel; put all the men he met with to the ſword; and, tho' the prophet was buried there, permitted the *Syrian* forces to get a thouſand women with child, and to pillage the city for three days together, without

Meſlem takes Medina by ſtorm, and plunders it.

[a] MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi ſup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 53, 54. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jezid*, p. 486.

intermiſſion. Thoſe that eſcaped the ſword, he obliged to own themſelves ſlaves and vaſſals to *Yezid*; for which extreme ſeverity the *Arabs* ſurnamed him *Al Muſrif*, i. e. *extravagant*, *exorbitant*; becauſe his orders did not extend to authorize the enormities he had committed. *Medina* was taken in the night, towards the cloſe of the month *Dhu'lhajja*, in the year of the *Hejra* 63, or of our LORD 682. The *Moſlems* conſidered *Ebn Okba* ever after as an impious perſon, for his barbarity to the citizens of *Medina*, eſpecially as the prophet himſelf had denounced a ſort of curſe againſt him, which was couched in the following terms: "If any man ſhall hereafter "ſack or plunder my city, the wrath of GOD ſhall moſt certainly remain upon him [b]."

Yezid *dies.*

AFTER the reduction of *Medina*, *Meſlem* marched with his army towards *Mecca*, in order to chaſtize the inſolence of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who then reſided in that place; but he died on his march, in the month of *Al Moharram*, the following year. Upon his death, *Hoſein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi* took upon him the command of the army, and advanced to *Mecca*, which he beſieged for the ſpace of forty days; during which term, he battered the town, by the aſſiſtance of his military engines, with ſo much fury, that he beat down a great part of the famous temple there, and burnt the reſt. Nor had the city itſelf eſcaped the ſame fate, had not the news of *Yezid*'s death recalled *Hoſein* into *Syria*, and forced him to abandon the ſiege [c].

The Syrian *forces return home.*

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR had before been informed of the *Khalif*'s deceaſe, and even apprized the *Syrian* troops of it from the walls; aſking them, at the ſame time, for whom they fought, as *Yezid* was moſt certainly dead? However, they would not believe him; but continued the ſiege with great vigour, till they received farther information. As ſoon as this news was confirmed, *Hoſein* told *Abd'allah*, that, as a farther effuſion of *Moſlem* blood was altogether unneceſſary, he would take the oath of allegiance to him; and aſſured him, that all the forces under his command, amongſt which were all the principal men of *Syria*, ſhould be at his devotion. But *Abd'allah*, at this juncture, durſt not truſt him; and therefore refuſed the overture made him; tho' afterwards, when too late, he repented of this conduct. During the conference between them, *Hoſein* turned his horſe aſide, in order to avoid killing ſome of the temple pigeons, that were pecking

[b] MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. in hiſt. univ. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. [c] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandr. annal. tom. ii. p. 362, 363.

ſome-

something on the ground at a small distance from him; which being observed by *Abd'allah*, he could not forbear asking him, "How he could scruple destroying any of those birds, and "yet not be afraid of spilling the blood of so many *Mos-* "*lems?*" *Hosein* replied, that "he would never for the fu- "ture fight against him." After which, he desired leave to go in procession round the *Caaba*; which was immediately granted. Some pretend, that the temple was not set on fire by the engines employed by the *Syrian* army in the siege; but by a little fire accidentally wafted by the wind from the top of *Hosein*'s spear, the sparks of which were communicated from thence to the hangings and wood-work of that edifice. We must not forget to remark, that the house of *Ommiyah* attended *Hosein* into *Syria*; and that *Yezid*, before his decease, having received advice of the death of *Meslem*, confirmed *Hosein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi* in the command of the *Moslem* forces before *Mecca*. The engines made use of by *Hosein* in the siege of that place were a species of the catapult, or catapulta, a military machine generally employed on such occasions by the antients, as we learn from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [d].

YEZID died at *Hawwarin*, in the territory of *Hems*, in the beginning of the former *Rabî*, and the 64th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 684. He died in the 39th year of his age, after he had reigned about three years and six or eight months. As to his person, he was either of a ruddy, according to *Abulfeda*, or, as *Abu Jaafar* will have it, of a swarthy complexion. He was a tall thin man, had a handsome beard tinged with *Al Henna*, curled hair, black eyes, leprous fingers, and a face pitted with the small-pox. His under-lip was inverted, when he laughed. He left behind him several children of both sexes. His son *Khâled* is reported to have been skilled in the art of alchemy, and his son *Abd'allah* to have been the most exact archer of all the *Arabs* of his time. His mother's name was *Meisûn*, the daughter of *Yahdak*, of the tribe of *Calb*. She had an excellent genius for poetry; and, at *Moâwiyah*'s command, took her son *Yezid* with her into the desart amongst her own relations there, in order to inspire him with poetic sentiments. Nor was this education altogether thrown away upon him, as he discovered himself capable of drawing up a tolerable good copy of *Arabic* verses, on several occasions. *Yezid* was the first *Khalif* that drank wine publickly, and was waited upon by eunuchs; which gave great offence to the *Mohammedans*. He was extremely fond

Description of Yezid's person, and his character.

[d] MS. Laud. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 245, 246, 247.

of dogs; which likewise not a little disgusted vast numbers of his subjects, as the more scrupulous *Moslems* have an aversion to those animals. But he was rendered the most disagreeable to the *Arabs* by his avarice and impiety. This occasioned a certain author to observe, that the *Moslem* empire could only flourish either under a pious prince, such as were the four first *Khalifs*, or a liberal one, such as was *Moâwiyah*; and consequently that, under such an impious and avaritious prince as *Yezid*, every thing must be lost. The ravages committed at *Medina*, or the city of the prophet, by this *Khalif*'s order, are considered by the *Mohammedan* doctors as the highest instance of his impiety, and as the principal cause of his being cut off in the flower of his age. In support of which notion, they produce this saying of *Mohammed*, *Whoever injureth* Medina *shall melt away, even as salt melteth away in the water.* The *Persian* writers have the memory of *Yezid* in such abhorrence, that they always mention him with abomination, and generally annex to his name the following malediction, *The curse of* God *be upon him.* Which they do not so much on account of his vices, as because of the death of *Hosein*, whom, with all his family, he attempted first to destroy by poison, and afterwards caused to be killed on the plain of *Kerbela.* His principal secretary of state was *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*, and, after him, *Raml Ebn Omar Al Adri*; his *Kâdi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Helwâni*; his chamberlain, *Khâled* his servant, or, as others say, *Safwân*; and the captain of his guards, *Hamid Ebn Kharbat Ebn Yahdak*, of the tribe of *Calb*, and afterwards *Amer Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamadani.* The first day of his *Khalifat* was *Saturday*, and the last *Monday.* He was looked upon as so irreligious a prince, that some of the *Moslems*, and particularly the *Persians*, called, in after-ages, all those persons void of religion *Yezid* and *Yzit.* The *Persian* poet *Jami* being one of these, a man, named *Mezid*, was resolved to insult him on that account; and, therefore, one day, as soon as he entered the room where an assembly was met at *Jami*'s house, he cried out with a loud voice, *The curse of* God *fall upon* Yezid! *Jami* perceiving that these words were pointed at him, instantly replied, *May that curse fall upon* Yezid *and* Mezid! The smartness of which repartee consists in the words, *upon* Mezid, which were not only applicable to the aggressor, but likewise denoted MORE AND MORE [e].

[e] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Eutych. D'Herbel. ubi sup. Mohammed Ebn Khassem, Ebn Shohnah, Ebn Amid, Aut. Rabi Al Akyar, MS. Huntingt. num. 495. et MS. Laud, num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup.

In

In the *Khalifat* of *Yezid*, the *Moslems* made an absolute conquest of *Khorasân* and *Khowarazm*, and put the territories of the prince of *Samarkand* under contribution. The motto, or inscription, of his seal was, GOD IS OUR LORD. He was buried at *Damascus*, in the sepulchre of *the little gate*; and his son *Moâwiyah*, whom he nominated, when at the point of death, emperor of the faithful, said the prayers usual on such occasions over him. *Theophanes* barely mentions the death of *Yezid*, whom he calls *Izid*, without taking any particular notice of the cause, circumstances, or effects of it; and *Dionysius Telmarensis* only tells us, that *Yezid* died in the year of *Seleucus* 992, or of CHRIST 681, and was succeeded by *Merwân*. There is an author, named *Al Fadhl Al Berid*, who has written the history of this *Khalif*, under the title of *Akbâr Yezid*[f].

Conquests made by the Moslems in the Khalifat of Yezid.

SECT. VIII.

MOAWIYAH II. the son of *Yezid*, was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Damascus* the very day on which his father died. His mother was the daughter of *Hâshem*, or, as others say, of *Khâled Ebn Abu Hâshem Ebn Otba Ebn Rabia Ebn Abd Shams*. The *Arab* writers represent this young prince as of a religious disposition, but of a very weak constitution; and tell us, that he had not completed the twenty-first year of his age, when he mounted the *Moslem* throne. He was of the sect of the *Kadarians*, having been instructed in their principles by his favourite master *Omar Al Makshûs*, whom he consulted, in order to know of him whether he should accept of the *Khalifat*, or not. *Omar* told him, that if he found himself equal to the duties of that arduous post, he ought to accept of the high dignity offered him; if not, that he ought to decline it. Some of the eastern writers make the *Kadarians* to have been originally a branch of the *Motazalites*, or the followers of *Wâsel Ebn Atâ*, who, with their master, were expelled the school of *Hasan* of *Basra*, whose scholar he was, and thenceforth called *Motazalites*, or *Separatists*; tho' others look upon *Kadarians* as really a more antient name than that of *Motazalites*; *Mabad Al Johni*, and his adherents, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before *Wâsel* quitted his master, having gone by that appellation. For which reason, some use the denomination of *Kadarians* as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the *Motazalites* under it. This

Moâwiyah II. succeeds his father Yezid.

[f] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, D'HERBEL. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph p. 300. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Simon. Assemani. ub. sup. p. 104.

ſect deny abſolute predeſtination, ſaying, that evil and injuſtice ought not to be attributed to GOD, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or puniſhed for his actions; which GOD has granted him power either to do or to let alone. And hence it is ſaid they are called *Kadarians*, becauſe they deny *Al Kaar*, or GOD's *abſolute decree*; tho' others, thinking it not ſo proper to affix a name to a ſect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from *Kadr*, or *Kodrat*, i. e. *power*, becauſe they aſſert man's *power* to act freely. Thoſe, however, who give the name *Kadarians* to the *Motazalites* are their enemies; for they diſclaim it, and give it to their antagoniſts the *Jabarians*, who likewiſe refuſe it, as an infamous appellation, becauſe *Mohammed* is ſaid to have declared the *Kadarians* to be the *Magians* of his followers. But what the opinion of theſe *Kadarians* in *Mohammed*'s time was, is very uncertain. The *Motazalites* ſay the name belongs to thoſe who aſſert *predeſtination*, and make GOD the author of good and evil, *viz.* the *Jabarians*; but all the other *Mohammedan* ſects agree to fix it upon the *Motazalites*, who, they ſay, are like the *Magians*, in eſtabliſhing two principles, *light*, or GOD, the author of good, and *darkneſs*, or the *devil*, the author of evil. But this cannot be ſaid of the *Motazalites*, who generally aſcribe men's good deeds to GOD, but their evil deeds to themſelves; meaning thereby, that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is maſter of his actions. For which reaſon it is, that the other *Mohammedans* call them *Magians*, becauſe they aſſert another author of actions beſides GOD. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to ſay what *Mohammed*'s own opinion was in this matter. For, on the one ſide, the *Korân* itſelf is pretty plain for abſolute predeſtination, and many ſayings of *Mohammed* are recorded to that purpoſe. On the other, it is urged in behalf of the *Motazalites*, that *Mohammed* declaring, that the *Kadarians* and *Morgians* had been curſed by the tongues of ſeventy prophets, and being aſked who the *Kadarians* were, anſwered, *Thoſe who aſſerted, that* GOD *predeſtinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet puniſhes them for it*. *Al Haſan* is alſo ſaid to have declared, that GOD ſent *Mohammed* to the *Arabs*, while they were *Kadarians*, or *Jabarians*, and laid their ſins upon GOD; and, in confirmation of this point, a paſſage is produced out of the *Korân*. Both parties, therefore, have recourſe to the teſtimony of *Mohammed* in ſupport of their reſpective, tho' contrary, opinions; and conſequently make him to contradict himſelf at leaſt in ſome of his deciſions. *Ebn Awn*, one of the moſt celebrated *Moſlem* doctors, would not ſalute a *Kadarian*, if he met him; ſaying, that the ſect to which he belonged ought

to be considered as the *Magians* of the *Mohammedans*; and *Shaabi*, another of those doctors, makes the *Kadarians* to have agreed in all points with the *Motazalites*. *Abu Zakaria Yahya Ebn Abu'lkhâir*, a doctor following the sentiments of the famous *Al Shâfei*, has written a treatise against the tenets of the *Kadarians*, intituled, *Enteffâr fil redd ala al Kadaria al ashrâr*. *Omar Al Makfûs* seems to have been one of the principal members of this sect, in the days of *Yezid*, who probably favoured it, as he intrusted him with the education of his son. *Al Makfûs* told this young prince, that, unless he found himself capable of administering justice exactly to the *Moslems*, he ought by no means to take upon himself the title of emperor of the faithful [g].

Moâwiyah *declines the* government.

About six weeks after his inauguration, *Moâwiyah* finding himself too weak to sustain the weight of the government, took a resolution to lay it down. In order to which, he assembled the grandees of his court, and told them, that when he first entertained thoughts of relinquishing the high station to which his father's nomination had advanced him, he intended to have chosen a successor in the same manner as did *Abu Becr*; but that this he found impossible, as a man of *Omar*'s merit and abilities was not to be met with. Then he informed them, that, not being able to execute his first plan, he proposed to follow the example of *Omar*, and name six persons, upon one of which the choice by lot should fall; but that he likewise found this impracticable, as he could not be furnished with six men duly qualified for the discharge of the duties of so important a post. Wherefore, continued he, I am resolved to leave the election of a new *Khalif* intirely to your management. Upon which, they immediately expressed their readiness to chuse the person that should be the most agreeable to him; but he declined naming any one, saying, "As I have not enjoyed the advantages of the *Khalifat*, it is "unreasonable that I should charge myself with the most odious "part of it; and therefore I hope you will permit me to dis"charge my conscience towards you, and judge for yourselves "who is the most capable amongst you of filling my place." After which, he made his abdication in form; and the noblesse

[g] Abu'Jaafar Al Tabar. apud Al Makîn, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. ix. p. 55. ut et ipse Al Makin, ibid. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 197. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 362, 363. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah Ben Jezid*, p. 587, et alib. Moham. Al Firauzabadi, in Kam. Al Shahrestan. Aut. Sharh Al Mawakef, Ebn Al Athir, Al Motarezzi, in lib. *Mogreb*. Al Bokhar. Ebn Khalecan, Al Kor. Moham. s. vii. et alib. Poc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 231—238. See also Sale's transl. of the Kor. p. 119.

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proceeding to an election, the choice fell upon *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was the fourth *Khalif* of *Syria*. However, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* had been advanced to the *Khalifat*, in *Arabia*, after the death of *Yezid*. He presided over *Hejâz*, *Yaman*, *Irâk*, *Khoraſân*, *Egypt*, and all *Syria*, except that part called *Ordon*, or *Al Oroddan*, which adhered to *Yezid*. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Moâwiyah*'s ſpeech, immediately preceding his abdication, was to the following effect: "My "grandfather *Moâwiyah* deprived a man more worthy than "himſelf of the *Khalifat*. Nor did my father merit that "ſublime dignity, though he obtained it. For my own part, "I am determined not to have an account to give of ſo weighty "a charge as is the government of the *Moſlems*, when I appear "in the preſence of GOD; and therefore inveſt the perſon that "ſhall pleaſe you beſt with the authority of *Khalif*." Which ſpeech, as well as what was immediately conſequent thereupon, ought to be conſidered as the effect of thoſe religious impreſſions that his preceptor *Al Makſûs* had made upon him [h].

And dies. MOAWIYAH had no ſooner abdicated the government than he ſhut himſelf up in a chamber, from whence he ſtirred not till he died. Some ſay, that he was poiſoned, and others, that he was carried off by the plague not long after his abdication. The interval between his death and that event he ſpent wholly in religious exerciſes, and in performing his devotions. He was ſurnamed, by way of ridicule, *Abu Leilah*, i. e. *the father of the night*; becauſe his natural weakneſs and bad ſtate of health would not permit him to appear much abroad in the day-time. Authors differ as to the preciſe account of the ſhort time he reigned; ſome fixing this at twenty days, others at forty-five, others at forty, and others extending it to four months. Nor do they exactly agree in the length of the interval between his renunciation and his death; ſome making this to conſiſt of only forty days, and others of three months. He was buried at *Damaſcus*, cloſe by his father; and, according to ſome, *Walid Ebn Otba* performed the funeral ſervice over him. It has been alſo ſaid, that *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, his ſucceſſor, put up prayers for him. The houſe of *Ommiyah* was ſo exaſperated at his abdication, that, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, the members of it buried his maſter *Al Makſûs*, whom they ſuppoſed to have been the author of it, alive. The inſcription on his ſeal was, THE WORLD IS A CHEAT. He left no iſſue behind him. The firſt day of his reign was *Tueſday*, and the laſt *Thurſday*. From the ſhort dura-

[h] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moawiah Ebn Jezid*. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup.

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tion of his *Khalifat*, taken notice of by the *Arab* writers, it appears, that he departed this life in the 64th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 684 [1].

Some commotions in Irâk.

BEFORE we proceed directly in our history, we must here beg leave, by way of digression, to give a short account of some commotions that happened in *Irâk* immediately after the death of *Yezid*. *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, the governor of *Basra*, being apprized of that event, represented, in a set speech, to the *Basrans*, that "he himself was their country-"man, as being a native of *Basra*; that, since he had taken "the government upon him, he had destroyed 140,000 of "their enemies; that there was no person surviving that de-"struction from whom they had any reason to apprehend "the least opposition; that the territories of *Basra* formed "the most considerable province of the empire, both with "regard to their extent, and the number and valour of their "inhabitants; that, till the commotions in *Syria* were ap-"peased, they ought to appoint a person to preside over them, "who was duly qualified to be the protector of their state; "and that, after this, if the *Moslems* elected a *Khalif* dis-"agreeable to them, they might, under the conduct of the "person they had chosen, assert their independency." The *Basrans*, clearly perceiving his intention in this speech, offered him the government of their country; which he at first affected to refuse, but afterwards accepted, at the repeated sollicitation of his friends. However, as soon as it was known that the *Cûfans* would not acknowledge him, but even threw dust, or gravel, upon his deputy, the *Basrans* immediately deserted him, and even expelled him their city. Nor could he prevail either upon the *Najâri*, a tribe of the *Ansârs*, or even his own relations, tho' he had divided a great part of the 16,000,000 pieces of money, found in the treasury of *Basra*, amongst them, and kept the remainder himself, to espouse his quarrel. So odious had he rendered himself to all ranks and degrees of men by the enormous cruelties he had committed! Nor could his brother *Abd'allah*, who kept him disguised in women's cloaths at *Masûd*'s house, lest any violence should have been offered his person, protect him from the rage and fury of the *Basrans*, tho' he distributed 200,000 pieces of money amongst them; and though *Masûd* exerted himself, to the utmost extent of his abilities, in his favour. He was, therefore, at last constrained to abandon the city, attended by an escorte of 100 men, that had been assigned

[1] ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. D'HERBEL. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

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him by *Masûd*; and, immediately after his departure, the mob plundered his house, and pursued him. Being much fatigued by riding upon a camel in the night, he exchanged that beast for an ass; and, with great difficulty, made his escape into *Syria*. Soon after his arrival at *Damascus*, *Hosein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi* returned thither, with the troops that had formed the siege of *Mecca*, and gave a faithful account to *Merwân* of the situation of affairs on that side. He likewise informed him of his offer to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who refused to accept of it, or at least to undertake a journey to *Damascus*, in order to be invested there with the supreme authority. He therefore advised *Merwân*, and the house of *Ommiyah*, to take care of themselves in time, and fix their interest upon a solid basis, by the election of a new *Imâm*, before the torrent of faction was too rapid to be stemmed. *Merwân*, after hearing *Hosein*'s discourse, proposed to make his submission to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*; but was diverted from his resolution by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyad*, who told him, that, in the present conjuncture, no superior ought to be acknowleged by him who was at the head of the *Korcish*. The people of *Damascus* had constituted *Dahâk Ebn Kais Al Amri* their protector, till the *Moslems* should concur in the election of an *Imâm*. *Dahâk* favoured *Abd'allah*, and declared his intention of supporting him. The *Basrans* were altogether in tumult and confusion, and could not fix upon a governor, during the *interregnum*, after their ejection of *Obeid'allah*. This induced them at last to write to *Abd'allah*, to take the government upon him. He complied with their request; but could not be prevailed upon to stir from *Mecca*, at that time the place of his residence. Nor could *Merwân* be persuaded to permit any of the *Syrians* to perform the pilgrimage thither, lest they should join *Abd'allah*, and thereby contribute to his exclusion from the *Moslem* throne [k].

SECT. IX.

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir *advanced to the* Khalifat.

IT has been already observed, that all the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, except part of *Syria*, unanimously concurred, soon after the death of *Yezid*, to advance *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* to the *Khalifat*; to which we shall now beg leave to add, that, after the last invitation he had received from *Irâk*, he caused himself to be inaugurated at *Mecca*. The people of *Mecca* had first declared in his favour, and were immediately

[k] MS. Laud num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 55 ut et ipse AL MAKIN, ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

mediately followed by the citizens of *Medina*. Nay, *Merwân* himself, a member of the house of *Ommiyah*, who was then at the latter of those places, was upon the point of recognizing his authority; which he had likewise afterwards done at *Damascus*, had he not been dissuaded from it by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyad*, as we have just informed our readers. However, *Abd'allah* might easily have fixed himself in the *Khalifat*, and have settled his interest upon a lasting foundation, had he not too rashly formed a design either to banish or exterminate the house of *Ommiyah*; and, in consequence of this scheme, sent orders to his lieutenant at *Medina* to cut off, or, as others say, eject every member of that house. This alienated vast numbers of the *Moslems*, and particularly all the friends and dependents of the family threatened either with banishment or excision, from him, as will hereafter more fully appear. The resolution taken by *Abd'allah* at this juncture was certainly a most impolitic step; and, notwithstanding the bravery and religious disposition he was famed for, undoubtedly indicated a want of capacity, as well as generosity and humanity, in him. He was surnamed, according to some, *Abu Becr*, or, as others will have it, *Abu Habib*. His mother was *Asma*, the daughter of the first *Khalif Abu Becr*. He was inaugurated at *Mecca* on the ninth day of the month of *Rajeb*, after there had been an *interregnum* during the former and latter *Jomâda*, and the eight first days of *Rajeb*. He appointed his brother *Masab*, or *Mas'ab*, *Ebn Zobeir* governor of *Basra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Moti* that of *Câfa*, his brother *Obeidah Ebn Zobeir* that of *Medina*, and sent *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jahram* in the same capacity to *Egypt*. Some authors inform us, that his mother's name was *Asima*; and that she was not the daughter, but the grand-daughter, of *Abu Becr*; but as the *Arab* writers of best repute make her not to be much above thirty years younger than that *Khalif*, they seem, notwithstanding the authority of M. *D'Herbelot*, to discountenance the latter assertion [1].

The house of Ommiyah *proclaim* Merwân Khalif *of* Damascus.

THE members of the house of *Ommiyah* finding themselves in such imminent danger, tho' before well enough affected to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, resolved to stand upon their own defence, and consequently to oppose him to the utmost of their power. In order, therefore, to defeat all his machinations, they proclaimed *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, who was at the head of them, after the death of *Moawiyah* II. *Khalif* at *Damascus*;

[1] ISM. ABULFED. in hist. univ. MS. Laud. num. 161. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L FARAJ. ubi sup. D'HERBELOT Biblioth orient. in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobair*, p. 7. OCKLEY's hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 122. et vol. ii. p. 213.

to

to which place they had made their escape, after they found it necessary, for their own safety, to take their leave of *Medina*. *Syria*, therefore, or rather the whole *Moslem* empire, was at this time divided into two potent factions; one of which, under the conduct of *Hassan Ebn Malec*, declared for *Merwân*, and the other, under that of *Dehâk Ebn Kais*, for *Abd'allah*. The latter was a person of great distinction, and had been constituted by *Moâwiyah* I. commandant at *Cûfa*, in the 54th year of the *Hejra*. His adherents, from his father *Kais*'s name, were denominated *Kaisians*. Several conferences were held between the leaders of these factions, and all possible methods made use of to dispose both parties to an accommodation; but without effect. The forces on both sides, therefore, commanded by *Merwân* and *Dehâk*, found themselves at last obliged to come to a general action, which ended in the defeat of the *Kaisians*. As soon as they began to break, *Merwân* sounded a retreat, and would not suffer his men to pursue them. The battle was fought at *Marj Raht*, a place in the plain of *Damascus*, at a small distance from that city. *Dehâk* himself was killed upon the spot, together with a great number of his horse, and about eighty of the *Syrian* nobility. When *Dehâk*'s head was brought to *Merwân*, at the sight of it he expressed great concern, and said, "This is a "very preposterous thing, that I, who am an old man, and "whose bones are so wasted, that I am reduced almost to "nothing, should bring armies together, in order to cut one "another to pieces." After this victory, the citizens of *Damascus* submitted to *Merwân*, who lived in the house where *Moâwiyah* used to reside. He also married *Yezid*'s widow, having before declared that *Khalif*'s son *Khâled*, then a minor, his successor. However, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* kept his ground still in *Arabia*, tho' the inhabitants of *Damascus* had renewed their oath of fidelity to *Merwân*, after the battle of *Marj Raht*, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*. Soon after which event, the people of *Hems*, receiving advice of the death and defeat of *Dehâk*, revolted from *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, whose interest they had espoused; upon which, *Noeman Ebn Bashir*, *Abd'allah*'s governor there, betook himself, together with his wife and family, to flight. But the citizens pursued him, cut off his head, and brought it with them, as well as his wife and children, in triumph to *Hems*. In the beginning, therefore, of the 65th year of the *Hejra*, *Merwân* was in possession of the *Khalifat* of *Syria*, as *Abd'allah* was of that of *Hejâz*, *Yaman*, *Egypt*, and *Irâk* [m].

[m] MS. Laud. num 161. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, et Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. Eutych. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. p. 364, 365.

SECT.

SECT. X.

MERWAN, soon after his accession, advanced at the head of a considerable army towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jahram*, *Abd'allah*'s lieutenant there, being informed before of his design, had made the necessary dispositions for giving him a proper reception, in case he should attempt to make an impression upon that country. He sent before him *Amru Ebn Sa'îd*, with a body of troops, to facilitate the passage of his forces, as well as the conquest of *Egypt*. *Abd'alrahmân* being worsted in several brisk actions that happened between him and the *Syrians*, at last, for a sum of money, surrendered the whole country to *Merwân*, and retired with the *Arabs* under his command into *Hejâz*. The *Syrian* troops then immediately possessed themselves of *Egypt*, and obliged the inhabitants of that region to take the oath of allegiance to *Merwân*. Things being in this happy situation, the *Syrian Khalif* appointed his son *Abd'alaziz* to preside over *Egypt*, and, with the greatest part of his forces, returned to *Damascus*. Whilst he was upon his march for that city, he was informed, that *Abd'allah* had sent his brother *Mus'ab* against him with a powerful army. Upon the arrival of this disagreeable news, *Merwân* detached *Amru Ebn Sa'îd*, with a body of his troops, to give the enemy battle, without loss of time. *Amru* soon came up with *Mus'ab*, brought him to a general action, and intirely defeated him. In fine, *Mus'ab* was forced to betake himself to a shameful flight, a great part of his men were cut to pieces upon the spot, and the remainder of them so dispersed, that they found it impossible to rally. After which, *Merwân*'s troops, having sustained a very inconsiderable loss, enter'd *Damascus* in a triumphant manner[n]. *Merwân* conquers Egypt.

THIS year the people of *Khorasân* chose *Salem Ebn Ziyâd*, who had before been governor of that province, for their *elected* protector, till the *Moslems* could concur in their election of an *Imâm*. *Salem* continued in this post about two months; and, during that short term, rendered himself extremely popular amongst those who had put themselves under his protection. He had likewise discharged the duties of his function, when governor, so much to their satisfaction, that, within the space of a few years, they named above 20,000 children, born amongst them, *Salem*, out of their great regard and affection for him. The natives of *Khorasân*, therefore, enjoyed perfect tranquillity at this time, when tumults and seditions, not to say open war, disturbed the repose of many other parts of the *Moslem* dominions[o]. Salem *protector of* Khorasân.

[n] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 56, 57. [o] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GAGNIER's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 265.

An insurrection of the followers of Ali against both the Khalifs.

In the 65th year of the *Hejra*, the followers of *Ali*, and their dependents, at *Cufa*, likewise put themselves in motion. They proposed to assemble in a body at *Nokhailah*, and march from thence into *Syria* the following year, in order to revenge the death of *Hosein*. As the *Cufans* now reflected upon their base and perfidious conduct to that *Imam* with the utmost detestation, they thought themselves obliged, both in point of honour and duty, to take vengeance of his murderers, as the best atonement they could make for so enormous a crime. For this purpose, they sent circular letters to their friends, inviting them to contribute all in their power to the execution of so laudable a design. The five principal persons, to whom the management of the whole affair was committed, *Solimân Ebn Sorâd*, who was one of the COMPANIONS, *Mosabbib Ebn Nabbah*, one of *Ali*'s most intimate friends, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id*, *Abd'allah Ebn Wâli*, and *Refaa Ebn Shaddâd*, met together at *Solimân*'s house, attended by a vast number of their adherents, in order to concert the proper measures that were to be pursued on this occasion. To the *Shiites*, or sectaries of *Ali*, now assembled, *Mosabbib* made an elegant speech; wherein he fully set forth the heinousness of the crime the *Cufans* had been guilty of, in deserting *Hosein*, the grandson of the prophet, and his family, after they had invited him to their city, and so solemnly engaged to support him; adding, that they could no otherwise, in any degree, atone for that crime, than by bringing his murderers to condign punishment; which might easily be effected, if they could pitch upon a proper general to lead them against the perpetrators and abettors of that execrable fact. *Refaa* then proposed to the assembly, for a general, *Solimân Ebn Sorâd*, the chief of their sect, or rather political party; a man reverenced by all for his years, dignity, piety, and experience; who was unanimously elected, and, after having made a speech suitable to the occasion, accepted of the command. *Abd'allah Ebn Wâli*, by the unanimous suffrages of all the *Moslems* present, was then appointed treasurer, and a considerable sum of money deposited in his hands. After which, *Solimân* dispatched circular letters to *Saad Ebn Hodaifa*, and others, to excite them to act with vigour, and forward as much as possible the execution of the plan of operations that had been formed; and, in a short time, received from them such satisfactory answers, as greatly animated both him and his friends. It may not be improper here to observe, that this affair had been in agitation ever since the death of *Yezid*; so that the followers of *Ali* had amassed vast quantities of provisions, erected large magazines, and, in short, taken all the necessary precautions to render this enterprize successful. It has been remarked by *Abu'l-Faraj*,

Faraj, that *Soliman* was an *Arab* of the tribe of *Khozâa*; and that *Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, whoſe mother, *Amena Bint Alkama*, was of the houſe of *Safwân*, was the firſt of the *Khalifs* who made his way to the *Moſlem* throne by the aſſiſtance of the ſword [p].

About ſix months after the death of *Yezid*, in the month of *Ramadân*, *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah* came to *Cûfa*, and brought along with him *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telha*, in order to collect the tribute of that city for *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who had been elected *Khalif* by the *Arabs*. This man, pretending to act under the direction of *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*, one of *Ali*'s ſons, was at firſt not a little careſſed by the followers of that *Imâm*. But *Al Mokhtar* afterwards depreciated the merits and capacity of *Soliman Ebn Sorâd Al Khzoâi*, and *Ibrahim* having declared in very warm terms againſt the ſentiments contained in a ſpeech of *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, then governor of *Cûfa*, which ſeemed to favour the ſectaries, or malecontents, they were both for ſome time treated with leſs reſpect by the *Shiites*, as well as by *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*. Nay, *Ibrahim*, by his conduct, ſo incenſed them, that *Moſabbib* threatened him with an aſſaſſination; tho' afterwards finding means to pacify the governor, both he and *Al Mokhtar* recovered their former eſteem; and *Soliman*, at the head of the *Shiites*, ſoon after appeared in arms. The troops he aſſembled on this occaſion, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, amounted to about 4000 men [q]. *They aſſemble a body of* 4000 *men*;

At this time, the *Motazalites*, or *Separatiſts*, who had aſſiſted *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* in the defence of *Mecca*, abandoned him, and retired to *Baſra*. *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, the governor of that city, who was always their moſt implacable enemy, had formerly done his utmoſt to extirpate them; ſo that they found themſelves obliged, in order to avoid the fate he intended them, to fly to *Mecca*, and put themſelves there under the protection of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. As he then ſtood in great need of their aſſiſtance, he gave them a favourable reception, without making any inquiry into the principles they maintained; as they, on their ſide, being then in very diſtreſſed circumſtances, did not think it proper, or expedient, to aſk him any queſtions either about his religious or political ſentiments. However, ſome time after, before they engaged themſelves thoroughly in his ſervice, they recollected, *which increaſes to one of* 16,000.

[p] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 57. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 198. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 118. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Khouz.* p. 1002. [q] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Al Makin, & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup.

that both he and his father *Zobeir* had persecuted them on account of *Othmân*'s death; and therefore resolved to take an occasion from hence to discover his present disposition towards them. Coming to him accordingly in a body, they desired to know his opinion of that event; but having at that time very few of his friends about him, and clearly perceiving their view in proposing such a question to him, he told them, that, if they would return in the evening, he would give them a satisfactory answer. In the mean time, he posted a proper party of the guards in double ranks about his house; which hinder'd the *Motazalites*, when they returned, from proceeding to acts of violence. However, one of the most eloquent of them made a speech, wherein he enumerated the dispensations of providence towards them, as well as all the *Khalifs* that had presided over the *Moslems* since the death of *Mohammed*, reflected severely upon *Othmân*'s administration, and, in fine, endeavoured to justify the murder of that *Imâm*. *Abd'allah* replied, that, with regard to *Mohammed*, on whom too great encomiums could not be passed, as well as *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, he perfectly agreed with him in what he had advanced; but that, as no man living was better acquainted with *Othmân* than himself, he must beg leave to declare, that he believed that *Khalif* to have been wrongfully murdered; that he never wrote the letter laid to his charge; and that he should always support *Othmân*'s friends, and oppose his enemies, to the utmost of his power. To this they answered, GOD *is clear of thee, thou enemy of* GOD! Which he instantly ecchoed again, and they immediately took their leave of *Mecca*. Some of them went to *Yamâma*, and others to *Basra*. The latter animated one another to some bold attempt in favour of religion; and, having been joined by several straggers upon the road, before they reached *Basra*, formed a body of 300 men. They enter'd the town, when every thing was in confusion, on account of *Obeid'allah*'s precipitate retreat, or rather flight, into *Syria*; which gave them an opportunity of opening the public prisons, and constraining the malefactors they took from thence to be incorporated amongst them. However, both the *Motazalites* and their companions, after the commotion was appeased, were soon dispersed, and obliged to abandon *Basra*. As for the forces assembled by *Selimân*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, they soon increased from 4000 to 16000 men. But before we can oblige our readers with the particulars of this expedition, and the fate he met with in the conclusion of it, in a satisfactory manner, it will be proper to premise a short and concise account of the famous *Mokhtar*, or *Al Mokhtar*, as he is called by the *Arab* historians, the scourge of the enemies of the house of *Ali*, who

who makes ſo conſiderable a figure in that part of the *Arab* hiſtory we are now upon [r].

THE followers of *Ali* had not entertained the moſt favourable ſentiments of *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah*, ſince the time he was ſuppoſed to have been too remiſs in the ſervice of *Haſan*. But he recovered his eſteem with that party, when he not only entertained in his houſe *Moſlem*, who had been ſent to *Cûfa* by *Hoſein*, to take the ſuffrages of the *Cûfans*, in a very hoſpitable manner, but likewiſe made uſe of all his intereſt privately to ſerve him; tho' he ſtill thought fit to appear amongſt *Obeid'allah*'s friends, in order to prevent ſuſpicion. But *Obeid'allah*, having ſecret intelligence of his conduct, upbraided him with it, and gave him ſuch a blow with his ſtick upon the face, that he beat out one of his eyes. Not content with this, he ſent him immediately to priſon, and detained him there till the death of *Hoſein*; when, finding means to make a proper application to *Yezid*, he was ſet at liberty by the expreſs command of the *Khalif*. *Obeid'allah*, as his intereſt required, was very deſirous of continuing his detention, but durſt not diſobey the *Khalif*; and therefore releaſed him, but ordered him to quit the territories of *Cûfa* within the ſpace of three days. *Al Mokhtar* then made the beſt of his way to *Hejâz*, where meeting with one of his friends, who aſked him how he came to loſe his eye, he ſaid, "The "ſon of a whore has beat it out; but GOD kill me if I do not "ſome time or other cut him to pieces." *Al Mokhtar* afterwards being told by the *Arab* with whom he was converſing, that *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* had made *Mecca* his reſidence, he delivered himſelf in the following terms: "His affairs will "never be in a flouriſhing ſituation, till you ſee *Al Mokhtar* at "the head of his forces, with orders to revenge the death of "*Hoſein*. I will then deſtroy as many, by way of vengeance "for the murder of that *Imâm*, as there periſhed on account "of the blood of *John* the ſon of *Zacharias*, on whom be "peace." For the illuſtration of which paſſage, it muſt be obſerved, that the *Moſlems* hold in a very high veneration the memory of St. *John the Baptiſt*, on account of the honourable mention made of him in the third chapter of the *Korân*. Nor does the commentary on this paſſage, drawn up by *Hoſein Waez*, a *French* verſion of which has been publiſhed, give a leſs advantageous character of that ſaint. As a farther proof of his ſanctity, and the iniquity of his murderers, the *Mohammedans* have alſo a tradition, which contains an ac-

An account of Al Mokhtar.

[r] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. in hiſt. univer. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup.

count of the vengeance taken upon the *Jews* for the perpetration of that horrid fact, and is to the following effect: "The general either of *Bakhtnaſr*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Gudarz*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in an expedition againſt *Jeruſalem*, entering the temple, ſaw blood bubbling upon the great altar there; and aſking the reaſon of it, the *Jews* told him it was the blood of a ſacrifice which had not been accepted of GOD: to which he replied, that they had not told him the truth, and ordered a thouſand of them to be ſlain on the altar; but the blood not ceaſing, he told them, that, if they would not confeſs the truth, he would not ſpare one of them; whereupon they acknowledged it was the blood of *John:* and the general ſaid, *Thus hath your* LORD *taken vengeance on you*; and then cried out, *O* John! *my* LORD *and thy* LORD *knoweth what hath befallen thy people for thy ſake*; *wherefore let thy blood ſtop, by* GOD*'s permiſſion, leſt I leave not one of them alive:* upon which the blood immediately ſtopped." To this tradition *Mokhtar* apparently alluded, in his diſcourſe with the *Arab* of *Hejâz*; after his departure from whom he went to *Mecca*, in order to offer his ſervice to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and arrived there ſoon after his inauguration. But not meeting with proper encouragement there, he retired to *Tâyef*; and, in about a year's time, returned to *Mecca*. Soon after his arrival there, *Abd'allah*, by the aſſiſtance of *Abbâs Ebn Sahel*, engaged him in his ſervice. However, *Mokhtar* could not be prevailed upon to take the oath of allegiance to *Abd'allah*, before the latter had promiſed to make uſe of him in all his moſt weighty affairs, and grant him free acceſs to him on all occaſions, even before any other perſon. After this, he behaved with great bravery during the ſiege of *Mecca*, which was raiſed upon the news of *Yezid*'s death; and continued above five months with *Abd'allah* after that event. But not being advanced to any conſiderable poſt, and being informed that the ſectaries at *Cûfa* only wanted a proper general, in order to carry all before them, he immediately ſet out for that city. Every moſque on the road he viſited, performed his devotions in them all, and harangued the people he found therein, aſſuring them of victory, and a ſpeedy deliverance from all the grievances they laboured under. He had no ſooner entered *Cûfa*, than he convoked the leaders of the ſectaries there; telling them, that he came from *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*, the mine of excellency, the *Imâm* that directed the right way, and repreſenting to them the incapacity of *Soliman* for the undertaking in which he was ſoon to imbark. Theſe two points he repeated to them ſo often, that at laſt he made an impreſſion upon the minds of many of the *Shiites* in his favour; though the ſuperior

perior intereſt, age, and authority, of *Solimân* rendered it impoſſible for him to wreſt the command out of his hands. However, he comforted himſelf with the hopes of being veſted with the ſupreme authority, and conſequently with the command of all the *Shiite* forces, in caſe *Solimân* ſhould miſcarry in the projected expedition. Nevertheleſs, for ſome time, his intereſt declined to ſuch a degree, that, upon ſuſpicion of his having formed a deſign of ſeizing upon the province, he was ſurprized by a detachment of *Solimân*'s troops, conducted to priſon, and for a certain term kept there cloſely confined. We muſt not forget to remark, that *Theophanes* calls the perſon, of whom we have here been giving our readers an account, *Mouchar*, or *Muchar*, and *Mouktar*, not *Mochtar*, as has been aſſerted by Mr. *Ockley*. He alſo tells us, that this *Muchar*, tho' an impoſtor, pretended to act the prophet, made himſelf maſter of *Perſia*, and occaſioned amongſt the *Arabs* many commotions. From whence, in conjunction with many more inſtances of the like kind that occur, ſome of which have already been taken notice of in this work, we may infer, that a moſt confuſed, indiſtinct, and imperfect relation of the *Arab* affairs has been handed down to us by the later *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians [s].

All *Al Mokhtar*'s efforts to deprive *Solimân* of his poſt proving ineffectual, that general began his march at the head of the *Shiite* forces, who had aſſumed the name of *penitents*, becauſe of the *penitence*, or repentance and ſorrow, they now expreſſed for abandoning *Hoſein*, for the place of their deſtination. He firſt advanced to *Nokhailah*, a town at no very great diſtance from *Cûfa*, being the place appointed for the general rendezvous, in the new moon of the latter *Rabî*. When he arrived there, he took a view of the camp; and being not a little ſurprized at the ſmall number of men that formed it, he inſtantly diſpatched two of his horſe to *Cûfa*, with orders to cry out in the ſtreets, and in the great moſque, Vengeance for Hosein! This ſo alarmed the citizens, that they aſſembled in vaſt numbers, and ſeveral of them repaired the next morning to the camp at *Nokhailah*. Amongſt theſe there was one who had married an *Arabian* lady, the moſt celebrated beauty of her age, on whom he doated to exceſs; and another, who was a perſon of diſtinction, that had a daughter and many re-

begins his march into Syria.

[s] MS. Laud. num. 161. et Ism. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Al Kor. Moham. ſ. iii. v. 33. Hosein Waez, in comment. ad Al Kor. Mohammed. ibid. Yahya, Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi, &c. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jahia Ben Zacaria*, p. 471, 472. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari & Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 57. Theophan. chronograph. p. 300, 303, 304. Ockley's hiſt. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 278—288.

lations; both of whom abandoned every thing that was dear and valuable to them, with uncommon alacrity, on this occaſion; the former ſaying at his departure, *O* GOD! *I commend to thee my family and my child. O* GOD! *preſerve me in them!* and the latter, by way of anſwer to his daughter, when ſhe aſked him how he could abandon her, *Child, thy father flies from his ſin to his* GOD. Upon the arrival of theſe volunteers, *Solimân* took a review of the troops under his command, and found them to amount to above 4000 effective men; though the *Cûfans* had promiſed to ſupply him with at leaſt four times that number. Two thouſand of thoſe who had engaged to attend *Solimân*, had been drawn off by *Moktar*, who, tho' a pretended friend to the cauſe he eſpouſed, entertained very indifferent ſentiments of the military capacity of that general; and the other 10,000 choſe rather to violate their oaths, and abandon the engagements they had entered into, than to run the riſk of being cut to pieces by a ſuperior enemy. However, *Solimân* did not neglect to animate his men, by aſſuring them, that they were to fight for another world, and not for this; and that therefore, whatever ſhould be the fate of the preſent expedition, they might depend upon a future ſtate of eternal and uninterrupted felicity. A council of war being held, two plans of operations were propoſed to the general; according to the firſt of which, the troops were to return to *Cûfa*, and put to the ſword all thoſe who had deſerted *Hoſein* in that city; but the latter required them immediately to march into *Syria*, and take vengeance of *Obeid'allah* there, who had been the principal cauſe, if not the abſolute author, of the deſtruction of that *Imâm*. This, for ſeveral weighty reaſons and conſiderations, meeting with *Solimân*'s approbation, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for putting it in immediate execution; tho' *Ibrâhim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telha*, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*'s collector of the tribute at *Cûfa*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, the governor of that city, who were both in the intereſt of the houſe of *Hâſhem*, did their utmoſt to prevail upon him to ſuſpend his march. They repreſented to *Solimân*, that they ſhould ſoon be able to aſſiſt him both with money and troops; and that as *Obeid'allah*, by reaſon of his enormous cruelty, was mortally hated in that province, it would be better to wait for him there, where the people would moſt certainly declare againſt him, and where he would ſoon arrive, than to attack a powerful enemy in his own country with ſo inconſiderable a force. But *Solimân* proving deaf to ſo ſalutary an admonition, *Ibrahim* endeavoured to perſuade him to remain in his camp at leaſt till he could furniſh him with the tribute of the provinces; which would not fail of animating his men, and enabling him to

puſh

push on with greater vigour the military operations. But *Solimân* still continuing refractory, the conferences broke off without success; and the *Shiite* army decamped from *Nokhailah*, in order to pursue their march into *Syria* without delay [t].

And advances to Mashhad Hosein.

The first place to which *Solimân* advanced, after his departure from *Nokhailah*, was *Ekfis* upon the *Euphrates*; where, upon a general muster, he found that by desertion he had lost 1000 men. Nor was he joined there by the *Separatists* of *Basra* and *Al Madâyen*, tho' they had promised him a reinforcement; which proved a great discouragement to his troops, especially as they had received certain advice, that *Obeid'allah* was upon his march against them. However, *Solimân* put a good face upon the matter, saying to his men, "The LORD doth not approve of their going out, and there-"fore he hath withdrawn them for our advantage; where-"fore praise ye the LORD." *Solimân* having resumed his march, and continued it all night, he arrived the next morning at *Mashhad Hosein*, or *the sepulchre of the martyr* Hosein, where the army staid a day and a night, in order to pray for *Hosein*, to beg his pardon for deserting him, and to perform upon that holy, pure, and sublime spot their devotions. When they first approached the tomb, they all cried out with one voice, and shed tears in the most copious manner, wishing that they had all died with him; insomuch that a more melancholy and moving scene never appeared. Nay, their grief was so intense on this occasion, their repentance for abandoning *Hosein* so sincere, and so fervent their devotion, that, when *Solimân* commanded them to march, not a man of them would stir till he had first stood upon *Hosein*'s tomb, and asked his pardon for what had happened. Which conduct seemed so extraordinary even to the more rational *Mohammedans* themselves, that one of them then present swore that he never saw such crouding about the *black stone* in the temple of *Mecca* itself. In order to set which remark in a clear light, we must beg leave to remind our readers, that the *black stone* here mentioned is a stone set in silver, and fixed in the south-east corner of the *Caaba*, being that which looks towards *Basra*, about two inches and one-third, or, which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground, held in the utmost veneration by the *Mohammedans*, and kissed by all who perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*; being called by some of them *the right hand of* GOD *on earth*. But for a farther account of this stone, as well as of every thing else relating to the temple of *Mecca*,

[t] MS. Laud. num. 161. et ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup.

we must refer our readers to a preceding part of this work [u].

He and his troops are all cut to pieces by Obeid'allah.

FROM *Mashhad Hosein* the *Shiite* army marched to *Hesâsah*, and from thence to *Al Ambâr*, or *Anbâr*, a city of *Irâk*, near the confluence of the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, in the territory of *Baghdâd*, and the imperial seat of *Al Saffah*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Abbâs*. From *Anbâr Solimân* advanced to *Sodûd*; and from thence to *Kayyârah*, where he ordered his troops to pitch their tents. They had not been long here before *Solimân* received a friendly letter from *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, the governor of *Cúfa*; wherein he pressed him to return home, and represented to him, in the strongest terms, the folly and temerity of engaging so powerful an army as would be sent against him with a handful of men. *Abd'allah* concluded his letter with these remarkable words: "Do not set at nought "my advice, nor contradict my command. Come as soon "as my letter is read to you. GOD turn your faces towards "his obedience, and your backs to a rebellion against him." But *Solimân* imagining that *Abd'allah* recalled them only in order to support *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, persisted in his intention of penetrating into *Syria*; telling his troops, that they would never be nearer the two *Hoseins*, meaning *Hosein* and his brother *Hasan*, to whom the *Shiites* gave that name, than they were at present; and that if they, at this juncture, should meet with death, they would die in a state of repentance, and consequently obtain a remission of their sins. From *Kayyârah* the *Shiite* general moved to *Hait*, or *Haditza*, another town of *Irâk*, situated on the opposite bank of the *Euphrates*, from whence he wrote an answer to *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*; wherein he thanked him for his kind letter, but said that he could not accept of his invitation. To which he added, that his men considered themselves as true penitents, and therefore resolved to continue their march, and leave to GOD the success of the expedition. From *Haditza Solimân* advanced to *Karkisia*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, the *Circusium* of the later *Greek* and *Roman* writers, whose walls were surrounded by the *Chabora*, or *Abora*, and the *Euphrates*; and from thence to *Ainwerda*, or *Ainwerdah*, where the *Separatists* gave out, that their design was to depose both the *Khalifs*, and fix upon the *Moslem* throne one of the family of the prophet. But here a stop was put to their career, they meeting with the just reward of their temerity and presumption. For, *Obeid allah Ebn Ziyâd* came up with them at *Ain-*

[u] Idem ibid. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Houssain & Motavakkel*. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. AHMED EBN YUSEF, Proc. not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 117, &c. Mod. Hist. vol. i. p. 208.

werda,

werda, or *Ras Ain*, as we find it called by *Abu'l-Faraj*, with a body of 20,000 horſe; in a ſhort time brought them to a general action; and, after a ſharp diſpute, cut them all to pieces upon the ſpot [w].

Soon after this deciſive action, the governor of *Cûfa* releaſed Merwân *Al Mokhtar*, whom he had before ordered to be confined, at the requeſt of *Al Abd'allah Ebn Omar*, who had married *Al Mokhtar*'s ſiſter. This happened a little before the death of *Merwân*, who departed this life in the month of *Ramadân*. It muſt here be remember'd, that, after *Moâwiyah*'s deceaſe, *Merwân* was elected *Khalif*, on condition that *Khâled*, the ſon of *Yezid*, ſhould mount the *Moſlem* throne after him, and his own children be excluded from the ſucceſſion; *Khâled* at that time refuſing to take the government upon him, on account of his tender age. To ſhew the purity and ſincerity of his intentions in this affair, *Merwân* married *Yezid*'s widow, who was *Khâled*'s mother, and declared that he would never be guilty of an infraction of the treaty concluded with *Khâled*, in the minuteſt particular. However, afterwards altering his mind, he cauſed his eldeſt ſon *Abd'almâlec* to be proclaimed his lawful ſucceſſor; which ſo diſguſted *Khâled*, who always hated him, that he one day reviled him for it, before a great number of the nobility, in a very reproachful manner. This ſo incenſed *Merwân*, that he called him baſtard; which his mother being informed of by the child, ſhe vowed to be revenged of him for ſo grievous an affront. In conſequence of which reſolution, ſhe ſoon after poiſoned him, as we find aſſerted by ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians, or, as others will have it, ſmothered him, by laying a pillow on his face, when he was aſleep, and ſitting upon it till he was dead. However, *Abu'Jaafar Al Tabari* ſeems to intimate, that *Merwân* died of the plague; and not a word is ſaid of his wife's being even in any manner acceſſory to his death by *Abu'l-Faraj*. Some authors make him to have been ſixty three, and others, with more probability, ſeventy-one years of age, at the time of his death. His wife, ſay thoſe who believe that ſhe deſtroyed him, gave out that he died ſuddenly. He reigned 298 days, or, as others affirm, eleven months, if we compute from the renewal of his inauguration. We find it intimated by *Theophanes*, that the *Arabs* elected *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir Khalif* at *Yathreb*, or *Medina*, which he denominates *Æthrib*, and the

[w] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 124, 234, 256. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 95. Zosim. lib. iii. c. 12, 13. Eutrop. lib. ix. c. 2. Sext. Ruf. c. xxii. Procop. Perſic. lib. ii. c. 5. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii. c. 11. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 57. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 198.

Syrians

Syrians Merwân, called by him *Maruam*, at *Damascus*; where, according to this writer, he reigned about nine months. *Dionysius Telmarensis* makes *Yezid*, *Merwân*, and *Abd'almâlec*, to have reigned in continual succession, and consequently takes no notice of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* and *Moâwiyah* II. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that he should have kept *Merwân* a year upon the *Moslem* throne. For this may be easily accounted for, if we suppose his *Khalifat* to have commenced at the death of *Yezid*. It ought to be remarked here, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a mistake, when he affirms, that *Merwân*'s authority was recognized by all the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, after the defeat of *Dahâk Ebn Kais*; and that he left his son *Abd'almâlec*, after his death, in full possession of the sovereignty of all those provinces. For, that *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* was invested with the supreme authority in *Arabia*, when *Abd'almâlec* ascended the *Syrian* throne, and not intirely reduced till the 73d year of the *Hejra*, is attested by the best *Arabic* writers, and even by M. *D'Herbelot* himself; and will, as we fully persuade ourselves, in the sequel of this history, most clearly appear [x].

And is buried at Damascus.

As to his person, *Merwân* was tall and of a thin habit of body. He had blue or grey eyes, and red or yellowish hair. He was surnamed *Ebn Tarid*, or *the son of the expelled*; his father *Al Hakem* having been banished by *Mohammed* to *Al Tâyef*, or *Waj*, for divulging a secret that had been imparted to him. He continued in exile during the reigns of *Abu Becr* and *Omar*, but was recalled by *Othmân*; to whom this was afterwards objected as one of his greatest crimes. His secretary was *Sofiân Ebn Abrâd*, or, according to others, *Abd'allah Ebn Aws*; his *Kâdi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Holwani*; the captain of his guards, *Yahya Ebn Kais*: his chamberlain, *Abu Sahl*, his servant, who was a *black*, or *negro*, and his mother's freed-man. *Eutychius* fixes the duration of his *Khalifat* precisely at nine months, and *Abu'l Faraj* at seven and a few days; in which he differs from all other authors. He died, and was buried, at *Damascus*, and his son *Al'almâlec* performed the funeral-service over him. He expired, as has been already observed, in the month of *Ramadân*, or, as *Eutychius* will have it, in the former *Rabî*, and the 65th year of the *Hejra*, corresponding with the year of our LORD 685 [y].

[x] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. MS. Laud. num. 161. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Simmon. Assemani. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican tom. ii. p. 104. ut et ipse Jos. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Marvan*, p. 558. et in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobair*, p. 7.

[y] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH.

SECT. XI.

ABD'ALMALEC, the son of *Merwân*, who succeeded him, was surnamed *Abu'l-Walid*, or, as others affirm, *Abu Merwân*, and, according to *Abulfeda*, was inaugurated on the 3d day of the month of *Ramadân*, being the very day on which his father died. His mother was *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Alûm Ebn Arah Ebn Abu'l As*, or, according to others, of *Moâwiyah Ebn Mogheirah Ebn Abu'l As Ebn Ommeya Ebn Abd Shems*. Some authors relate, that, at the time of his inauguration, he had the *Moshâf*, or the *Korân*, in his lap; which folding up, he said, probably to the person taking the oath of allegiance to him, "Let this divide, or determine, between me and thee." But this circumstance is related by *Abulfeda* in a different manner. He informs us, that when the news of his father's death was brought to *Abd'almâlec*, the messengers found him with the *Korân* in the aforesaid position; and that hereupon folding it up, he said, "I must take my leave of thee now." But this relation, tho' followed by Mr. *Ockley*, ought to be considered, on many accounts, as much more improbable than the other [z]. *Abd'almâlec succeeds his father Merwân in the Khalifat.*

ABD'ALLAH EBN ZOBEIR, who had been elected *Khalif* by the *Arabs*, still holding his residence at *Mecca*, *Abd'almâlec* would not permit his subjects to visit the temple there; and, for that reason, ordered the temple at *Jerusalem* to be so enlarged as to take the stone, or rather the steps, on which *Omar* had formerly prayed, and on which the *Moslems* had before erected a mosque, into the body of the church. The whole being, therefore, thus in a manner converted into a mosque, the *Syrians* performed their pilgrimage thither, as the *Arabs* under *Abd'allah*'s jurisdiction did still to the *Caaba*. Not content with this, *Abd'almâlec* desired the *Christians* of *Damascus* to deliver into his hands one of their churches adjoining to the cathedral there. Upon which, they shewed him the instrument drawn up and signed by *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, when the city was taken in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*; by which the possession of that and the other *Christian* churches was for ever secured to them. *Abd'almâlec* then offered them a large sum of money, and gave them leave to build another church in lieu of it, in what part of the town they pleased. But not being hereby induced to part with it, he left it in their possession; not judging it proper or expedient at this juncture, when he had a *The Syrians perform their pilgrimage to the temple at Jerusalem.*

tych. ubi sup. p. 364, 365. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 198. [z] Al Makin, in hist. Saracen. lib. i. c. 12. p. 58. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 198, 199. Ism. Abulfed. hist. univ. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 364, 365. Ockley's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 299.

powerful enemy to contend with, to take it from them by force [a].

Al Mokhtar puts himself in motion.

THE following year, *Al Mokhtar*, who had found means, during his imprisonment, to keep up a correspondence with the sectaries, being informed of *Solimân*'s fate, which, from the moment of that general's departure, he had expected, began to put himself in motion. As *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* still supported himself in *Arabia* against the new *Syrian Khalif*, he thought this a proper time to put his design in execution; and therefore having received a commission from *Al Mohdi*, the son of *Mohammed*, the son of *Ali*, the great *Imâm*, or head of the sect in a lineal succession, constituting him general of all his forces, he took the command of the *Shiite* army upon him. This was for some time opposed by *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar*, a man of considerable interest amongst the sectaries; but, upon *Al Mokhtar*'s producing his commission, he acquiesced in the measures that had been taken, and *Al Mokhtar* was universally acknowleged generalissimo of the forces assembled to demand the blood of *Hosein*, or, in other words, to take vengeance of the murderers of that *Imâm*. Nay, according to *Abulfeda*, he was formally inaugurated *Khalif* upon the following terms; that he should govern according to the contents of the BOOK OF GOD, and the traditions of his apostle, and destroy all the murderers of *Hosein*. In consequence of which agreement, he killed *Shamer*, *Kawla*, who carried *Hosein*'s head to *Obeid'allah*, and *Amer*, who commanded the army that defeated the troops of that *Imâm*. The head of *Amer*, together with that of his son, he sent to *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*; and put *Adi Ebn Hathem*, whom he had taken prisoner, into the hands of the *Shiites*, who stripped him and shot him with arrows, in the same manner as he had served the son of *Ali*. We must not forget to observe, that, according to *Ebn Jaljal Al Andalusi*, an *Arab* author of *Spain*, one *Masarjowyah*, a *Jewish* physician of *Basra*, flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Merwân*. He translated the medical pandects of *Aaron* the presbyter into the *Arabic* tongue. A remarkable story has been told of him by one *Ayub Ebn Al Hakem*; for the particulars of which we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Abu'l-Faraj* [b].

A pacification concluded between Ab-

AL MOKTAR EBN ABU OBEIDAH AL THAKIFI having received advice, that *Abd'almálec* had sent an army to reduce *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and that a body of the *Khalif*'s troops were posted upon the frontiers of *Irâk*, which he apprehended might

[a] ISM. ABULFED. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup.
[b] ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. MS. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 161. AL MAKIN et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

attack

attack him on that ſide, whilſt *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, *Abd'allah*'s brother, advanced againſt him with a ſtrong detachment from *Baſra*; he wrote a deceitful letter to *Ab'd'allah*, wherein he offered to march to his aſſiſtance, at the head of all his forces. *Ab-d'allah*, in anſwer to that letter, aſſured him, that, as ſoon as he had ſatisfied him of the ſincerity of his allegiance, by receiving the ſuffrages of his men for him, he ſhould look upon him as his friend, and not ſend any forces into his country. To which he added, that, for the preſent, he could not give him a more convincing proof of the ſincerity of his intentions, than by ſending a body of troops, with all poſſible expedition, to watch the motions of the *Khalif Abd'almâlec*'s army, that was then poſted at *Dilkôra*. As ſoon as this anſwer came to hand, *Al Mokhtar* diſpatched *Serjabil Ebn Wars*, one of his officers, with a body of 3000 men, conſiſting chiefly of ſlaves, there being but 700 *Arabs* amongſt them, to *Medina*; commanding him, upon his arrival there, to write to him from thence for farther orders. His deſign herein was to ſend an *Emir* immediately to *Medina* to command thoſe troops, whilſt *Serjabil*, at the head of another body of the *Shiite* forces, ſhould form the ſiege of *Mecca*, at that time the reſidence of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. But *Abd'allah*, not having received from *Al Mokhtar* theſe curity he required, was reſolved to be upon his guard; and therefore ſent *Abbâs Ebn Sahel* to *Medina*, with a detachment of 2000 men; ordering him to treat *Al Mokhtar*'s troops as friends, if he found them really in his intereſt; but, if otherwiſe, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy them. *Abbâs*, upon his arrival at *Medina*, not being able to perſuade *Serjabil* to march with him to *Dilkôra*, very juſtly entertained a ſuſpicion of him. However, he diſſembled this, till he found an opportunity of diſtributing a few ſheep amongſt *Al Mokhtâr*'s troops, reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions; which excited them to diſperſe themſelves over the adjacent territory, in order to ſupply the camp with what neceſſaries they could collect. This being obſerved by *Abbâs*, he advanced at the head of his troops, to the enemy's tents, ſoon made himſelf maſter of them, killed *Serjabil* himſelf, with ſeventy of his men, and ſpared all the reſt, who accepted of the quarter offered them, except about 300, who were afterwards put to the ſword. *Al Mokhtar* fearing this diſaſter might intimidate *Mohammed Ebn Haniſiyah*, at the ſame time that he acquainted him with it, offered to ſupport him with a powerful army. But *Mohammed* refuſed ſuch aſſiſtance; telling him in the anſwer he wrote, that his intention was to have recourſe only to pacific meaſures; and before the meſſenger, which he ſent to *Al Mokhtar*, departed, he ſaid, "Deſire him to fear GOD, and "abſtain from all effuſion of blood." But tho' *Mohammed Ebn*

d'allah Ebn Zobeir *and the followers of* Ali.

Ebn Hanifiyah, and all the reſt of *Ali*'s family, behaved at *Mecca* in a very inoffenſive manner, and were ſo far from exciting any commotions there, that they did their utmoſt to preſerve the public tranquillity and repoſe; yet *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* not thinking himſelf ſafe as long as they refuſed a recognition of his authority, impriſoned them, together with ſeventeen of the principal *Cûfans*, ſet a guard over them, and threatened to put them to death, and reduce their bodies afterwards to aſhes, if, within a limited time, they did not take the oath of allegiance to him. *Al Mokhtar*, being informed of the diſtreſſed ſituation they were in, ſent a body of 750 horſe, under the command of *Abu Abd'allah Al Jodali*, to *Mecca*, to releaſe them. *Al Jodali* not only executed his orders with great bravery, but likewiſe took *Abd'allah* himſelf priſoner, and would have cut him to pieces on the ſpot, had not *Mohammed* prevented ſuch an act of violence, and compoſed all differences to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, by his timely interpoſition. *Abu Abd'allah Al Jodali*, or rather *Mohammed* himſelf, diſtributed a ſum of money he brought with him amongſt 4000 of *Ali*'s friends, in order to make them ſome amends for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. When *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah* was delivered from the priſon near the well *Zemzem*, in which he had been confined, the time allowed him to make his ſubmiſſion to *Abd'allah* was within two days of being expired; and a ſufficient quantity of wood, and other combuſtible materials, was prepared for burning both him and his companions, if they had not been ſet at liberty by the *Shiite* horſe. One of the perſons confined with *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah* was *Abd'allah Ebn Ayad*, a man highly eſteemed by the followers of *Ali*. Notwithſtanding the late pacification, *Mohammd Ebn Hanifiyah*, after a diſtribution of *Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah*'s money amongſt thoſe that attended him had been made, for his farther ſecurity, took poſt on a mountain near *Mecca* with a body of 4000 men [c].

Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd *defeated and killed.*

THE *Cûfans* having received advice, that *Merwân*, before his death, had ſent *Obeid'allah* with a powerful army towards their city, and even given him a permiſſion to plunder it for three days together, appointed *Yezid Ebn Ares*, a man of undaunted courage, to command the forces they raiſed to oppoſe him. But *Merwân* dying before *Obeid'allah* could execute his orders, an end was put, at leaſt for the preſent, to the intended expedition. However, the *Cûfans* remembering this, and *Al Mokhtar* now being at leiſure to chaſtize that general for ſuggeſting ſuch an enterprize to *Merwân*, as well as for the

[c] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Moktar Ebn Abou Obeidah*, p. 619.

murder

murder of *Hosein*, which still was the pretext for all the hostile proceedings of the sectaries; they assembled a body of troops, in their turn, to act offensively against *Obeid'allah*, and even the *Syrian Khalif* himself, if he should think fit to support him. There was one thing very remarkable in the preparations made for this expedition. *Al Mokhtar* caused a portable throne to be made, in which he pretended there was something mysterious; telling the people, that "it would be "of the same use to them that the ark was to the children of "*Israel*." Wherefore he ordered it to be carried on a mule with the forces that were to march against *Obeid'allah*, and a prayer to be said before it, conceived in the following terms: "O GOD! grant that we may live long in thy obedience; "help us, and do not forget us, but protect us." To which the people answered, *Amen*, *Amen*. By this stratagem, than which nothing could have been devised more proper to animate a body of ignorant hot-headed enthusiasts, the *Cûfan* troops were inspired with such fortitude and resolution, that *Ibrahim Ebn Ashtar*, *Al Mokhtar*'s general, found it no difficult matter to lead them against the enemy. In fine, being determined to act offensively, he attacked *Obeid'allah*'s camp; and, after a sharp engagement, forced it, put that general and many of his men to the sword, and drove a greater number of them into a neighbouring river, where they all immediately perished. *Ibrahim* cut off *Obeid'allah*'s head, which, with some others, he sent to *Al Mokhtar*, and afterwards reduced his body to ashes. This victory the *Cûfans* ascribed intirely to the ark, or throne, and consequently almost idolized it for a long time after. We are told by some *Arab* authors, that the army commanded by *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd* consisted of 70,000 men, of whom 10,300 were killed in the action; and that the loss sustained by *Ibrahim* scarce amounted to 370 men. Be that as it will, the victory was complete; insomuch that *Nisibin*, or *Nisibis*, *Sinjar*, and *Dara*, or *Daras*, without the least opposition, surrendered to the victors. This great success rendered the sectaries so formidable, that they began to entertain thoughts in earnest of fixing either *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*, or some other of *Ali*'s family, upon the *Moslem* throne [d].

THE same year the late battle was fought, that is, the 67th of the *Hejra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* sent his brother *Mus'ab* to govern *Basra*. *Al Mokhtar* was then absolute master of *Cûfa*, where he put all to the sword who would not join him, in order to revenge the murder of *Hosein*. Upon *Mus'ab*'s arrival at *Basra*, he went into the mosque there, ascended

Al Mokhtar *defeated and killed by* Mus'ab.

[d] ISM. ABULFED. et MS. Laud num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. & AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 59, 60.

the

the pulpit, and made a ſpeech to the people. His predeceſſor *Al Hâreth* ſat one ſtep below him. In his ſpeech, amongſt other things, he reflected upon *Abd'almâlec*, and that part of the *Moſlem* empire which ſubmitted to him, and extolled the conduct of the *Arabs* who obeyed the orders of his brother *Abd'allah*. Then he told the *Baſrans*, that as they uſually gave names, or rather ſurnames, to their *Emirs*, he would take the liberty to aſſume that of *Hejáz*. Soon after which, one *Shebet* came to *Baſra*, upon a crop-eared bob-tailed mule, from *Cúfa*, with his cloaths rent, crying out, *Ya gautha*, *Ya gautha*, *Help! Help!* He was attended by many of the principal *Cúfans*, who complained bitterly of *Al Mokhtar*'s cruel and tyrannical adminiſtration; and begged *Mus'ab* to march with an army againſt him. This petition *Mus'ab* very readily complied with, and wrote immediately to *Al Mohalleb*, his lieutenant in *Perſia*, to come and join him with the *Perſian* forces; which at laſt, tho' with ſome reluctance, he did. After this junction, *Mus'ab* and *Al Mohalleb* advanced at the head of their troops into the territory of *Cúfa*, forced *Al Mokhtar* to a general action, overthrew him with great ſlaughter, and obliged him to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Cúfa*. Thither *Mus'ab* purſued him, and laid ſiege to the place. *Al Mokhtar* for ſome time made a brave defence; but being at laſt killed, his men ſurrendered at diſcretion. They amounted to about 7000 in all, and were, on account of the outrages they had committed, every one of them put by *Mus'ab* to the ſword [e].

A farther account of the great captain Al Mokhtar.

THIS blow, which for the preſent at leaſt put an end to all their towering projects, was given the *Motazalites* in the month of *Ramadán*, and the 67th year of the *Hejra*. The immediate conſequence of which was the ſubmiſſion of *Cúfa*, and its diſtrict, to *Mus'ab*; after which, *Ibrahim Ebn Aſhtar* took the oath of fidelity to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*. This he did at the invitation of *Mus'ab*, who, being now maſter of *Irák*, had him abſolutely in his power. After this important conqueſt, *Mus'ab* appointed *Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra* to preſide over *Mawſel* upon the *Tigris*, together with the provinces of *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Aderbijan*. As for *Al Mokhtar*, he was killed in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, after he had worſted, in ſeveral engagements, the generals of *Yezid*, *Merwán*, and *Abd'almâlec*, and made himſelf maſter of the *Babylonian Irák*, of which *Cúfa* was the capital. He never pardoned any one who had declared himſelf an enemy to the houſe of *Háſhem*, or who had been in any manner concerned in the murder of *Hoſein*. He was

[e] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 160. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Mokhtar Ben Abou Obeidah*, p. 619.

ſurnamed

ſurnamed *Al Thakîſi*, as being originally of the tribe of *Thakif*, and boaſted that he had deſtroyed 50,000 of the adherents of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, excluſive of thoſe that were ſlain in the battles which he fought. He left ſeveral children behind him, ſome of whom ſo ſignalized themſelves by their glorious actions, that a book was afterwards written by an oriental author, intitled, *Anwar alathâr fi fadhl banu Al Mokhtar*; which contained an accurate account of all the illuſtrious atchievements of *Al Mokhtar* and his deſcendents. We muſt beg leave here to obſerve, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a great miſtake, when he tells us, that *Al Mokhtar* was found under an elephant's feet at the battle, or in the war, of *Khaibar*, and that this war happened in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*. For the expedition againſt *Khaibar* was undertaken by the prophet himſelf, in the ſeventh year of the *Hejra*; and conſequently our hero *Al Mokhtar* could not then have been above ſeven years of age [f].

THE next year, the *Azarakites*, ſo denominated from *Nafé Ebn Al Azarak*, the author of their ſect, aſſembled a conſiderable force in *Perſia*, and made an irruption into *Irâk*. They advanced almoſt to the gates of *Cûfa*, and penetrated to *Al Madâyen*. As they acknowledged no eſtabliſhed government, either temporal or ſpiritual, and were ſworn enemies to the houſe of *Ommiyah*, they committed terrible ravages in the province of *Ahwâz*, and in every other part of the *Moſlem* territories through which they moved. They carried their exceſſes ſo far as to murder all the people they met with, to rip open women with child, and to exerciſe every ſpecies of cruelty upon the *Moſlems* of all denominations, without diſtinction of ſex or age. One of them being deſirous of ſparing a lady of tranſcendent piety, as well as beauty, another ſaid to him, "What! thou enemy of GOD, thou art "captivated with her beauty, and haſt denied the faith!" and inſtantly killed her. The governor of *Mawſel* and *Meſopotamia*, being informed of theſe unparalleled outrages, marched againſt them with a body of ſelect troops, came up with them at a place called *Sawlák*, and carried on a briſk war againſt them, for the ſpace of eight months, without intermiſſion; during which interval many ſharp engagements happened. In ſome part of this term, their leader *Nafé Ebn Al Azarak* died, and was ſucceeded by *Katri Ebn Al Fojât*; under whoſe conduct they continued their depredations. *Mus'ab* being not

The Azarakites overthrown by Omar Ebn Abd'allah Al Temimi.

[f] AL MAKIN et D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. xlv. p. 87—92. MOHAMMED. AL FIRAUZABAD. AL WAKED. AL BOKHAR. AL JANNAB. EBN ISHAK, Auct. lib. Mo'alem Al Tanzil, &c.

pleased with his lieutenant *Mahleb*, or *Al Mohalleb*, *Abusafra*'s management of the war, recalled him, and substituted in his room *Omar Ebn Abd'allah Al Temimi*, who gave the *Azarakites* a great overthrow at *Naisabûr* in *Khorasân*, put many of them to the sword, and pursued the rest as far as *Ispahân* and the province of *Kermân*. Here having received a reinforcement, they returned into the province of *Ahwáz*, and did incredible damage to the country through which they passed. But *Omar* advancing a second time against them, they retired at his approach to *Al Madâyen*, and plundered the district belonging to that city in a dreadful manner. However, *Omar* pursuing them hither also, they fled first into *Kermán*, and afterwards into *Khorasân*, where they gradually dispersed themselves. This year there was a grievous famine in *Syria*, which hindered all military operations. *Abd'almâlec*, however, incamped near *Botnân*, near the district of *Kinnisrîn*, tho' he was not a little incommoded by the heavy rains that fell there; and, in the spring returned to *Damascus*, where he soon finished his preparations for the ensuing campaign [g].

Abd'almâlec *reduces* Amru.

In the 69th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'almâlec* left *Damascus*, in order to march against *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, who was grown very formidable since the defeat of the *Azarakites*, and appointed *Amru Ebn Sa'id* governor of that city. But *Amru* seizing upon it for himself, the *Khalif* was obliged to return thither, and lay aside for the present the intended expedition. Upon *Abd'almâlec*'s arrival at *Damascus*, several skirmishes happened between detachments of his troops and some of *Amru*'s men; but, by the intervention of the women, a treaty was at last concluded between the contending parties, and the public tranquillity intirely restored. However, the *Khalif* not forgetting his competitor's attempt, three or four days after sent for him, ordered him to be disarmed of his sword, and fetter'd, and beat out two of his fore-teeth. Then he went to the evening-prayers, and left the execution of *Amru* to his brother *Abd'alaziz*; who being so nearly related to him, and commiserating his unhappy situation, threw away his sword, and resolved not to be the instrument of his death. The *Khalif* returning from the performance of his devotions, to his great surprize, found *Amru* alive; whereupon he ordered him to be laid upon his back, and immediately killed him. This action, however, so affected *Abd'almâlec*, that he was seized with a tremor, which, for some time after, quite disabled him; insomuch that his servants were obliged to take

[g] MS. Laud. num. 161. et Al Makin, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Azarecah*, p. 154. Golii not. ad Alfragan p. 188—190.

him

him up, and lay him upon his couch. The people observing, that *Amru* did not attend the *Khalif* to prayers, acquainted his brother *Yahya* with the affair; who instantly armed 1000 of *Amru*'s slaves, and attacked *Abd'almâlec*'s palace. After a warm dispute, they forced open the gates, killed several of the guards, and were upon the point of entering the palace, when the people within threw *Amru*'s head amongst them. This so cooled their ardour, that they desisted from the attempt; and some money having been soon after distributed amongst them by *Ald'alaziz*, they retired to their respective habitations. But so great was *Abd'almâlec*'s avarice, that, as we are told by an *Arab* author of good repute, when the commotion was appeased, he recalled the money bestowed upon them, and ordered it all to be again deposited in the public treasury. As for *Yahya*, who was the ringleader in the late riot, he was sentenced to die; but *Abd'alaziz* prevailed upon the *Khalif* to convert that punishment, on account of his being a member of the *Ommiyan* family, into a month's imprisonment, and then to banish him to *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*. The quarrel between *Amru* and *Abd'almâlec*, which proved so fatal to the former, is said to have been occasioned by an emulation excited between them by an old woman, whom they frequently visited, in their infancy, and which continued to subsist till the very day of *Amru*'s tragical death. *Merwân* being sufficiently apprized of this, and fearing it might produce fatal effects after his death, obliged the *Syrians* to take the oath of fidelity to *Abd'almâlec* as his successor, in his life-time, and to swear likewise to elevate to the *Moslem* throne, if that *Khalif* died without issue, his younger son *Abd'alaziz*. We find it intimated by one of the *Arab* historians, that *Abd'almâlec* could not make himself master of *Damascus*, after it had been seized by *Amru*, or, as he calls him, *Omar Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, without laying a formal siege to that city [h].

In the 70th year of the *Hejra*, the *Greeks* made an incursion into *Syria*. *Abd'almâlec* having then occasion for all his forces, in order to reduce to his obedience *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, in *Arabia*, and *Mus'ab*, his brother, in *Irâk*, was not able to march against them; and therefore agreed to pay the *Greek* emperor 1000 *dinârs* every week for a certain term, to induce that prince to withdraw his troops out of the *Moslem* territories. This year *Mus'ab* went to *Mecca*, with all the wealth, cattle, and rich furniture, he had amassed; which he distributed amongst the *Arabs*. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* himself also performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca* about the same time.

The Khalif *concludes a treaty with the* Greek *emperor.*

[h] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 60, 61.

We muſt here beg leave to obſerve, that, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, *Abd'almálec* concluded a treaty with the emperor, in the third or fourth year of his reign, by which he engaged himſelf to pay that prince annually 365,000 pieces of money, or *dinârs*, and to ſend him every year 365 ſlaves, as well as the ſame number of horſes, of a generous breed; and the *Chriſtian* potentate, on his part, promiſed to repreſs the courſe of the *Maronites*, who committed great diſorders in the *Khalif*'s dominions. About two years before this event, a peſtilence, of a very malignant kind, made dreadful havock in *Syria*. In the aforeſaid treaty, it was alſo ſtipulated, that the revenues of *Cyprus*, *Armenia*, and *Iberia*, ſhould be equally divided between the contracting powers. *Theophanes* adds, that, in the ſame year, *Abd'almâlec* ſent *Ziyand* the brother of *Mania*, *Obeid'allah* the ſon of *Ziyâd*, the brother of *Moâwiyah* I. he muſt mean, againſt the tyrant and impoſtor *Mouchar*, or *Mouktar*, into *Perſia*; and that *Ziyand*, or rather *Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd*, was ſlain by *Mouchar*. He likewiſe farther relates, that as ſoon as the news of this blow reached the *Khalif*, he ſet out for *Meſopotamia*; but was obliged to return to *Damaſcus* by the rebellion of *Sa'id*, that is, *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, whom he left behind him there. Which rebellion, however, according to him, *Abd'almálec* ſoon extinguiſhed; and, in violation of his promiſe, put *Sa'id* to death. All which particulars, huddled together in ſo abrupt a manner, tho' in ſome points agreeing with the *Arab* hiſtorians, may be conſidered as an additional proof of the confuſed and indiſtinct accounts this chronographer has handed down to us of the *Moſlem* affairs [i].

Abd'almálec *invades* Irâk.

ABD'ALMALEC, being reſolved to undertake an expedition into *Irâk* againſt *Mus'ab Ebn Zobeir*, put to death the principal accomplices of *Amru Ebn Sa'id*, and diſpatched *Khâled Ebn Aſid* privately to *Baſra*, to form a party for him there. *Mus'ab* having received intelligence of *Ebn Aſid*'s arrival, attempted to ſurprize him; but without effect: which he imputed to the care the *Baſrans* had taken to conceal him; and therefore reproached the chief of them in very ſharp terms for their conduct on this occaſion. Some of them he upbraided with their mean extraction, others with infamous actions committed either by them or their relations; and, in fine, all of them with ſomething that incenſed them greatly againſt him. In the mean time, *Abd'almâlec* had ſent letters to the leading men full of large promiſes; and, amongſt the reſt, one to *Ibra-*

[i] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 300, 301, 302, 03. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p. 440. OCKLEY, ub. ſup. p. 323.

him

him Ebn Al Aſhtar, who delivered it to *Mus'ab* ſealed up as it came. That letter contained a promiſe to *Ibrahim* of the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, if he would declare in favour of the *Khalîf*. *Ibrahim* then aſſured *Mus'ab*, that he ſhould perſiſt in his fidelity to him; and adviſed him, as *Abd'almâlec* had undoubtedly written to the other principal perſons in *Baſra*, whom he thought he could confide in, to the ſame effect, to behead all thoſe whom he had reaſon to ſuſpect were in that prince's intereſt. But *Mus'ab* not approving of this expedient, as he imagined it would create in the people of *Irâk* an averſion to him; *Ibrahim* preſſed him to put them under arreſt, till his fate was determined: ſo that, if he ſhould be defeated by *Abd'almâlec*, their heads might be cut off, upon the firſt arrival of the bad news at *Baſra*; but, if he obtained the victory, he might make a compliment of them to their tribes. As for *Abd'almâlec*, his ſubjects did their utmoſt to prevail upon him to reduce *Irâk* by his generals, and not expoſe his perſon to the hazards of war; fearing leſt their affairs ſhould be imbroiled, if any diſaſter ſhould happen to him, as their government was not yet ſettled upon a ſolid foundation. But the *Syrian Khalîf* believing himſelf perfectly qualified to command his troops in this expedition, both by his abilities in war, and his perſonal courage, and that he was a better match for *Mus'ab* than any of his generals, would not be perſuaded to ſtay at home, whilſt his forces were in the field. Having, therefore, finiſhed his military preparations, he began his march for *Irâk*, and at laſt arrived at *Maſken*, where *Mus'ab* had drawn up his army in order of battle. *Maſken*, which we find called *Sakan* by *Abu'l Faraj*, is a ſmall town in the deſarts either of *Al Shâm* or *Al Jazira*, between *Tadmor* and the town of *Tayba*, near the *Euphrates*, upon the frontiers of *Meſopotamia*. It derived its name from a fountain or ſpring of hot water, in *Arabic* denominated *Sukhn*, ſurrounded with palm-trees, at a ſmall diſtance from it. This place is the *Sukana* of the maps, and the *Sakhna*, or *Sukhna*, of the oriental geographers [k].

The battle of Maſken.

AFTER ſeveral movements, the two armies came in ſight of each other, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an engagement. The troops of *Irâk*, according to cuſtom, were reſolved to deſert *Mus'ab*, and not expoſe their country, on his account, to the ravages of a *Syrian* army. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Aſhtar* began the battle, by charging *Mohammed Ebn Harûn* with ſuch fury, that he forced him to retire; tho', being

[k] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hiſt. dynaſt. p. 199. ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Sachna*.

sustained by a fresh body of troops, headed by the *Khalif* himself, he soon returned to the charge, repulsed *Ibrahim* in his turn, and killed him upon the spot. *Mus'ab*'s general of the horse, either intimidated by the death and defeat of *Ibrahim*, or through treachery, soon after this, betook himself to flight; and many of the other *Irâkian* officers, who did not abandon their posts, refused to fight. Neither *Omar Ebn Abd'allah*, nor *Al Mohalleb*, nor *Ibâd Ebn Hossem*, appeared in this engagement; of which *Abd'almâlec* being informed, he took occasion from thence to presage a certain victory to his troops. *Mus'ab*, being pressed on all sides, endeavoured to prevail upon his son *Ija* to make his escape to *Mecca*, and acquaint his uncle *Abd'allah* with the perfidy of the people of *Irâk*; but he could not by any means be induced to desert his father at that perilous conjuncture; declaring he would not survive him. On the contrary, he advised him to retreat first to *Basra*, and afterwards to *Mecca*, himself; but *Mus'ab* would not hear of such infamous conduct. Nay, he would not accept of quarter, when tendered him by the *Khalif*, but persisted in his resolution of dying upon the field of battle. His son, therefore, who was determined not to forsake him, and he rushing into the midst of the enemy, fought like men animated by despair, destroyed several of the *Syrians*, and were at last both laid dead upon the spot. *Mus'ab* was first grievously wounded with arrows, then stabbed in several places, and had finally his head cut off by a man who carried it immediately to the *Khalif* *Abd'almâlec* offered the bearer 1000 *dinârs*; which he would not take; saying, that as he had slain *Mus'ab* purely to gratify his own private resentment, he had no manner of title to it. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that *Abd'almâlec* and *Mus'ab*, in the *Khalifat* of *Merwân*, had contracted an intimate friendship; but that the latter afterwards marrying *Sekina*, the daughter of *Hoscin*, and *Ayesha*, the daughter of *Telha*, became allied to two families that bore an implacable hatred to the house of *Ommiyah*. *Theophanes* relates, that about this time, whilst the *Arabs* were engaged in a civil war, the imperial forces, under the conduct of *Leontius*, drove them out of *Armenia*, *Iberia*, *Media*, and *Bulcacia*, with great slaughter, and re-annexed those provinces to the empire. He also informs us, that *Abd'almâlec*, whom he calls *Abimelec*, after *Mus'ab* had cut of *Mouktar*, killed and defeated that conqueror, and reduced *Persia*, or rather *Irâk*, under his dominion; which agrees tolerably well with what we find advanced in this point by the *Arab* historians. For, according to them, after the battle of *Masken*, *Cûfa* opened its gates to the *Syrian Khalif*, and both the *Persian* and *Babylonian Irâk* submitted to him. The people of those provinces came

came in crouds, and, amongſt the reſt, *Yahya*, the brother of *Amru*, whom he had killed, to take the oath of allegiance to him. After the concluſion of that ceremony, he ordered vaſt ſums of money to be diſtributed amongſt them, and gave a ſplendid entertainment to his new ſubjects, to which even the meaneſt of them were admitted. Neither the *Arab* nor the *Greek* writers have preſerved many particulars of the battle of *Maſken*, nor tranſmitted down to us an account of the number of *Moſlems* killed and wounded on either ſide in that memorable action [l].

The Khalif takes great notice of an old Makhzumite.

DURING the banquet prepared for the *Cûfans*, *Abd'almâlec* took great notice of *Amru Ebn Al Hâreth*, an antient *Makhzumite*, whom he placed by him on his *Sofa*. Amongſt other queſtions, he aſked him what ſort of food pleaſed him beſt? To which the old *Makhzumite* anſwered, "An aſs's head "ſeaſoned high and well roaſted." "That is but an ordinary "diſh," replied the *Khalif*; "what ſay you to a leg or a "ſhoulder of a ſucking lamb, well roaſted and covered with "butter and milk?" From whence we may infer, that the *Arabs*, in the *Khalifat* of *Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, had at leaſt ſome diſhes ſimilar to thoſe made uſe of by their progenitors in *Abraham*'s time. For, that *Abraham* entertained his divine gueſts with butter, milk, and a calf which he had dreſſed, is atteſted by the author of the *Pentateuch*; and that he was at no great diſtance from the borders of *Arabia*, when he gave that entertainment, we are certainly informed by the ſame ſacred hiſtorian. When the ſupper was over, the *Makhzumite* diverted the *Khalif* with a particular account of the antiquities of the caſtle; after which, *Mus'ab*'s head, that had been juſt brought in, was exhibited to his view. One of the company ſeeing it, ſaid to *Abd'almâlec*, "I ſaw *Hoſein*'s "head in this ſame caſtle preſented to *Obeid'allah*, *Obeid'al-*"*lah*'s to *Al Mokhtar*, *Al Mokhtar*'s to *Mus'ab*, and now at "laſt *Mus'ab*'s to yourſelf." This obſervation greatly affected the *Khalif*, who, in order to avert the ill omen, commanded the caſtle to be immediately demoliſhed. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, having received the melancholy news of his brother's death, aſſembled the people in the moſque at *Mecca*, and made a ſpeech to them from the pulpit ſuitable to the occaſion. He alſo did his utmoſt to put his capital in a poſture of defence, and render it capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege; expecting a ſpeedy viſit from his formidable competitor, who now gave law to *Irâk*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, without controul [m].

THE

[l] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. ISM. AEULFED. in hiſt. univer. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 303, 304. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 61.

[m] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi

The Motazalites *apprize* Al Mohalleb *of the defeat at* Maſken.

THE *Separatiſts*, or *Azarakites*, in the neighbourhood of *Mawſel*, received advice of the defeat at *Maſken*, and of *Mus'ab*'s death, which happened in the 71ſt year of the *Hejra*, before *Al Mohalleb*, the governor of that city, and its dependencies, with whom they were then at war, was apprized of thoſe fatal events. Whereupon ſome of them aſked certain of his men what they thought of *Mus'ab?* They replied, "He is a lawful *Imâm*." "He is then," ſaid the ſectaries, "your friend both in this "world and that which is to come; and you are his friends "both alive and dead." To which the others anſwered in the affirmative. "And what," demanded the *Separatiſts*, "is your opinion of *Abd'almâlec*, the ſon of *Merwân?*" "He is," ſaid they, "the ſon of the accurſed; we acknow- "ledge him not, but hold it more lawful for us to ſhed his "blood than yours?" "And you are," continued the *Separatiſts*, "his enemies both alive and dead?" "Yes," replied the others. "Very well," ſaid the *Azarakites*, "*Ab-* "*d'almâlec* has killed *Mus'ab*, your *Imâm*; and you will "make him your *Imâm* to-morrow, though you waſh your "hands of him to-day, and curſe his father." To which the others anſwered, "You lie, you enemies of GOD." However, being certainly informed the next day of what had happened, they changed their note, and took the oath of allegiance to *Abd'almâlec* without heſitation. For which being reproached by the *Azarakites* in very ſevere terms, they defended themſelves, by ſaying, "We were pleaſed with the "other as long as he preſided over us; and now we approve "of this, as we did before of him." "You are," replied the *Azarakites*, brethren of the devils, companions of the "wicked, and ſlaves to the preſent world." With regard to *Mus'ab*, he was, if we will believe an *Arab* author of good note, an officer of diſtinguiſhed bravery, great generoſity, and of a very comely agreeable perſon. Tho' he had a ſon that fell with him in the battle of *Maſken*, as has been already obſerved, he was not above ſix-and-thirty years of age when he met with his untimely fate [n].

The Azarakites, or Separatiſts, *defeat* Abd'alaziz.

SOON after *Abd'almâlec*'s arrival at *Damaſcus*, he conferred upon his brother, *Baſhar Ebn Merwân*, the government of *Cûfa*, and upon *Khâled Ebn Abd allah* that of *Baſra*. The latter of theſe had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of his poſt, than he appointed *Al Mohalleb* ſuperviſor of the tribute of *Baſra*; which was a very indiſcrete and impolitic ſtep, as *Al Mohalleb*

ubi ſup. GEN. xviii. 8. xiii. 18. xxiii. 19. CHRIST. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 13. MS. Huntingt. n. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. in art. *Aba'almâlec*. p. 8. OCKLEY's hiſt. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 330, 331.

[n] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 61.

was

was one of the moſt conſummate generals of his age. To this imprudent meaſure was probably owing the diſaſter that immediately followed. The *Azarakites*, being apprized of *Al Mohalleb*'s diſmiſſion from the command of the army deſtined to act againſt them, and that he was ſucceeded by *Abd'alaziz* in that important poſt, advanced againſt the latter with great alacrity, intirely defeated him, and took his wife priſoner. A debate ariſing amongſt the victors about the value of that lady, which ſome fixed at 100,000 *dinârs*, one of them, in order to put an end to it, immediately ſtruck off her head. *Khâled*, after the blow he had received, wrote a letter to the *Khalîf*, acquainting him with the loſs the army had ſuſtained, and deſiring to know what ſtep he was next to take. *Abd'almâlec*, in the anſwer he ſent him, condemned *Khâled*'s conduct, ordered him to remove *Abd'alaziz* from the command of the forces aſſigned him, to ſubſtitute *Al Mohalleb*, whom he called *the ſon and the grandſon of war*, in his room, to advance into the province of *Ahwâz* with all the troops he could aſſemble, and, in fine, to do nothing without the privity and advice of *Al Mohalleb*. This anſwer by no means pleaſed *Khâled*, tho' the *Khalîf* alſo promiſed him in it a ſpeedy reinforcement; and, in conſequence of that promiſe, ſent a body of 5000 *Cûfans*, under the command of his brother *Baſhar*, ſoon after to join him. *Baſhar*, before his arrival, diſpatched a courier to *Al Mohalleb*, to give him notice of his approach; the good of the *Khalîf*'s ſervice at that time rendering it neceſſary to treat a perſon of that general's merit with great marks of diſtinction [o].

The Azarakites are overthrown by Khâled *and* Al Mohalleb.

THE *Khalîf*'s generals receiving advice, that the *Azarakites*, or *Separatiſts*, were in motion, advanced at the head of the army as far as *Ahwâz*, the metropolis of the province of the ſame name, and pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of that city. Soon after their arrival here, *Al Mohalleb* adviſed *Khâled* to ſeize ſome ſhips that then appeared in the river on which *Ahwâz* was ſituated; but they were burnt, before that deſign could be put in execution, by a party of the enemy's horſe. *Al Mohalleb* taking upon him one day to view all the poſts of the camp, obſerved that an officer had not taken the precaution to intrench himſelf; who being aſked by that general the reaſon of this, replied, that he valued the *Azarakites* no more than a camel's fart: but *Al Mohalleb* told him, that he ought not to deſpiſe them, ſince they were the lions of the *Arabs*. In conſequence of this notion, that commander ordered a line to be drawn round the camp; and the troops remained in their intrenchments about twenty days.

[o] MS. Laud. num. 161. & AL MAKIN, ubi ſup.

After

After the expiration of which term, *Khâled* and *Al Mohalleb* fell upon the enemy with such fury, that, after a most sharp and bloody engagement, they overthrew them, and took possession of their camp. Upon which, *Khâled* detached *David*, one of his officers, to pursue the fugitives with a body of horse, and dispatched an express to the *Khalif* with a particular account of the victory they had gained. *Abd'almâlec* hereupon sent an order to *Bashar* to reinforce *David*'s detachment with another body of 4000 horse, that he might be thereby enabled to push the *Azarakites* to the very centre of *Persia*. This was accordingly done, and those detachments of cavalry, after a long and fatiguing pursuit, in which most of their horses perished, returned in a very shatter'd condition to *Ahwâz*. That city, denominated likewise by some of the eastern writers *Ehwâz*, seems to have been called in early times by the *Persians* the city of *Hormuz*, or *Hormuzd*, which answered to the *Diospolis* of the *Greeks*; *Hormuz*, *Hormuzd*, or *Ormuzd*, denoting *Jupiter* amongst the *Persians*, as we learn from *Plutarch*. The name of *Ahwâz* is sometimes applied to the whole region of *Khûzestân*, or *Khûzistân*, of which the province of *Ahwâz* is the best and most considerable part. The old metropolis of this province at present lies in ruins; so that very few traces, or remains, of that antient city are now to be seen P.

Abd'almâlec's forces invest Mecca.

ABDA'LMALEC having thus defeated and dispersed the *Azarakites*, in the 72d year of the *Hejra*, had no enemy left to contend with but *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, who still was considered as *Khalif* by the *Arabs*, and held his residence at *Mecca*. He, therefore, made great preparations for an invasion of *Hejâz*, and appointed *Al Hejâj Ebn Yusef Al Thakîfi*, one of the most warlike and eloquent captains of the age, to command the troops to be employed in this expedition. *Al Hejâj* having imagined in a dream that he had overcome *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, taken him prisoner, and flayed him, the *Syrian Khalif* considered this as a good omen; and therefore resolved to commit the management of the war to be carried on against the *Khalif* of *Mecca* to his care. Before he put his army in march for *Mecca*, he offered his protection to all the *Arabs* there that would accept of it, and take an oath of fidelity to him. *Abd'allah* being informed of *Al Hejâj*'s approach, sent out several parties of horse to reconnoitre the enemy, and give him intelligence of their motions. Betwixt these and some of *Al Hejâj*'s advanced guards several skirmishes happened, in which *Abd'allah*'s men had generally the worst. This encouraged

P MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 39, 118. PLUT. de Isid. et Osirid. See SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim. disc.

Al Hejâj to send to his master for a farther reinforcement, his army, consisting of only 2000 men, not being strong enough to form the siege of *Mecca*; assuring him, that *Abd'allah*'s fierceness was very much abated, and that his men deserted him daily. Upon which, *Abd'almâlec* ordered *Thârik Ebn Amer* to march to his assistance with a body of 5000 men. In the mean time, *Al Hejâj* advanced to *Al Tâyef*, a town about 60 miles east of *Mecca*, in the month of *Shaabân*, and was joined by *Thârik* with the forces under his command the new moon of the following *Dhu'lhajja*; after which junction, he continued his rout to *Mecca*, and immediately invested that place. We find it intimated by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Theodocus* and *Theodunus*, two very eminent physicians, were great favourites of this *Al Hejâj*; that *Theodunus* composed a large physical treatise, for the instruction of his son; and that some of *Theodocus*'s scholars and followers flourished till the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs* mounted the *Moslem* throne q.

Abd'almâlec *overcomes* Abd'allah Ebn Hâzim.

In the 73d year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'almâlec* offered the whole public revenues of *Khorasân* for seven years to *Abd'allah Ebn Hâzim*, if he would make his submission to him; which so incensed that commander, that he forced the *Khalif*'s messenger to eat the letter he brought, and would have cut him to pieces upon the spot, had he not foreseen that such an action would have created a disturbance between two of the *Arab* tribes. *Abd'almâlec*, therefore, in order to chastize him for his insolence, as well as his refusal to recognize his authority, sent one of his generals with a body of troops against him; who first defeated and dispersed his forces, and afterwards put him to death. Others say, that *Abd'almâlec* made no overtures to *Abd'allah Ebn Hâzim* till after the reduction of *Hejâz*; and that he sent *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*'s head to *Ebn Hâzim*, imagining that the sight of this would have intimidated him into a submission. But, according to them, it produced a quite contrary effect. That general, continue they, swore, as soon as he saw it, that he would never obey *Abd'almalec*'s orders as long as he lived, washed the head in a bason, embalmed it, wrapped it up in linen, prayed over it, and then sent it to *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*'s relations at *Mecca*. They also relate, that he obliged the messenger to eat the letter he brought, and told him, that if he had not been a messenger, he would instantly have ordered his head to have been struck off. But this relation, however it may be countenanced by Mr. *Ockley*, we are by no means disposed to admit; since

q MS. Laud. num. 161. et Al Makin, ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 200. Eutych. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. tom. ii. p. 366, 367. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage Ben Jofef Al Thakefi*, p. 442.

the

the *Arab* authors in a manner unanimously agree, that *Abd'almâlec* had subdued all his other competitors before *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir* was destroyed [r].

Mecca *taken by* Al Hejâj.

NOTWITHTSANDING the reinforcement *Al Hejâj* had received, for some time he made very little progress in the siege of *Mecca*. Whilst he battered the temple there with his military engines, it thundered and lightened so dreadfully, that the *Syrians* were struck with terror, and refused to play them any longer upon that edifice. Upon which, *Al Hejâj* stuck the corner of his vest into his girdle, and putting one of the stones that was to be discharged out of his catapults into it, slang it upon the town; and this occasioned the recommencement of the operations. The next morning, the *Syrians* were annoyed by several successive storms, that killed twelve of their men, and quite dispirited them. *Al Hejâj* seeing them in such a consternation, said, "O *Syrians!* let not this terrify you. I "am a son of *Tehâma*. This, therefore, is the storm of *Te-* "*hâma*. Victory is at hand. Rejoice at the news of it, "especially since the rebels suffer as much as you." The day following, some of *Abd'allah*'s men were killed by another storm, that was extremely violent, which gave *Al Hejâj* a farther opportunity of animating his troops. At last, *Abd'allah*, having been deserted by most of his friends, 10,000 of the inhabitants of *Mecca*, and even his two sons *Hamza* and *Khobeib*, desired to know his mother's sentiments as to the course he was to take. He represented to her, that he was almost intirely abandoned by his subjects and relations; that the few who persisted in their fidelity to him could scarce enable him to defend the city any longer; and that the *Syrian Khalîf* would grant him any terms he should think fit to demand. She, being a woman of inflexible resolution, and not able to bear the thoughts of seeing her son reduced to the condition of a private person, having herself been the grand-daughter, or rather, as has been already observed, the daughter, of *Abu Becr*, the first *Khalîf*, advised him by no means to survive the sovereignty of which he was upon the point of being deprived. This perfectly agreeing with his own sentiments, he resolved to die in the defence of the place; so that, to the great surprize of the besiegers, he maintained himself there ten days longer, tho' destitute of arms, troops, and fortifications. At last, having taken a final leave of his mother, and being animated by despair, he made a sally upon the enemy, destroyed a great number of them with his own hands, and was

[r] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. OCKLEY, ubi sup. p. 341, 342. ISM. ABULFED. GREG ABU'L-FARAJ. et EUTYCH. ubi supra.

at length himſelf killed, fighting valiantly, upon the ſpot. We are told, that his mother obliged him to put off a coat of mail he had on when he made her his laſt viſit, and which he wore that he might be the better able to defend her; preſſing him, after the conference was over, to ruſh into the midſt of the enemy, and die a martyr for the cauſe of truth. It is alſo ſaid, that when he told her he was not ſo much afraid of dying, as of being expoſed after death, ſhe courageouſly replied, *When a ſheep is once killed, it is not ſenſible of the pain of excoriation*; and that, in order to inſpire him with a greater degree of fortitude in the article of death, ſhe gave him a draught into which a pound of muſk had been infuſed. The enemy, not daring to approach him, pelted him with ſtones, and wounded him in ſeveral places, before they gave him the fatal ſtroke. When he felt the blood run down his face and beard, he repeated an *Arabic* verſe, importing, that *the blood of our wounds does not fall down upon our heels, but upon our feet.* By which he implied, that he did not turn his back upon his enemies, however terrible they might appear. After his death, *Al Hejâj* ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be affixed to a croſs in the city. Which body, being perfumed with the muſk *Abd'allah* had drank, emitted a grateful odour for ſeveral days; and was afterwards interred in the burying place of the *Jews* at *Medina*. As to the duration of the ſiege of *Mecca*, authors are not perfectly agreed; ſome making it to amount to ſeven months and a few days, and others to eight months and ſeventeen nights. According to the writers followed by *Al Makin*, *Abd'allah*'s mother ſurvived him only five days. The reduction of *Mecca* put *Abd'almâlec* in poſſeſſion of the peninſula of the *Arabs*, and conſequently rendered him ſole and abſolute maſter of the *Moſlem* empire [s].

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's character.

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir preſided over the *Arabs* nine years and twenty-two days, having been inaugurated immediately after the death of *Yezid*. He was a man of extraordinary courage, as was allowed even by *Abd'almâlec* and *Tharik* themſelves, and as ſufficiently appeared from the whole tenor of his conduct, but more particularly from his noble defence of *Mecca*, tho' the place was in a manner void both of troops and fortifications. He has been repreſented likewiſe by ſome of the eaſtern writers as a perſon of exemplary piety, and ſo fixed and unmoved when employed in the performance of his devotions, that nothing could divert his attention from

[s] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 61, 62. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 366—369. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi ſup. p. 199. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, p. 7.

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the object of them; of which they supply us with the following remarkable instance. When he was once at prayer, a pigeon lighted upon his head, and sat there a considerable time, without his being in the least sensible of it. And yet notwithstanding these amiable qualities, he is said to have been covetous to such a degree, that his avarice became a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. *Abulfeda* relates, that he wore a suit of cloaths forty years without ever putting them off his back; which is absolutely incredible. He was about seventy-two years of age at the time of his death, and of a family not very acute, according to some of the *Moslem* historians. His secretary's name was *Deyl Ebn Omar*, and his chamberlain's *Salem*. In the beginning of the siege of *Mecca*, he resided for the most part in the *Caaba*; but after *Al Hejâj* had beat down one part of that place by the stones he discharged upon it, and set fire to the other by some burning balls of pitch, which, by the assistance of his engines, he found means to communicate to it, he found himself obliged to retire to his own house. In fine, *Abd'allah* was killed, and *Mecca* taken, on the 18th day of the former *Jomâda*, in the 73d year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 692. About this time, *Abd'almâlec* ordered the poll-tax, or capitation, called *Taadil*, to be levied upon the *Christians* of *Syria*. The same year, *Mohammed Ebn Merwân* gained a victory over the *Greeks*, which was attended with the surrender of *Assafiyah*; and *Othmân Ebn Walid* made an irruption into *Armenia* with a body of 4000 *Arabs*, and defeated likewise an army of the same nation that amounted to 60,000 men. The *Greek* writers only in general observe, that all civil wars ceasing at this time amongst the *Moslems*, they became reunited under one prince; and that *Abd'almâlec* being now firmly seated upon his throne, discovered an inclination to keep up a good understanding with all the neighbouring powers [t].

Several sharp engagements in Armenia.

AFTER the late victory, *Mohammed Ebn Merwân*, who was then governor of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijan*, sustained a very great loss in the first of those countries, by the defeat and total destruction of an army of 100,000 men, sent against the *Hararians*, *Khararians*, or rather *Khazarians*, there. Upon which, *Mohammed*, at the head of another army of 40,000 men, who were all chosen troops, penetrated into the very heart of *Armenia*, defeated and dispersed a large body of the *Khazarians*, drove them into their temples, and reduced

[t] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. hist. univer. vol. i. MS. Poc. num. 303. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 62. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Simon. Assemân. in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 104. ut et ipse JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 304. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 441.

them

them to ashes there. *Moslem Ebn Abd'almálec Ebn Merwân* also, with another body of the *Moslem* forces, attacked an army of 80,000 *Khazarians*, at the *Iron*, or *Caspian*, *Gates*, and destroyed a great number of them. The rest were obliged by the victors to embrace the *Mohammedan* faith. Several other actions happened about the same time in that country, of which no clear and distinct account has been handed down to us either by the *Moslem* or *Christian* historians [u].

In the 74th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Hejáj* demolished the temple of *Mecca*, after it had been repaired by *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, rebuilt it, and restored it to the form it was in before *Mohammed*'s time, wherein it still remains. Having been appointed the governor of *Medina*, he exercised unheard-of cruelties upon the inhabitants of that city. He frequently quarrelled with them without any manner of provocation, and punished them where there was not the least appearance of any crime. It has been observed by some *Arab* writers, that there happened a very remarkable solar eclipse this year, on *Monday*, towards the close of the former *Jomâda*; in one part of the duration of which the stars very clearly appeared [w]. Hejáj's *cruelty*.

The following year, *Abd'almâlek* made *Al Hejáj* his lieutenant of *Irâk*; of which post that general took possession at *Cúfa*, escorted by a body of 12,000 horse. The *Khalif* likewise constituted him governor of *Khorasân* and *Sijistân*, after the death of his brother *Bashar*. *Al Hejáj* entered *Cúfa*, muffled up in his turbant, and was soon surrounded by crouds of people, who pressed forwards to see him. He told them their curiosity should soon be gratified, as he would immediately discover himself to them. Then going directly to the mosque, he ascended the *membar*, or pulpit, where he treated them after a very coarse manner; swearing that he would make the wicked bear his own burden, and fit him with his own shoe. One day, after a short pause, in the pulpit, he said, *O people of* Irâk! *methinks I see the heads of men ripe and ready to be gathered, and turbants and beards sprinkled with blood.* The day after his arrival at *Cúfa*, he upbraided, in very sharp terms, the inhabitants of that city; swearing to them from the pulpit, that his punishments, in rigour and severity, should exceed those of the most cruel of his predecessors, and be a pattern for his successors to the remotest periods of time. Those who had any hand in the murder of *Othmân* were the principal objects of his fury and resentment, both at *Cúfa* and *Basra*; to the latter of which places he went after a short stay at the other, and made the citizens there a speech conceived in much the Hejáj *appointed governor of* Irâk, Khorasân, *and* Sijistân.

[u] Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 62. D'Herbel. p. 429, 1002, 1003.
[w] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. Al Jannab. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 63. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 368, 369.

same

ſame terms as that above-mentioned. And to give the *Baſrans* a taſte of his diſcipline, he cauſed one of them, who had been informed againſt as a rebel, to be beheaded upon the ſpot. In fine, his conduct ſo exaſperated the people of *Irâk*, that they made an inſurrection againſt him; but having defeated them in a pitched battle, and ſent eighteen of their heads to *Al Mohalleb*, he returned to *Baſra*. Soon after which, he ſent a body of troops, under the command of *Al Mohalleb*, called by *Al Makin Al Mohalleb Ebn Abuſafra*, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Mehnef*, againſt the *Azarakites*, who began again to be in motion. Thoſe generals at firſt obtained ſeveral advantages over the rebels; but *Abd'alrahmân*, refuſing to liſten to the advice of *Al Mohalleb*, and neglecting to intrench himſelf, was at laſt ſurprized, and cut to pieces, with all the troops he commanded; which proved a very conſiderable loſs. What part of the *Moſlem* territories was the theatre of this war, we are not told by the *Arab* writers; but, from ſeveral circumſtances recorded by thoſe writers, either the province of *Ahwâz*, or ſome neighbouring diſtrict, ſeems to have been the ſcene of theſe commotions. The *Azarakites*, at this time, were probably poſted at no great diſtance from *Baſra*, as the revolt, that happened there at this juncture, proved no ſmall encouragement to thoſe rebels, and animated them to attack the forces ſent againſt them by *Al Hejâj*. However, they reaped no great advantage from that event; *Al Mohalleb* ſoon afterwards putting them to flight, and driving them before him, as it ſhould ſeem, into ſome of the remoter parts of *Perſia*. We have already given our readers a deſcription of the province and city of *Ahwâz*, and ſhall therefore take no farther notice of it here [x].

Saleh *and* Shebib *rebel againſt the* Khalif.

In the 76th year of the *Hejra*, *Saleh Ebn Marj*, a hot-headed ſectary, and *Shebib Ebn Zeid*, a *Khârejite*, took up arms againſt the *Khalif*. They had both been on pilgrimage at *Mecca* the preceding year, when *Abd'almâlec* was there, and formed a conſpiracy againſt him. The *Khalif*, being apprized of this, ordered *Al Hejâj* to ſeize them; but they eluded all his vigilance, and found means to make their eſcape. *Saleh* remained very ſecure a month at *Cûfa*, and concerted the moſt proper meaſures with his friends there to carry his deſign into execution. That branch of the *Khârejites*, that followed him, went under the name of *Safrians*, and appeared now for the firſt time in arms. He was a man much given to devotion, and had many followers in *Mawſel* and *Meſopotamia*,

[x] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi ſup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 63. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage*, p 442, 443. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 118.

to

to whom he frequently read and expounded the *Korân*. He once delivered a diſcourſe, which ſo pleaſed all his hearers, that they begged he would favour them with a copy of it. He granted their requeſt; and by this means that diſcourſe has been preſerved to the preſent age; but as it is little better than enthuſiaſtic cant, or rather a collection of crude exhortatory obſervations, adapted to the taſte of thoſe hot-headed illiterate enthuſiaſts, to whom it was directed, and intirely calculated to excite them to a rebellion; as it throws not the leaſt light upon that part of the *Arab* hiſtory, in which we are now engaged, and conſequently contains nothing that can render it in any degree either inſtructive or entertaining; an omiſſion of it here will by no means prove unacceptable to our ſagacious and intelligent readers [y].

And are driven to Mawſel.

WHILST *Saleh* was haranguing his followers, in order to inſpire them with ſentiments of abhorrence both of the *Khalif* and *Al Hejáj*, he received a letter from *Shebib*; wherein that incendiary reproved him for being ſo tardy in his motions. *Saleh*, in his anſwer, by way of recrimination, told him, that, had he himſelf not been ſo dilatory, hoſtilities would have commenced before that time againſt the wicked *Imâm*; that his delay had raiſed in them a ſuſpicion of him; and that they waited only for his arrival, in order to enter upon action. This rouſing *Shebib*, he immediately joined *Saleh* at *Dara'l-jazira*, that is, *Dara*, or *Daras*, in *Meſopotamia*, of which *Mohammed Ebn Merwân* was at that time governor, with a ſmall body of infantry, and ſaluted him emperor of the faithful there. After this junction, they ſeized ſome of *Mohammed*'s horſes in a neighbouring village, upon which they mounted their foot. The governor ſoon received intelligence of their motions; but deſpiſing their number, the whole force commanded by theſe enthuſiaſts not exceeding 120 men, he only ordered *Adi* to march againſt them with a detachment of 500 men. But *Adi* informing him, that this force was inſufficient to reduce them, he reinforced him with 500 more; upon which, he advanced to *Daras*, near which place the *Safrians*, or *Khârejites*, had poſted themſelves. *Adi*, having no mind to fight, notwithſtanding his vaſt ſuperiority in point of numbers, gave *Saleh* to underſtand, that, if he would quit *Meſopotamia*, and invade ſome other province, he would not oppoſe him; but this *Saleh* refuſed to do, except *Adi* would declare himſelf to be of the ſame religious and political ſentiments with the *Safrians*, who acknowleged him for their chief. This propoſal not being reliſhed by *Adi*, nothing could then be concluded upon. *Adi*, ſoon after this firſt effort to prevail upon

[y] MS. Laud. num. 161. ISM. ABULFED. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art *Schebib Ben Zeid*, p. 780.

Saleh to depart out of *Mesopotamia* by amicable means proved ineffectual, not being sufficiently upon his guard, was surprized by the enemy; who attacked him whilst he was saying the noon-prayers, put him to the rout, and made themselves masters of his camp. *Mohammed*, receiving advice of this defeat, ordered *Khâled Ebn Al Jora* and *Al Hâreth*, each at the head of 1500 men, to advance against the *Separatists*; who coming up with them near *Amed*, or *Amida*, a fierce conflict ensued. The rebels behaved with great bravery on this occasion, and repulsed in such a manner the *Khalif*'s horse, that they were obliged to dismount, and fight on foot: after which, they warmly attacked the enemy. However, the *Safrians* defended themselves with unparalleled intrepidity, till the approach of the night put an end to the action; tho' finding themselves not able to cope with the *Khalif*'s forces, they soon after decamped, and retired with great precipitation to *Mawsel*. From thence they continued their route to *Dascara*, where they pitched their tents. We must not forget to observe, that, tho' the dispute near *Amida* was on both sides so obstinate, neither the *Khalif*'s troops, nor the *Safrians*, sustained any considerable loss; the former not having had many above 70, and the latter only 30 men killed in the action [z].

Shebib *defeats the* Khalif's *forces, and takes* Cûfa.

Al Hejaj having been informed, that the *Safrians*, under the command of *Saleh* and *Shebib*, had taken post at *Dascara*, sent *Al Hâreth Al Hamadâni* to drive them from thence with a body of 5000 men. Whilst *Al Hâreth* was upon his march, he received advice, that *Saleh* had abandoned *Dascara*, and seemed to be moving towards *Jalouta* and *Katikin*; upon which, he pursued him with great expedition, endeavouring, by forced marches, to come up with him. At last, the two armies faced each other at *Modhaj*, a little town or village upon the *Tigris*, between *Mawsel* and *Jukhi*, and, after some previous motions, engaged. *Saleh*'s forces were composed only of three companies, consisting of thirty men each; which, not being able to make head against *Al Hâreth*'s troops, were soon thrown into confusion, and *Saleh* himself killed upon the spot. *Shebib* was also beaten off his horse, obliged for some time to fight on foot, and at last made his retreat in excellent order to a neighbouring castle. From thence, tho' surrounded by *Al Hâreth*'s numerous forces, with his little army, or rather troop, he made a sally upon the enemy, penetrated about midnight to the very centre of their camp, cut many of them to pieces, wounded the general himself, who was with great difficulty carried off, and dispersed the most considerable part of the army he commanded. By this victory, *Shebib*

[z] Iidem ibid. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 232, 235, 241, & alib. pass. Ockley, ubi sup. p. 352—362.

I ani-

animated his friends, and became terrible even to *Hejâj* himſelf, whom he worſted in ſeveral actions conſequential to it. Nay, taking advantage of that general's abſence, when at *Baſra*, without any conſiderable oppoſition, he made himſelf maſter of *Cûfa*. About this time, *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abuſofra*, whom *Al Hejâj* had continued his lieutenant of *Khoraſân*, departed this life. He was a perſon of an extraordinary character, both for his ſurprizing abilities, and his uncommon generoſity of temper. When he was at the point of death, he gave his ſons a bundle of arrows to break; which none of them being able to do, he aſked them whether they could break thoſe arrows ſingly? To which they anſwered in the affirmative. "Then," ſaid he, "ſuppoſe yourſelves to be like that bundle of arrows here ex-" hibited to your view, and not to be repreſented by the diſ-" united arrows;" intimating hereby, that as their union would render them invincible, ſo, the moment diſcord entered amongſt them, they would begin to advance towards deſtruction [a].

AL HEJAJ, determined not to bear any longer the inſults of *Shebib*, wrote to the *Khalif* for a reinforcement; who ſent him a ſtrong detachment of the *Syrian* forces, to enable him to extirpate the *Safrians* under the command of that enthuſiaſt. After he had been joined by theſe ſuccours, he advanced againſt *Shebib*, whoſe army did not conſiſt of above 4000 horſe, or, as others ſay, 600, gave him battle in the plains of *Cûfa*, and intirely defeated him. *Shebib's* wife *Gazâla*, who had attended him in his firſt march to *Cûfa*, his brother, and a conſiderable number of his men, were killed in the action; and the reſt purſued ſome paraſangs by a body of the *Syrian* troops, who put to the ſword only thirty of the *Safrians*, tho' they loſt themſelves above 100 men. This diſaſter obliged *Shebib* to abandon *Cûfa*, in order to provide for his own ſafety. Having therefore paſſed the *Tigris*, he advanced to *Jukhi*; from whence, repaſſing the ſame river at the place where *Wâſet* was afterwards built, he retired with great precipitation to *Ahwâz*, and from thence into *Kermân*, where he halted, and refreſhed his men. In the mean time, *Al Hejâj* ordered *Gazâla's* head to be waſhed, and interred; and detached *Sofiân Ebn Al Abrad*, whom *Abd'alméalec* had ſent to his aſſiſtance out of *Syria*, with a body of troops to march againſt *Shebib*, who had advanced a ſecond time to *Ahwâz*. *Sofiân* came up with the enemy at a bridge called *Dojail Al Ahwaz*, where a ſharp diſpute enſued; in which, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, *Shebib* ſeveral times repulſed the *Khalif's* forces, but was at laſt himſelf put to

But overthrown and killed by Sofiân Ebn Al Abrad.

[a] MS. Laud. num. 161. & Ism. ABULFED. ubi ſup. OCKLEY, ubi ſup. p. 364.

flight. His horſe, leaping upon a mare before him, looſened the ſtones of the bridge, whilſt he was paſſing it, and forced his foot upon the edge of a boat; which threw him into the river, or arm of the ſea, as we find intimated by *Al Makin*, that a little farther diſcharges itſelf into the bay of *Baſra*. Notwithſtanding which, M. *D'Herbelot*, who ſeems to have followed chiefly the *Perſian* hiſtorians, ſays, that *Shebib* was drowned in the *Sarſar*, a river of *Syria*. The firſt time he emerged, he ſaid, *When* GOD *decrees a thing, it is done*; and the ſecond, *This is the decree of the* ALMIGHTY, *the* ALL-WISE GOD: upon which, the *Safrians*, being ſtruck with terror, immediately cried out, *The emperor of the faithful is drowned*. His body being drawn up with a net, the head was cut off, and ſent to *Al Hejâj*, who was not a little pleaſed at the ſight of it. When the body was opened, the heart was taken out of it, and found to be prodigiouſly firm and hard, like a ſtone. His mother is ſaid to have been a *Chriſtian*, carried off as a priſoner, and conſequently a ſlave, by *Yezid Ebn Naim*, after a victory obtained by the *Moſlems* over the *Greeks*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Othmân*, and the 25th year of the *Hejra*. Proving with child of *Shebib* by her maſter, ſhe grew extremely fond of him; and, in order to pleaſe him, embraced *Mohammediſm*. *Shebib* was born on the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, the day on which the victims at *Mecca* are killed. Before his birth, his mother is reported to have ſeen in a dream a flame proceeding from her, that diffuſed itſelf over the face of the heavens, and extended to every quarter; after which, a coal dropt into a large water, and was quenched. From whence, continues our author, ſhe inferred, that her ſon was to be a man of blood, elevated to an exalted ſtation, and at laſt to periſh in the water. Hence it came to paſs, that, being once informed of his having been killed, ſhe gave no credit to the rumour; but that being told he was drowned, ſhe immediately believed it, ſaying it was impoſſible for him to come to any other end. After *Shebib*'s death, the *Azarakites*, or *Safrians*, quarrelled amongſt themſelves; the greateſt part of them deſerting their leader, *Katri Ebn Fojât*. This gave the *Khalif*'s troops an opportunity of attacking them to great advantage, putting 4000 of them to the ſword, and driving the reſt, with *Katri*, into *Taberiſtân*. Upon their arrival here, they were kindly received by *Aſhid*, the king of *Taberiſtân*, who aſſigned them a part of his territories for their habitations. They had not long been ſettled here, before they inſiſted upon *Aſhid*'s either embracing *Iſlamiſm*, or paying them an annual tribute; which he refuſing to do, they drove him to *Ray*, or *Raya*, a populous city of *Al Jebâl*, in the *Perſian Irâk*, where he implored the *Khalif*'s protection. He afterwards conducted a body of the

the *Moſlem* troops into *Taberiſtân*, where they fell upon the rebels with ſuch fury, that they killed *Katri Ebn Fojât* himſelf upon the ſpot, cut a great number of his men in pieces, and took all the reſt of them priſoners. All which operations an *Arab* author, followed by Mr. *Ockley*, places in the 77th year of the *Hejra*; as do alſo *Khondemir* and another *Perſian* writer; tho' the hiſtorians epitomized by *Al Makin* aſſert them to have happened in the preceding year. And this ſeems to us the moſt probable opinion, as thoſe hiſtorians affirm, that *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abuſafra*, who died in the 76th year of the aforeſaid æra, commanded the *Moſlem* forces in the laſt expedition. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Taberiſtân*, the ſcene of this expedition, is a mountainous tract, full of woods, limited in part by the region called *Deylam*, and the diſtricts of *Ghilân* and *Cazbîn*, ſaid by *Golius* pretty nearly to anſwer to the *Hyrcania* of the antients. But, for a more particular account of that remote country, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the copious deſcription of it extracted by the laſt-mentioned author out of the oriental geographers [b].

THE ſame year, that is, the 76th of the *Hejra*, in the *Khalîfat* of *Abd'almâlec*, according to *Al Makîn*, or rather the authors he followed, *dinârs* and *dirhêms* were firſt ſtruck with *Arabic* inſcriptions upon them. Before this time, the *dinârs*, or gold coins, had *Greek*, and the *dirhêms*, or ſilver ones, *Perſic* characters upon them. The firſt erection of a mint amongſt the *Arabs* was occaſioned by the following accident. *Abd'almâlec* frequently prefixed to the letters he wrote to the *Greek* emperor this ſhort paſſage of the *Korân*, *Say*, GOD *is one*, or *Say*, *there is one* GOD; and then inſerted the name of the prophet with the date of the letter, according to the *Hejra*, or the æra then in uſe amongſt the *Arabs*. This giving the emperor great offence, he deſired the *Khalîf* to alter that manner of writing; threatening otherwiſe to ſend ſome coins that ſhould mention their prophet in terms not very agreeable to him. This incenſed *Abd'almâlec*, who thereupon ſaid, *A curſe be upon their coins!* and, from that time, propoſed ſetting up a mint in his own dominions. The firſt *Arabic* money ſeems to have been ſome *dirhêms* ſtamped by *Al Hejâj*, with this inſcription, *Say*, *there is one* GOD, or, according to *Al Makîn*, *Allah Samad*, GOD *is eternal*; which not a little diſpleaſed the *Moſlems*, as they imagined that the

The Arabs *begin to coin money.*

[b] MS. Laud. num. 161, ubi ſup. EBN AL ATHIR, AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. 63, 64. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Schebib Ben Zeid*, p. 780. KHONDEMIR & Aut. NIGHIARISTAN. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 193—197.

ſacred name of GOD would be thereby expoſed to the touch of unclean perſons of both ſexes. *Somyor*, a *Jew*, regulated their coinage, which was very rude at firſt, but received afterwards ſeveral improvements in the times of *Omar Ebn Habira*, the governor of *Irâk*, *Khâled Al Karſhi*, *Yuſef Ebn Omar*, the *Khalifs Harûn Al Raſhîd*, his ſon *Al Mamûn*, and *Al Wâthek*. In the days of *Khâled Al Karſhi*, there were three ſorts of *dirhêms*, a ſpecies of ſilver coin amongſt the *Arabs* that we have already given our readers ſome account of in the life of *Mohammed*; the weight of every one of which has been handed down to us by *Al Makin*. The metal at firſt was not very good, but received afterwards farther degrees of perfection in the aforeſaid reigns. All the earlieſt coins ſtruck by the *Khalifs* ſeem to have had only legends and inſcriptions upon them; however, thoſe of a later date were ſometimes adorned with the heads of the princes who ſtruck them, or the figures of animals. Of the firſt ſort we have one preſerved in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford*, which is perhaps the oldeſt *Arabic* coin extant; it having been ſtruck at *Wâſet* upon the *Tigris*, in the *Khalifat* of *Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, and the 88th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 707. The inſcription on one ſide of this coin, as it has been tranſlated by the reverend and learned Dr. *Hunt*, profeſſor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages in the univerſity of *Oxford*, is, *There is only one* GOD, *who has no companion*; and round it the following words, *In the name of* GOD, *this* dirhêm *was ſtruck at* Wâſet *in the year of the* Hejra 88. On the reverſe is a paſſage taken out of the 112th *ſûra* of the *Korân*, to the following effect: GOD *is one, eternal, neither begetting nor begotten, nor is there any being like him*; and, round it, another taken from the ſixty-firſt *ſûra* of the ſame book, couched in the following terms, MOHAMMED *is the apoſtle of* GOD, *who ſent him with a direction and the religion of truth, that he might render this religion more conſpicuous than any other*; *tho' it be oppoſed by the* ASSOCIATORS. The character here is the *Cûfic*, of which enough has been ſaid in our antient hiſtory of the *Arabs*, and the coin is ſo well preſerved, that it may ſeem to ſome not to be genuine. It conſiſts of pretty good ſilver, and weighs one peny-weight and twenty grains. Another of theſe *dirhêms* is to be ſeen in the very valuable collection of antient coins, bequeathed by the late archbiſhop *Wake* to *Chriſt-Church* college in *Oxford*; and another in the ſmall cabinet of the writer of this hiſtory; of both which our readers will meet with an explication in a proper place. Notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Al Makin*, we are told by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, who, in this point, ſeem to deſerve ſome regard, that *Abd'almâlec* had begun to coin money of a new form, ſuch as had

had never before been ſeen, in the ſixth year of the emperor *Juſtinian* II's reign, coincident with the year of CHRIST 690, or 691; and that then the emperor refuſed to receive the tribute ſent him by the *Khalif*, becauſe it conſiſted intirely of the new *Arabic* money. Which if we admit, it muſt be allowed, that *Abd'almâlec* began to ſtrike *dinârs* and *dirhêms* at leaſt five or ſix years earlier than the time that has been fixed for the commencement of coinage amongſt the *Moſlems* by the *Arab* hiſtorians. To what has been here obſerved, *Theophanes* ſeems to add, that the emperor made the *Khalif*'s offer of his tribute in *Arabic* money one of his pretexts for coming to a rupture with that prince. Be that as it will, *Abd'almâlec*, if we will believe this writer, underſtanding that *Juſtinian* was determined to break the treaty lately concluded with the *Arabs*, raiſed a powerful army, and gave the command of it to one of his generals, named *Mohammed*; who, cauſing the articles of the late treaty to be carried before his men on the point of a ſpear, met the emperor in the neighbourhood of *Sebaſtopolis*, and engaged his army with unparalleled bravery. But notwithſtanding this, *Mohammed* was obliged to give ground, and even retire to his camp; where he muſt have periſhed with hunger, or ſubmitted to the emperor, had he not in the mean time gained over 20,000 *Sclavi*, with their commander, in the emperor's ſervice; whoſe unexpected deſertion cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the *Greek* army, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, being purſued with great ſlaughter by the *Arabs*. After which, *Mohammed* haraſſed the imperial provinces in a moſt cruel manner, and made himſelf abſolute maſter of *Armenia*; which, however, returned again to the emperor in a very ſhort time. The ſame author alſo relates, that *Mohammed* bribed the general of the *Sclavi* to deſert the emperor, by ſending him, in the heat of the action, a quiver full of *dinârs*, and promiſing him a much larger ſum. Some commotions likewiſe, according to him, happened about this time on the ſide of *Khoraſân*, in which a great number of the *Arabs* loſt their lives [c].

IN the 77th year of the *Hejra*, anſwering to the 696th of the *Chriſtian* æra, one of *Abd'almâlec*'s commanders, called by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus Alid*, made an incurſion into the imperial territories, plundered them in a dreadful manner, and then retired with the *Chriſtian* priſoners he had taken into Lazica *and* Barnucium *betrayed to the* Arabs.

[c] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 64, 65. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Poc. num. 137. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Al Kor. MOHAM. ſ. cxii, lxi. SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 69. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 304, 305, 306. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p. 441.

the *Khalif*'s dominions. About the same time, *Sergius*, a patrician, who commanded the *Greek* troops in *Lazica* and *Barnucium*, rebelled against the new emperor *Leontius*, and delivered up both of those places to the *Moslems*. Besides which, nothing remarkable, as far as can be collected either from the *Greek* or *Arab* historians, happened this year [d].

The Arabs *reduce* Africa Propria.

THE following year, that is, the 78th of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 697, the *Moslems* invaded *Africa* with a very considerable force, made themselves masters of *Carthage*, and overran the whole country that, in the earlier ages, properly appertained to that city. But they were soon driven out by *John* the patrician, a man of great valour and experience in war, whom the emperor had sent against them. The *Arabs*, to repair the great losses they had sustained, equipped another fleet, and returning to *Africa*, obliged *John* to fly to the sea-coast, where he imbarked with the troops under his command for *Constantinople*. Thus was *Africa*, or rather *Africa Propria*, in a manner without opposition, abandoned once more to the *Moslems* [e].

Abd'alrahmân *rebels against the* Khalif.

IN the 79th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 698, *Apsimar*, or *Tiberius*, who had been raised to the empire, sent his brother *Heraclius* into *Cappadocia*, to watch the motions of the *Arabs*. This year, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, one *Abd'alrahmân*, an *Arab* governor, or commander, rebelled against the *Khalif* in *Persia*, and drove the *Khâkhân* out of that country. We must here beg leave to observe, that *Khâkhân* was a general title made use of by all those princes who reigned in the *Transoxanian* provinces; amongst which we may reckon the *Khâns* of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*. The old church at *Edessa* was thrown down this year by an earthquake, which did considerable damage in the neighbouring parts of *Mesopotamia* [f].

Heraclius *defeys* 200,000 Arabs.

THE following year, being the eightieth of the *Hejra*, and the 699th of the *Christian* æra, the *Khalif* sent a general, called *Mohammed*, with a powerful army, into *Persia*; who, after he had been joined by the *Khâkân*, overthrew *Abd'alrahmân* with very great slaughter, killed him upon the spot, and reinstated the *Khakhân* in the government of *Persia*. About the same time, *Heraclius*, one of *Tiberius*'s generals, taking advantage of the divisions that now reigned amongst the *Arabs*, penetrated into *Syria*, as far as *Samosata*, wasted all

[d] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 309. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 443.
[e] THEOPHAN. et CEDREN. ubi sup. [f] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 310 GEORG CEDREN. p. 444. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Khacan*, p. 983. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. ubi sup. p. 104.

the

the adjacent territory, and put to the sword about 200,000 of the enemy. After which, he returned to *Cappadocia*, loaded with the immense booty he had acquired in this expedition [g].

In the 81st year of the *Hejra*, A. C. 700, died *Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah*, who, by several of his followers, was considered, after *Hosein*'s death, as lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Some of the *Shiites* look upon him as an illustrious prophet, taken and preserved by God in mount *Redwa*, who shall hereafter appear, and fill the earth with piety and justice; though others of them utterly explode so ridiculous a notion. His father's name, or rather surname, according to the *Arab* poet *Al Hamiri*, one of his admirers, was *Seth*; after whose death, *Kawla*, his mother, and *Seth*'s widow, was married to *Ali*; so that he was not, properly speaking, the son of that *Imâm*, nor descended from *Mohammed*, as *Hasan* and *Hosein* were. He several times refused the *Khalifat*, and was surnamed *Ebn Hanifiyah*, that, by this appellation, he might be distinguished from the two last-mentioned *Imâms*, who were truly and properly *Ali*'s sons, by *Fâtema*, the daughter of the prophet. Which if, with M. *D'Herbelot*, we admit, Mr. *Ockley* must have been guilty of a mistake (as indeed the surname *Ebn Hanifiyah* itself seems clearly enough to evince) when he makes this *Mohammed* to have been the real son of *Ali*. We are told by the *Greek* writers, that the *Arabs* made an irruption this year into the imperial territories, and laid siege to *Antaradus* in *Syria*; but not being able to master that place, they returned to *Mopsuestia* in *Cilicia*, and left a garison there. The text of *Theophanes*, in the passage referred to, exhibiting *Tarantum* for *Antaradus*, may be emended by that of *Cedrenus*, which has preserved the true reading *Antaradus* here. One *Abd'allah*, according to those authors, commanded the *Mosiem* forces this campaign [h].

Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah *dies.*

The expedition placed by the *Greek* writers in the 79th year of the *Hejra*, and said by them to have been undertaken by *Abd'alrahmân* against the *Khâkhân*, really happened in the 82d year of that æra, according to the *Arab* historians. Whichsoever of these may be in the right as to the year, our curious readers will not be displeased to find here the following particulars, extracted from the oriental authors, relating to that expedition. *Al Hejâj*, hating *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ashab Al Kendi*, ordered him to advance against *Zentil*, king

Abd'alrahmân *defeats* Al Hejâj; *but is at last overthrown by that general.*

[g] Theophan. et Cedren ubi sup. [h] D. Hamir. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 65. ut et ipse Al Makin, ibid. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hanifah*, p. 428, 429. Ockley's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p 80, 272, 370. Theophan. chronograph. p. 310, 311. Cedren. ubi sup.

of

of the *Turks*, or the *Khâkhân*, and, with an inconsiderable force that he assigned him, to make an irruption into his dominions. This *Al Hejâj* did in order to destroy him; of which being secretly informed, he took care to acquaint the troops under his command with the motive to this expedition. The soldiers finding that they were to be sacrificed to *Al Hejâj*'s malice against their general, resolved to be revenged of the governor for his barbarity; and therefore unanimously took an oath to support *Abd alrahmân Ebn Mohammed*. *Abd'alrahmân* hereupon concluded a peace with the *Turk*, returned into *Irâk*, and marched directly against *Al Hejâj*; who, having received advice of what had happened, had sent to the *Khalf* for a reinforcement of the *Syrian* troops. After the arrival of these succours, *Al Hejâj* attacked *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ashab Al Kendi*; but, being overthrown, *Abd'alrahmân* carried his victorious arms to *Basra*, and was joined by a great number of the inhabitants of that place, who took the oath of allegiance to him. Then intrenching himself on one side of the city, he found an opportunity of attacking, to great advantage, *Al Hejâj*, in his turn, and gained a second victory over him. From the scene of action he moved to *Cûfa*, and was received with open arms by the people of that city. In the mean time, *Al Hejâj* assembled all the forces he was able, and led them against *Abd'alrahmân*; whose army, by the accession of the *Basrans*, who had conceived an invincible aversion to *Al Hejâj*, on account of his enormous cruelty, amounted to 100,000 men. *Al Hejâj* incamped at a place called *Dairkarrah*, and *Abd'alrahmân* at another denominated *Dairaljamajim*, at a small distance from the enemy; and, in the space of an hundred days, these two commanders are said to have fought eighty-one battles. At last, *Al Hejâj* put *Abd'alrahmân* to flight, and cut off 4000 of his men; after which, the latter retreated to *Sahân*, where he was seized by *Al Hejâj*'s lieutenant, and rescued by *Zentil*, the *Turk*, his friend and ally. *Al Hejâj*, receiving intelligence of this, sent *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb* against *Zentil*, in order to force him to deliver up *Abd'alrahmân* into his hands. *Zentil* made the proper dispositions for his defence, and engaged *Yezid* with an army of 60,000 men; but he was soon overthrown, had many of his men killed, and a great number of them taken prisoners; amongst whom was *Abd'alrahmân* himself. With regard to the manner of that general's death, the *Arab* writers are not perfectly agreed; but, according to some of the best of them, he threw himself headlong from the top of an high house, in order to avoid falling into the hands of his most implacable enemy. What became of *Hasan Al Basri*, *Sa'id Ebn Hosein*, *Nadi Ebn Abu-Hil*, and others of his principal accomplices, we are not told by

by the *Moslem* historians. Some of those writers assert, that *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abusafra*, *Al Hejâj*'s lieutenant of *Khorasân*, died this year; that he was succeeded by his son *Yezid* in that post; and that, upon *Yezid*'s removal some time after from thence, *Fadl*, another of *Al Mohalleb*'s sons, was substituted in his room. The *Greek* writers relate, that *Baanes*, surnamed *Heptadæmon*, from the seven devils with which he was supposed to have been possessed, betrayed this year likewise *Armenia* to the *Arabs*, for which he doubtless received a very considerable reward [i].

Al Hejâj builds Wâset upon the Tigris.

THE following year, being the 83d of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 702, *Al Hejâj* built a city upon the *Tigris*, which he called *Wâset*. That name signifies the *middle* in the *Arabic* language, because this city stood in the mid-way between *Basra* and *Cûfa*. The eastern authors, however, a little differ about the year of its foundation; *Ebn Shohnah* making this to have been the 83d, and *Khondemir* the 84th, of the *Moslem* æra. The *Arabs* call the circumjacent tract *Al Abâr*, *the wells*, as it abounds with wells; and near the city there is a place bearing the name of *Al Abâr Al Arab*, *the wells of the Arabs*. *Wâset*, according to the *Arab* tables, is situated in *Chaldæa*, or *Babylonian Irâk*, in long. 81° 30′, and lat. 32° 20′ N. The *Persian* geographer says, that it is seated upon the *Tigris*, at an equal distance from *Baghdâd*, *Cûfa*, *Basra*, and *Ahwâz*; that is, about fifty parasangs from every one of those cities. This year the nobility of *Armenia* drove the *Arabs* out of their country, and sent to *Apsimar*, or *Tiberius*, for assistance. But, in the mean time, *Mohammed*, one of the *Khalif*'s generals, entering *Armenia* with a powerful army, recovered that province; and, having got the authors of the revolt into his hands, burnt them all alive. Encouraged with this success, the *Moslems* invaded *Cilicia* once more under the conduct of *Azar*; but were, to the number of 10,000, either cut in pieces by *Heraclius*, or taken prisoners, and sent in chains to *Constantinople*. That *Wâset* was founded this year, as *Ebn Shohnah* affirms, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Khondemir*, may be inferred from *Abu'l-Faraj* [k].

[i] AL MAKIN & ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiazge Ben Yosef Al Thakefi*, p. 442. THEOPHANES, ubi sup. p. 311. CEDREN. ubi sup.

[k] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, in hist. dynast. p. 200. EBN SHOHNAH, MOHAMMED AL FIRAUZABAD. in *Kam.* KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 121. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Vasseth*, p. 910. THEOPHAN. & CEDREN. ubi sup.

IN-

The Arabs *defeated by* Heraclius.

In the 84th year of the *Hejra*, or of the *Christian* æra 703, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, the *Khalif* sent *Azib*, or *Azid*, one of the *Moslem* commanders, with an army into *Cilicia*, in order to make himself master of that country. Meeting with no enemy at first to oppose him, he laid siege to *Sisium*, took it, and levelled it with the ground. But *Heraclius*, the imperial general, soon after appearing at the head of the *Christian* forces, brought him to a general action; in which he cut off 12,000 of the *Arabs*, and probably defeated *Azib*; tho' this has not been expressly asserted by any of the *Greek* historians. As we hear no more of *Azib* after this action, we may naturally suppose, that he soon abandoned *Cilicia*, and retired with the shatter'd remains of his army into the *Khalif*'s dominions [l].

Writers differ about the year of Abd'almâlec's *death.*

The following year, being the 85th of the *Hejra*, and of Christ 704, if we will believe *Theophanes*, the *Khalif Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân* departed this life. Some other *Christian* writers affirm, that he died the preceding year. But none of them, in this point, are to be depended upon, as running counter to the express testimony of the best and most authentic *Moslem* historians. The *Arabs* seem to have enjoyed this year an uninterrupted repose, as no account of any atchievements, or military operations, performed by them in it has been handed down to us by any of the *Greek* or *Moslem* writers [m].

Abd'almâlec's *death, and character.*

The next year, the 86th of the *Hejra*, and of Christ 705, *Abd'alaziz Ebn Merwân*, the *Khalif*'s brother, died at *Al Fostât* in *Egypt*, and was buried there on *Monday*, the 12th day of the former *Jomâda*. He governed *Egypt* above twenty years, having been constituted lieutenant of that country by his father *Merwân*. Being infected with the leprosy, the physicians advised him to retire to *Holwân*, as the most proper place for him to reside in. Here he made a large fish-pond, or reservoir, which he took care to supply constantly with water from the springs, or fountains, on mount *Al Mokattam*, by means of certain arches, or vaults, which he caused to be built, that kept open a communication between them; upon which, according to *Eutychius*, he erected a throne of glass. Upon these and other works at *Holwân*, where he first planted dates, he is said to have laid out 1,000,000 *dinârs*. He rode every *Thursday* from *Holwân* to *Al Fostât*; and the next day, after the morning-prayer was over, returned to the former place. He likewise built a *Mikeas*, or measuring pillar, in order to form an estimate of the increase of the

[l] Theophan. & Cedren. ubi sup. [m] Theophan. ubi sup. p. 312, 313. Dionys. Telmarens. & Jos. Simon. Assem. ubi sup. p. 105. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 67.

Nile.

Nile. His two chamberlains were *Christians* of the *Melchite* sect, whom he gave leave to erect the church of St. *John* at *Holwân*, for those of their own communion. He likewise obliged the *Egyptians* to pay part of their tribute every *Friday*, that he might be the better enabled to supply the exigencies of the state, till the death of *Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and the perfect settlement of his brother upon the *Moslem* throne. He constructed a bridge upon the *Khalij Amir Al Mumenin*, or *the river of the emperor of the faithful*, the *Amnis Trajanus* of the antients, and the *Khalis* of the moderns; and had an intention to remove the bridge at *Al Fostât* to *Holwân*, a pleasant village about two parasangs distant from that city, on the eastern bank of the *Nile*. He likewise designed to transfer the port, the merchants, and the exchange, from *Al Fostât* to *Holwân*; but did not live long enough to put this design in execution. One *Athanasius*, a *Christian* of the *Jacobite* persuasion, was his secretary, whom he permitted to build the church of St. *George* in *Kasril Shamaa*, and that of *Abukir* in the citadel near *Ashabol Rabiat*. We are told by some of the *Christian* writers, that he was the first who fixed upon the *Egyptian* monks a capitation, obliging every one of them to pay annually a *dinâr*. An author cited by *Al Makîn* relates, that *Abd'alaziz*, entering into a monastery at *Holwân* the day before his death, saw there an image of the virgin *Mary* with CHRIST in her arms, which he spat upon; and that the night following our Saviour appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to be killed; upon which, he imagined himself to be immediately run through with a lance. This struck him with such terror, that he instantly awaked, and expired the same night. His son, according to the same author, survived him only forty days. After *Abd'alaziz*'s death, the *Khalif* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon his son *Abd'allah*, who rendered himself more disagreeable to the *Egyptians* than any of his predecessors. In this post he continued till his father *Abd'almâlec*'s death, which happened about the middle of the month *Shawâl*, in the 86th year of the *Hejra*. The disease he died of seems to have been a dropsy, since the physicians had absolutely prohibited him the use of all kinds of liquors. Notwithstanding which, being tortured with extreme thirst, he commanded his son *Al Walid* to give him some water to drink; which he refusing to do, he ordered his daughter *Fâtema* to bring some to him. But *Al Walid*, desirous of keeping his father alive as long as possible, would not suffer her to approach him; which so exasperated the *Khalif*, that he threatened to disinherit him. *Fâtema*, therefore, gave him water, which he greedily drank, and soon after expired. He was always apprehensive that the month

month *Ramadân* would prove fatal to him; as he was born, weaned, learned the *Korân* by heart, and was saluted *Khalif* in that month. He sat upon the *Moslem* throne above twenty-one years; and was either sixty or sixty-two, or, as others say, fifty-seven years old, at the time of his death. He was buried at *Damascus*, without the little gate, and his son *Al Walid* said the funeral service at the time of his interment. As to his person, *Abd'almâlec* was of a middle stature, and a fair, or, as others will have it, a swarthy complexion; having a large gaping mouth, a long beard, and a prominent belly. With regard to his disposition, he was so extremely covetous, that some of his subjects, by way of derision, called him the *sweat of a stone*. However, according to *Abulfeda*, as well as the authors followed by *Al Makin*, he was a man of a very good capacity, being exceeded by few of his subjects in judgment and penetration. He was also courageous, learned, and wise; but did not make so amiable a figure after his elevation to the *Khalifat* as before. He had such stinking breath, that the flies lighting on his lips were almost instantly struck dead with it; for which reason he received from some the appellation of *father of flies*. He one night dreamed, that he made water in the most sacred part of the temple of *Mecca*; and this dream was repeated four times successively: which greatly affecting him, he consulted *Sa'îd Ebn Mosablib*, a person very expert in the interpretation of dreams, about the signification of so ominous a vision. *Sa'îd* told him, that he had no reason to look upon it in so disagreeable a light, as it undoubtedly portended the exaltation of four of his sons, all of whom should be advanced to the *Khalifat* after their father's death. Which nocturnal prediction was exactly verified, *Al Walid*, *Solimân*, *Yezid*, and *Heshâm*, four of his sons, afterwards actually ascending the *Moslem* throne. He left sixteen sons behind him, the eldest of which was *Al Walid*, who succeeded him. His first secretary was *Rûh Ebn Riba'*, and his second *Kabîda Ebn Dawib*; his principal *Kadi*, or judge, *Ebn Idris Al Helwâni*, who was succeeded by *Abd'allah Ebn Kais*; his chamberlain *Yusef*, who was likewise succeeded by several others of his servants, one of whom was *Abu'l Rogairaga*; the first captain of his guards *Yezid Ebn Abu Habsa Al Sakskâki*, and the second *Abd'allah Ebn Yezid Al Hakemi*. The inscription of his seal was, *I believe in* God *our Saviour*. He was much more powerful than any of his predecessors; having subdued *Ala'allah Ebn Zobeir*, and annexed *Aralia* to his dominions; reduced to his obedience the sectaries of all denominations that appeared in arms against him; conquered *India*, or at least a considerable part of that vast region, in the east; and, in the west, penetrated with his victorious

victorious troops as far as *Spain*. The firſt day of his reign was *Wedneſday*, and the laſt *Thurſday*. He was ſo implacable an enemy to the houſe of *Ali*, that he would not ſuffer the celebrated poet *Ferozdak*, in his works, to praiſe any of the deſcendents of that illuſtrious *Imâm* [n].

SECT. XII.

Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec proclaimed Khalif.

AL WALID, the ſon of *Abd'almâlec*, was proclaimed *Khalif* the ſame day his father died. His mother was *Walada*, the daughter of *Abbâs Ebn Harbi Ebn Hâreth*. He was ſurnamed *Abu'l Abbâs*, and continued all his father's lieutenants of provinces in their reſpective governments. At his inauguration, his principal ſubjects took the uſual oath of allegiance to him. *Korrah Ebn Shebal*, or, according to others, *Korrah Ebn Sharik*, of the houſe of *Abbâs*, his governor of *Egypt*, at the *Khalif*'s command, demoliſhed the principal moſque at *Meſr*, and either built or beautified another, deaurating the tops or heads of its pillars; which rendered that governor extremely diſagreeable to the *Egyptians*. *Al Walid* alſo is ſaid to have adorned the temple at *Jeruſalem* with ſome additional buildings, ſoon after his acceſſion; and, after the example of his father *Abd'almâlec*, to have ordered his ſubjects to go on pilgrimage thither. His troops made a very ſucceſsful irruption into the imperial territories, under the command of his brother *Moſlem Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who carried off a very conſiderable number of the emperor's ſubjects priſoners. This *Arab* general ſeems to have been called by *Theophanes Maſalmas*. That writer places the expedition here hinted at in the fourth year of *Al Walid*'s reign. In the 88th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 707, money was coined in the new mint lately erected at *Wâſet*; as appears from a *dirhêm* explained by the learned Dr. *Hunt*, and now preſerved in the cabinet of medals belonging to the univerſity of *Oxford* [o].

[n] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 66—69. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 368—373. ISM. ABUIFED. in hiſt. univ. & in deſcript. Ægypt. EBN AL ATHIR, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Abd'almâlec*, p. 8. KHONDEMIR, BINA KITI, EBN SHOHNAH, HAFEDH ABRU, aliique Scriptor. orient. paſſ. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Afragan. p. 148——157. & SHAW's geograph. obſervat. in *Egypt*, *Arab. Petr.* &c. p. 340. 433—442.

[o] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 70. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 200. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 372, 373. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 315. Two diſſertat. on the meaning of the word *Kufitah*, &c. and on the ſignification of the word *Hermes*, &c. p. 33, 34, 35. Oxford, 1750.

ABOUT

He extends the Moslem conquests.

ABOUT the same time, or rather in the very same year, according to the author of *Leb Tarikh* and *Khondemir*, this *Khalif* rebuilt the temple of *Medina*, where *Mohammed* and the first *Khalifs* lay interred. This was a much more superb and magnificent structure than the former; and, in order to render it the more grand, *Al Walid* commanded *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, his governor in *Arabia*, to demolish the houses set apart for the habitations of the prophet's wives. This gave great offence to the inhabitants of *Medina*; who reproached the *Khalif* with having deprived the *Moslems*, coming thither from different parts of the world, of the finest monument of *Mohammed*'s modesty, in having assigned his wives, for their habitations, such low and small cottages as those, that then remained. About this time, *Walid* also ordered the construction of a most stately and famous mosque at *Damascus*; to which he joined the superb church of St. *John Baptist*, that had been inriched with many invaluable ornaments by the *Greek* emperors, for several ages. He would first have purchased this church of the *Christians* for a sum of money, with which they might have built them a church in some other part of the city, amounting to about 40,000 *dinârs*. But they shewing him the instrument signed by *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, confirming to them the possession of that church, and refusing to part with it at any rate, he took it from them by force. He employed 12,000 workmen in the erection of his mosque, but did not live to see it finished; the last hand having not been put to it before the beginning of his brother *Solimân*'s reign. This year *Katiba Ebn Moslem* penetrated into the *Transoxanian* provinces; and having passed the *Jihûn*, or the *Oxus*, without any loss, defeated a numerous army that had kept him blocked up for four months together, and reduced him to very great straits. That army was composed of *Turks* and *Tartars*, of whom *Katiba* slew a very great number. After this victory he laid siege to *Bokhâra*, the metropolis of *Bukharia* properly so called, and took it. From thence he marched to *Samarkand*, which in a short time surrendered to him. In fine, he reduced *Sogd*, or *Sogdiana*, *Bagrasa*, *Shash*, *Fargâna*, and the whole immense tract going under the name of *Mawarâ'lnahr*. After he had concluded a peace with, or rather conquered, the *Khân* of *Khowarazm*, he erected a mosque in his capital, where he officiated every *Friday*, and destroyed all the idols he met with in that city. Those idols were fixed to the places where they stood by golden nails, that weighed 50,000 *Methkals*, or *Arabic drachms*; all which *Katiba* carried off with him. The principal article of the treaty concluded with the *Khân* of *Khowarazm* was, that he should pay an annual tribute of 2,000,000 *dinârs* to the *Khalif*. *Mohammed*

hammed Ebn Kaſem Al Thakîf, another of *Al Walid*'s generals, at or near the ſame time, alſo invaded *India*, or *Al Hind*, and ſubjugated a conſiderable part of that country. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Sindia*, or *Al Sind*, bounded by *Kermân*, or rather the region of *Makran*, the deſart of *Sijiſtân*, and *India*, ſome parts of which vaſt continent it likewiſe comprehends, whoſe king *Dahar* he defeated, killed him in battle, and cut off his head. The *Greek* writers mention few particulars relating to the *Moſlem* affairs, during the three firſt years of *Al Walid*'s reign. However, *Theophanes* obſerves, that he mounted the *Moſlem* throne the ſame year his father *Abd'almâlec* died; and that he deprived the *Chriſtians* of their great church at *Damaſcus*, in his ſecond year. We are told by an eaſtern writer, that a dreadful peſtilence raged about two years before this time in *Meſopotamia*, and made terrible havock in the territory of *Sarug*; no leſs than ſeventy-two perſons dying in the monaſtery of St. *Silas* there p.

THE following year, being the 89th of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 708, no remarkable occurrences happened in the *Moſlem* empire, an account of which has been handed down to us by any hiſtorian, except the continuation of the building of *Al Walid*'s famous moſque at *Damaſcus*; the expence of which is ſaid to have amounted to 400 cheſts, or purſes, every one of which contained 14,000 *dinârs*. The golden chains for the lamps there, in number 600, were ſo bright, ſays an *Arab* author, that they diſturbed, or rather hindered, the devotions of the *Moſlems* who came thither to pray. They were afterwards blackened by the ſmoke of the lamps, and remained in that condition till they were removed into the public treaſury by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, who ſubſtituted iron chains in their room. One of the hiſtorians followed by *Al Makin* relates, that when the workmen were digging for the foundations of this moſque, they found a ſtone with an inſcription upon it, importing, that the temple, or edifice, to which it belonged, was built by *Mahab Al Khair*, in the fourth year of *Al Aſlowâna*. This year, *Theodorus* was conſtituted patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and lived, after his promotion to that high dignity, thirty-five years q. *The building of the moſque at Damaſcus continued.*

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that *Al Walid* appointed *Korrah Ebn Sharik* governor of *Egypt* in the 90th year of the *Hejra*; *His forces make an*

p KHONDEMIR, Aut. LEB TARIKH, AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 70, 71. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 201. EUTYCH ubi ſup. p. 374, 375. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 312, 313. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 105. ut & ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Valid*, p. 907. q AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 70, 71. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 374——377.

irruption into Cappadocia.

tho' *Eutychius*, who, in this point, has probability on his side, seems to place that event three or four years higher, in the beginning of this *Khalif*'s reign, as has been already observed. Be that as it will, this *Korrah* was most certainly a very impious and abandoned person; taking with him frequently a company of catamites, players, and buffoons, into the cathedral at *Mesr*, and placing them upon the seats belonging to the priests, in time of divine service, there. At this time, *Masalmas*, *Moslema*, or *Mosiem*, and *Abbâs*, two *Arab* commanders, according to *Theophanes*, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and formed the siege of *Tyana*. The emperor, being apprized of this, sent an army under the conduct of *Theodorus Carteruca* and *Theophylactus Saliba*, two of his generals, to force them to raise the siege. But this army, being made up of raw undisciplined troops, assembled in haste, was easily routed by the *Arabs*, who killed a great number of the *Christians* upon the spot, took most of the rest prisoners, and made themselves masters of their camp. The besieged, being now destitute of all hopes of relief, and reduced to the last extremity, surrendered the place to the *Moslems*, who had been so straitened in their camp for want of provisions, before the late action, that they had entertained thoughts of abandoning the siege, and took on in the *Khalif*'s service. However, the *Arabs* are said to have violated their agreement with the *Tyaneans*, by sending many of them into remote deserts, and making the greatest part of the remainder slaves. A synod was held in the monastery of St. *Silas*, at *Sarug* in *Mesopotamia*, over which the patriarch *Julian*, *Thomas* the bishop of *Amida*, and *James* the bishop of *Edessa*, presided, about the beginning of the second year of *Al Walid*'s reign [r].

Abbâs *makes an incursion into the imperial territories.*

In the 91st year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 710, *Abbâs*, one of the *Khalif*'s generals, made an incursion into the imperial territories, and carried off with him a vast number of that prince's subjects prisoners, who of course were by the *Arabs* made slaves. The same commander founded a city near *Heliopolis* this year; but neither the precise situation of that city, nor the time when it was finished, has been told us by any good author [s].

Othmân *penetrates into* Cilicia.

THE following year, *Othmân*, an *Arab* general, penetrated into the very heart of *Cilicia*, and obliged several cities, seated in that province, to surrender to him. Others he likewise made himself master of by treachery and surprize; tho' it does not appear, that he long kept possession of his conquests

[r] AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 315. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican tom. ii. p. 105. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. [s] THEOPHAN. ubi sup.

there.

there. With regard to the new mosque at *Damascus*, the building of which went on this year, we must beg leave to observe, that *Al Walid* was the first who erected there those elevated towers, or steeples, called by the *Arabs Menârats*, and by the *Turks Minârets*, from whence the *Muedhdhins*, or *criers*, give public notice of the times of prayer. The *Persian* geographer, to whom we are obliged for this article, also relates, in agreement with what we have already extracted from some of the *Arab* historians, that *Al Walid* adorned, with several additional buildings, the mosque erected at *Jerusalem* by the *Khalif Omar* [t].

In the 93d year of the *Hejra*, answering to the year of our Lord 712, *Tarik Ebn Zarka* made a descent in *Spain* with a body of the *Moslem* troops, defeated *Roderic*, the last king of the *Goths* there, reduced the city of *Toledo*, and over-ran a considerable part of that kingdom. *Tarik* was sent to *Spain* by *Mûsa Ebn Okair*, or *Okail*, who seems to have commanded the *Khalif*'s forces in the western parts of *Africa*, and to have been the person who projected this expedition. *Mûsa*, being informed of *Tarik*'s success, soon followed him with a body of auxiliary troops, composed of *Arabs* and *Africans*; and, after the junction of these two *Moslem* generals, the *Arabs* made themselves masters of a great number of fortresses in *Spain*; subjugating in a manner the whole country, and obliging it to become tributary to the *Khalif*. The *Moslems* acquired spoils of immense value in these expeditions, and, amongst other things, an exceeding rich table, called by the *Arab* writers *the table of* Solomon, *the son of* David. Those writers pretend, that this table consisted intirely of silver and gold, and was adorned with three borders of pearls; but *Roderick* of *Toledo* represents it as consisting of one intire stone, of a green colour, and an immense size, having no less than 365 feet. He also relates, that it was found in a certain village, or town, denominated from it *the city of the table*, near the mountain called in his days *Jibel Solimân*, mount *Solomon*, or *the mountain of* Solomon. *Roderic* is, however, inconsistent with himself, when he asserts, that *Mûsa* had first the possession of this famous table, and yet, almost in the same breath, is pleased immediately after to affirm, that *Tarik* made a present of it, with many other valuable effects, to *Mûsa*. It will, therefore, be more safe to adhere, in this point, to the testimony of the *Arab* historians; who relate, that *Tarik* either brought it, or took care to

Tarik Ebn Zarka *conquers part of* Spain.

[t] Idem ibid. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art *Valid*, p. 906, 907. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 201. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 372, 373.

have it conveyed, to *Al Walid* himself. After *Músa* and *Tarik* had committed dreadful devastations in *Spain*, they were recalled from thence by the *Khalif*. However, *Músa* sent his son *Abd'alaziz* into that country, who fixed his residence at *Seville*, and afterwards married *Egebo*, or *Egibon*, king *Roderic*'s widow; but, being persuaded by his wife to wear the diadem after the *Gothic* manner, he was assassinated by the *Arabs*, who from thence concluded that he had become a convert to *Christianity*, whilst he was performing his devotions. *Abd'alaziz*, after a reign of three years, was succeeded by *Ayub Ebn Halib*, by whose advice his predecessor had been murdered, and who was looked upon by the *Arabs* as the most prudent *Moslem* in *Spain*. *Ayub* is said to have built a city, called *Calatayub*, and to have transferred the royal seat from *Seville* to *Corduba*. Some authors relate, that the two sons of *Vitiza*, *Roderic*'s predecessor, and count *Julian*, whose daughter *Roderic* had ravished, applied this year to *Músa* for a body of troops, which they offered to conduct into *Spain*, and put that kingdom into the hands of the *Khalif*. But *Al Walid*, say they, suspecting treachery in this affair, ordered *Músa* to send over first with *Julian*, and the two princes attending him, only a small detachment of his forces, and to form a notion of that count's sincerity from the reception those *Arabs* should meet with in *Spain*. Upon which, continue they, he assigned *Julian* only a body of 400 foot and 100 horse, under the command, as should seem, of *Tarik*, or, as he is called by the *Spanish* historians, *Tarif*, who passed the straits of *Hercules*, now known by the name of the straits of *Gibraltar*, was joined by a good number of *Julian*'s friends, and ravaged the maritime coast of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. Soon after which, the *Arabs* returned loaded with spoil and plunder to *Africa*. The *Moslems* also this year extended their conquests in other parts; *Musalamas*, *Moslema*, or *Moslem*, one of their generals, reducing the city of *Amasia*, and seizing upon a considerable part of *Pontus* and *Armenia* [u].

He undertakes a second expedition into that country.

THE next year, being the 94th of the *Hejra*, and of CHRIST 713, the city of *Antioch* was almost totally destroyed by an earthquake, the shocks of which were extremely violent, and continued, tho' with intermission, forty days together. The same year died *Zein Alabaddin Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Táleb*, who was pious, devout, and held in great veneration amongst many of the *Moslems*. He performed every day a thousand genuflexions, or ingeniculations. He left behind

[u] AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. ix. p. 8, 9. ISIDOR. PACENS. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 320.

him

him two ſons, *Zeid* and *Mohammed Abu Jaafar*, who were highly eſteemed by thoſe of the *Shiite* perſuaſion. This year likewiſe *Tarik*, or *Tarif*, aſſembled a body of twelve thouſand men, which he put privately on board ſome merchant-men, collected for that purpoſe by count *Julian*, and tranſported them to the rock or mountain *Calpe*, denominated afterwards from this general *Jibel Tarif*, that is, *the rock* or *mountain of* Tarif; from whence the word *Gibraltar*, the name of a city erected at the foot of this rock ſince that event, has been formed. *Tarif*, ſoon after his arrival in *Spain*, made himſelf maſter of an antient city, that ſtood at no great diſtance, in a weſtern direction, from the ſpot on which *Gibraltar* was afterwards built, and from him received the name of *Tariſa*, or *Tariffa*, by which it is alſo at preſent known. This town was undoubtedly the *Julia Traducta* of the old geographers, and neither the *Mellaria* nor the *Carteia* of the antients, as ſome of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians pretend. After the reduction of this place, the *Moſlem* general marched to *Seville*, which he eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of, as it was not in a ſtate of defence. Many other towns of conſiderable note likewiſe ſurrendered to him; which enabled him to plunder the whole province of *Bætica*, and a very conſiderable part of *Luſitania*. *Roderic*, receiving advice of theſe depredations, ſent his couſin-german *Eneco*, *Enecon*, or *Inach*, called by ſome writers *Sanctius*, with a raw undiſciplined rabble of an army, drawn together in haſte, againſt the *Arabs*. But the *Goths* were ſoon put to flight, and left a great number of their men dead upon the field of battle. This ſo animated *Tarif*, that he reſolved not to lay down his victorious arms till he had made an abſolute conqueſt of *Spain*. Some of the *Chriſtian* writers pretend, that *Al Walid* died this year; but this, as running counter to the concurrent teſtimony of all the beſt *Arab* hiſtorians, we muſt by no means admit. About the ſame time that *Tarif* made ſo rapid a progreſs in *Spain*, *Abbâs*, another *Moſlem* general, fell into *Piſidia*, with a powerful army, took the city of *Antioch* there, and, after he had ravaged the whole province, retired into the *Khalif*'s territories with very inconſiderable loſs [w].

THE *Arab* authors of beſt repute place the death of *Al Hejâj Ebn Yuſef Al Thakifi* in the month of *Ramadân*, and the 95th year of the *Hejra*, anſwering to the year of our LORD 714. Al Hejaj's *death, and extreme ſeverity.*

[w] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. LUCAS TUDENS. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. Philoſoph. Tranſact. n. 359. p. 903. & JONES's abridgm. of the Philoſoph. Tranſact. vol. v. par. ii. p. 83—95. Lond. 1721. DIONYS. TELMARENS. & Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi ſup. p. 105. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup.

When he died, he was fifty-four years of age, and had preſided over *Irâk* about twenty years. He is ſaid to have killed 120,000 men, and to have ſuffered 50,000 men, and 30,000 women, to periſh in priſon. In order to excuſe his extreme ſeverity, or rather cruelty, he uſed frequently to ſay, that a ſevere, or even violent, government is better than a weak and too indulgent, or rather indolent, adminiſtration; becauſe the former hurts only ſome particular perſons, whereas the latter injures the whole body of the people. He did not ſcruple to ſay, that the obedience due to princes is more abſolute than that which men owe even to GOD himſelf; ſince they are injoined by the *Korân* only to obey GOD *as far as they are able*, whereas that book requires of them an unconditional and unlimited obedience to all earthly rulers. Some perſons, once hearing him talk after this extravagant manner, told him, that nothing could equal either his envy or ambition, as he aſſumed to himſelf ſuch a monſtrous degree of authority. To which he replied, *that man is ſtill more envious and ambitious than me, who ſays to* GOD, *Give me, O* LORD, *ſuch a ſtate of life as no perſon can enjoy after my death.* We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Al Hejâj* deſtroyed 120,000 perſons of rank and diſtinction, beſides thoſe that fell in war through his means, and others of a lower degree; as alſo, that he was only fifty-three years old at the time of his death, and had then preſided over *Hejâz*, as well as *Irâk*, about twenty years [x].

A remarkable ſtory of Al Hejâj.

AL HEJAJ, being one day in the country, met an *Arab* of the deſart, who was a perfect ſtranger to him, and aſked him what ſort of a man this *Al Hejâj* was, of whom people talked ſo much? The *Arab* anſwered, that he was a very wicked man. *Don't you know me, then?* ſaid *Al Hejâj*. *No*, replied the *Arab*. *I am*, ſaid the other, Al Hejâj, *of whom you give ſo bad a character.* Upon which, the *Arab*, without the leaſt emotion or concern, demanded of *Al Hejâj*, in his turn, whether he knew him? *No*, anſwered the other. *I am*, ſaid the *Arab*, *a member of the family of* Zobeir, *whoſe poſterity all become fools three days in the year, and this is one of them.* *Al Hejâj* could not forbear laughing at, and admiring, ſo ingenious an evaſion; ſo that, notwithſtanding his natural fierceneſs, he pardoned the *Arab*, whom he eſteemed for his wit and courage. As he was a man of fine parts and great eloquence, as well as a military genius, and not much advanced in years at his death, he was both a judge and an admirer of every thing that appeared ſmart and brilliant in others, even to the very laſt. He is

[x] AL MAKIN et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage Ebn Yuſef Al Thakifi*, *p.* 442.

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said to have expired in the 95th year of the *Hejra* not only by the best *Arab*, but likewise by some of the *Persian*, historians [y].

It has been already observed, that *Al Hejâj* at last intirely defeated *Abd'alrahmân*, and killed 4000 of his men. To which we must here beg leave to add, that he took a great number of officers prisoners in that decisive action; all which he resolved to put to the sword. One of them, going to the place of execution, said, he had a piece of justice to demand of *Al Hejâj*; as he had reproved his general *Abd'alrahmân* for speaking with great acrimony against him. *Al Hejâj* asked him whether he could produce any one to attest this point of conduct? To which he replied, that one of his comrades, now condemned to die as well as himself, heard every thing that passed between him and *Abd'alrahmân* on this occasion. *Al Hejâj*, being satisfied with of the truth of the fact, asked the other why he did not behave in the same manner? This undaunted man answered him fiercely, *I did not do it, because you are my enemy.* Upon which, *Al Hejâj* gave both of them their lives; the one, in order to acknowledge the obligation he was under to him, and the other, for having confessed the truth with so much frankness and courage. Hence it may seem to appear, that *Al Hejâj* was not quite void of generous sentiments, and that what some of the *Arabs* termed in him enormous cruelties were, in reality, to be considered only as wholsome severities, adapted to the nature of the people he governed. This may possibly be farther evinced by an extemporary speech he once made to the *Moslems* under his inspection, after he had been taxed with barbarity by them; which was to the following effect: God, said he, *has at present given me the power over you; and, if I exercise it with some severity, don't imagine that you will find yourselves in a better situation after my decease. You will always hereafter meet with at least as ill treatment from my successors, as you have hitherto experienced from me. When I shall be dead,* God *will send you another of his servants, who may possibly execute his commands against you with greater severity than I have done. Would you have a prince sweet and moderate? Follow justice, and obey his orders. Your own conduct will be the principle and source of the good or ill treatment you will receive at your governor's hands. The prince, or his lieutenant, may justly be compared to a mirrour: all that you see in the glass is only the return of the objects you present to it.* Nor can any piece be drawn more to the life than the portrait here given of the people of *Irâk* by *Al Hejâj*, as sufficiently appears from the best *Arab* authors, who have already *Another.*

[y] D'Herbel. ubi sup. Mirkhond.

been cited on this head in the preceding part of this hiſtory.

Another ſtory of him.

THIS general, as he was hunting, being once ſeparated from his retinue, found himſelf very thirſty in a ſolitary place, where an *Arab* was feeding his camels. As ſoon as *Al Hejâj* appeared, thoſe animals were ſcared away; which made the *Arab*, then attentive to ſomething elſe, lift up his head in a great paſſion, and ſay, *Who is this with his fine cloaths that comes here into the deſart to fright my camels? the curſe of* GOD *light upon him!* *Al Hejâj*, without taking notice of what he had ſaid, made up to him, ſaluted him very civilly, and, after the *Arab* manner, wiſhed him peace. But the other, inſtead of returning his ſalutation in proper terms, anſwered him roughly; telling him, that he neither wiſhed him peace, nor any bleſſing of GOD. *Al Hejâj* ſeemed not to underſtand him, and begged of him, with great humility, a little water to drink. The *Arab* told him, that he might alight and help himſelf, for he was neither his companion nor his ſervant. *Al Hejâj* did as he bad him; and, after he had drunk, aſked him whom he took to be the moſt noble and excellent of all men? *The prophet ſent by* GOD, *burſt you!* anſwered the *Arab*. *And what think you of* Ali? added *Al Hejâj*. *His excellency cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed by words*, replied the other. *Al Hejâj*, continuing his diſcourſe, then aſked him what an opinion he entertained of *Abd'almâlec?* To which at firſt he made no anſwer; but, being preſſed, he at laſt dropped ſome words which ſeemed to imply, that he believed him to be a bad prince. *Why ſo?* anſwered *Al Hejâj*. *Becauſe*, replied the *Arab*, *he has ſent us for a governor the moſt wicked man under the heavens.* The words were ſcarce out of his mouth, when a bird flew over their heads, making at the ſame time a ſort of noiſe, which the *Arab* had no ſooner heard, than he looked ſtedfaſtly upon *Al Hejâj*, and demanded of him who he was? *Al Hejâj*, not chuſing to give him a direct anſwer, deſired to know the reaſon of that queſtion. *Becauſe*, ſaid the *Arab*, *this bird aſſured me, that a company of people draws near, and that you probably are the chief of them.* *Al Hejâj*'s attendants then came up, and, by his order, carried the *Arab* along with him; who, the next day, was admitted to *Al Hejâj*'s table, and commanded by him to eat. The *Arab* then ſaid his uſual grace, GOD *grant that the end of this meal may be as fortunate as the beginning.* Whilſt they were eating, *Al Hejâj* aſked him

[z] AL MAKIN & ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. EBN AL ATHIR, MS. Poc. num. 137. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, paſſ. &c.

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if he remembered the diſcourſe that had paſſed between them the day before. The *Arab* anſwered him immediately, God *proſper you in every thing; but as for yeſterday's ſecret, take care you do not divulge it to-day. That I moſt certainly ſhall*, replied *Al Hejâj; but you muſt chuſe one of theſe two things, either to acknowledge me your maſter, and then I will retain you in my ſervice; or elſe to be ſent to the* Khalîf Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân, *to whom I ſhall give an account of all that you have ſaid of him.* The *Arab*, having heard *Al Hejâj*'s propoſal, anſwered him inſtantly, *There is a third way you may take, which ſeems to me to be much better. What is that?* ſaid *Al Hejâj. Send me home*, replied the *Arab, and let I and you never ſee one another more.* Upon which, *Al Hejâj*, not a little pleaſed to hear the poor man talk with ſo much ſpirit and vivacity, made him a preſent of ten thouſand *dirhêms*, and diſmiſſed him, according to his deſire. With regard to the language of birds, ſuch as that mentioned here, the *Arabs* pretend, that ſeveral of their nation have all along underſtood this, even from *Solomon*'s time. They affirm, that this ſcience has been known amongſt them ever ſince the reign of that prince, when *Balkis*, the queen of *Sheba*, or *Saba*, had a bird called *Hudhud*, that is, the hoop or lapwing, which ſhe diſpatched to *Solomon* on ſeveral occaſions, and which was the meſſenger of their amours. We are told by *Jallal'oddin*, that *Solomon*, having notice of the embaſſy deſigned to be ſent him by *Balkis*, by means of the lapwing, even before the perſons that compoſed it ſet out, ordered a large ſquare to be incloſed with a wall built of gold and ſilver bricks, wherein he ranged his forces and attendants to receive them [a].

Kumeil, the ſon of *Ziyâd*, was a man of fine wit. He lived in the time of *Al Hejâj*, and did by no means approve of his conduct. One day that governor ordered him to be brought before him, and reproached him, becauſe, in a certain garden, before ſome perſons that he named, he had uttered ſeveral imprecations againſt him, ſome of which were to the following effect: *The* Lord *blacken his face!* that is, *fill him with ſhame and confuſion*; and *may his neck be cut off, and his blood ſhed!* To which *Kumeil*, who had an exceeding ready wit, anſwered inſtantly, *'Tis true, I did ſpeak theſe words in the garden you mention; but then I was under a vine-arbour, looking upon a bunch of grapes not yet ripe, and I wiſhed that they would turn black ſoon, that they might be cut off, and made wine of.* This ingenious explication ſo pleaſed *Al Hejâj*, that he ſent *Kumeil* home, and re eſtabliſhed him in his favour [b]. Kumeil *ſaved by his wit.*

[a] D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Hegiage Ebn Yuſef Al Thakefi*, p. 442, 443, & in art. *Balkis*, p. 182. Jallalo'ddin.

[b] D'Herbel. ubi ſup. p. 443.

Abu

Ebn Korrah's *evasion.*

ABU AYAS EBN KORRAH AL BASRI, a person celebrated for his piety and learning, whose father had been one of the COMPANIONS, being once with *Al Hejâj*, the porter told them, that a secretary was at the gate; upon which, *Ebn Korrah* said, *These secretaries are the worst of all sorts of people.* However, the secretary was introduced, and well received by *Al Hejâj*; who, after he had dismissed him, assured *Ebn Korrah*, that, had not the title of *Companion of the prophet* been in his family, he would have ordered his head to be struck off, because the *Korân* says, *Honour the writers.* *Ebn Korrah*, finding what imminent danger he was in, answered immediately, *I spoke of the secretaries of the* Divân, *and not of the angels that are called writers in the* Korân. To which he likewise thought fit to add, that the latter merited the appellation given them in that book, because they write down the actions of men, in order to produce them at the general judgment. This *Ebn Korrah* was the master of *Kotâdah*, *Shabah*, and *Ââmash*, and made a very considerable figure amongst the *Moslems* [c].

A religious Mosleм's *prayer for* Al Hejâj.

SADI relates, that *Al Hejâj* once recommended himself to the prayers of a religious *Moslem*; upon which, he instantly prayed that GOD would please to kill him quickly; for nothing, said he, can be more advantageous either to himself or the people. By which it in some measure appears, that the *Khalif*'s subjects he was sent to govern entertained a very disagreeable, and even shocking, idea of him [d].

Al Hejâj, *before his death, orders his astrologer to be dispatched.*

MIRKHOND writes, that, when he was upon his death-bed, he consulted his astrologer, to know of him, if he had not found in his *Ephemerides*, that some great captain was near the end of his days. The astrologer answered him, that a certain great lord, named *Kolaib*, was threatened with speedy death, according to his observations. *Al Hejâj* replied, *that is the very name my mother gave me when I was a child.* *Then*, said the astrologer, with great imprudence, *you must certainly die*; *there is no room to doubt of it.* *Al Hejâj*, offended at this discourse, said instantly to him, *If that be the case, and you are so dexterous in your predictions, I will send you before me into the other world, that I may make use of you there*; and at the same time gave an order to have him dispatched. We must here beg leave to remark, that the word *Kolaib*, in *Arabic*, signifies *a little dog*; and that we meet with an account of this astrologer's fate, similar to that handed down to us by *Mirkhond*, in *Abu'l-Faraj* [e].

[c] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Corrah*, p. 272.

[d] SADI. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 441. [e] MIRKHOND. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 200, 201. MOHAMMED. AL FIRAUZABAD. in *Kam.*

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THE former of those writers also relates, that this general was born shut up at the bottom; so that his parents found it necessary to have him opened with surgeons instruments, lest a stop should be put by this natural impediment to the exercise of the animal functions. The latter of them informs us, that he fell sick by eating dirt; which he afterwards abstained from, by the advice of *Theodunus*, an eminent physician, who was cotemporary with him. The same author adds, that he died of a phthisis, or consumption, which, for a considerable time, deprived him of his natural rest. The dirt mentioned by this historian was a sort of medicinal clay, called by the *Latins Terra Lemnia*, and by the *Arabs Thîn*, and *Thîn Mekhtoum*, *Lutum*, *Lutum sigillatum*, & *Terra sigillata*, being prescribed in several cases by the most eminent physicians. We are told by a writer of some note, that *Al Hejâj* was extremely magnificent in his entertainments; insomuch that he furnished, on some occasions, no less than a thousand tables. He also, according to the same author, sometimes made very valuable presents to his friends; it having been known, that certain of them received of him 1,000,000 *dirhems* at once. *Al Hejâj* left behind him a son, who erected a little principality, consisting of only seven small towns in *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian Irâk*; which gradually going to decay, a city was at last formed out of them all, called *Kom*. This town stands at almost an equal distance from *Ispahân* and *Cazbin*, and about twenty-one parasangs from *Raya*. Between this last place and *Kom* there is a frightful desart, in which there was formerly a very large and strong castle, called *Gerdeshir*; a particular description of which we meet with in *Yâkût*. This city was raised out of the ruins of the seven others, in the 203d year of the *Hejra*. *Abd'alrahmân*, the son of *Al Hejâj*, having been defeated by his enemies, and his country ruined, the inhabitants of the seven original towns gradually deserted them, and their descendants built the city of *Kom*; which was divided into seven parts, that retained the names of those towns. The principal of these was called *Kommedan*, a name apparently formed of *Kom*. The city of *Kom* is at this day justly celebrated for its manufactures of silk, called in the *Turkish* and *Persian* languages *Komash*, in the same manner as velvet is denominated in the east *Katisah*, from the town of *Katif*, situated in the province of *Bahrein*, on the *Persian* gulf, about two days journey from *Ahsâ*, where it is made. *Abd'almogni Ali*, a famous astrologer, who left behind him an astrological treatise, intituled, *Ekthiarat*, was a native of *Kom*, and from thence surnamed *Al Komi*, or *Al Kommi*. *Abu Obeidah Mâmar Ebn Al Mothâni* writ the life of *Al Hejâj*, under the title of *Al Akbâr Hejâj*.

Some farther particulars relating to him.

That author was a native of *Baghdâd*, and died in the 209th year of the *Hejra* [f].

The Moslems *still victorious in* Spain, *and other parts.*

THE same year in which *Al Hejaj* died, that is, the 95th of the *Hejra*, *Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec* banished *Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs* from *Damascus* to *Honein*, a valley which lies about three miles from *Mecca*, towards *Al Tâyef*, where he begot twenty sons. The *Khalif* also ordered this *Ali* to receive seventy stripes, for meditating the murder of *Salit*. The *Arabs* gained this year a complete victory over the *Goths* in *Spain*, which paved the way to the absolute conquest of most of the provinces of that kingdom. *Roderic*, being informed, that the *Moslems* had landed a powerful army in *Spain*, and made terrible havock in several parts of his dominions, assembled his whole force, and resolved to bring the enemy to a general action, that should determine his fate as well as that of his subjects. Coming up with them, therefore, at *Assidona*, he attacked them with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the *Goths* had been enervated by a long peace, the victory hung in suspence for eight whole days. The king himself, dressed in his royal robes, with a golden crown upon his head, in an ivory chariot, after the manner of the *Gothic* princes, appeared at the head of his army, and so animated his troops by his presence and valiant behaviour, that they really performed wonders; though at last the *Arabs*, being continually reinforced with fresh troops, forced them to give way, and even betake themselves to a precipitate flight. To this the sons of *Vitiza*, according to some writers, not a little contributed. For, *Roderic* committing to their conduct the wings of the army, though they had already manifested their sinister intentions towards him, they went over to the enemy in the heat of the action; upon which, a total rout immediately ensued. The *Arabs* pursued the flying *Goths* with so much ardour, that the greatest part of them were killed either in the battle or the pursuit. In this fatal engagement, which ended on *Sunday* the fifth day of *July*, according to some of the best *Spanish* historians, all the *Gothic* nobility were slain; so that all the *Spaniards*, except the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*, who were the last that submitted to the *Romans*, were obliged, within a short time, gradually to receive the *Mosem* yoke. As for *Roderic* himself, it is not certainly known whether he was killed in the action, or survived the destruction of his army. Some affirm, that he fell in the battle; but others deny this. However, we are told for cer-

[f] MIRKHOND & GREG ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. Aut. Lib. AOVAIL, YAKU', EBN HAWKAL, HAMDALLA, ISM ABULFED. in hist. univ. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 218—220, & alib. D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 263, 264, 271, 443, 444.

tain,

tain, that his horſe *Orelia*, and enſigns of royalty, were found in a miry place, frequented by ſwine and other filthy animals, tho' the enemy fought for his body in vain. With regard to count *Julian*, he is ſaid to have ſoon met with the proper reward of his villainy; the *Arabs*, according to a proverb received amongſt us, loving the treaſon, but hating the traitor. His wife they ſtoned to death, threw his ſon headlong from the top of the caſtle of *Ceuta*, and ſtript him of all his poſſeſſions. After which, according to ſome, he miſerably expired in irons in a fort or citadel belonging to the territory of *Oſca*; tho' others, it muſt be owned, are of a different opinion. Be this, however, as it will, the *Arabs*, who loſt ſixteen thouſand men in the battle of *Aſſidona*, reduced the whole kingdom of *Spain*, except the provinces occupied by the *Aſturians* and *Cantabrians*, as has been already obſerved, within the ſpace of eight months, or, according to others, fourteen months, or, laſtly, as others will have it, about two years. Nay, there are not wanting thoſe who aſſert, that the *Arabs* ſpent five years in the conqueſt and intire reduction of the moſt conſiderable part of this region. *Tarif*, who now commanded in *Spain*, acquired an immenſe treaſure, during this ſucceſsful campaign; which not only inriched him, but likewiſe enabled him to reward all his officers, and even the troops themſelves, for their bravery in this war. Nor did the *Moſlem* commanders fail afterwards of amaſſing prodigious riches, with which they were ſupplied by this moſt opulent country; tho' theſe, if we will believe a certain hiſtorian, ſoon occaſioned ſuch diſſenſions amongſt them, and ſo incenſed them one againſt another, that ſeveral of them came to violent deaths, inſomuch that, within the ſpace of twenty years, there were no leſs than fifteen *Moſlem* princes, or governors, in *Spain*. The *Arabs* were this year likewiſe formidable in the eaſtern parts of the world. *Maſalmas*, *Moſlema*, or *Meſlem*, an *Arab* general that we have formerly mentioned, made ſeveral incurſions into the imperial territories, and ravaged the whole province of *Galatia*, carrying off with him many rich ſpoils, and a great number of priſoners, when he retired into the *Khalif*'s dominions. The *Greek* emperor, being informed, that *Al Walid* was making vaſt preparations to attack him both by ſea and land, ſent ſome of his nobles, and, amongſt the reſt, *Daniel Sinopenſis*, to treat of a peace with that prince. Amongſt other inſtructions with which *Daniel* was charged, the emperor ordered him to procure as exact an account as poſſible of the force with which *Al Walid* propoſed to invade the *Greek* empire. Upon his return from the *Moſlem* court, that nobleman repreſented both the naval and military preparations of the *Arabs* againſt the *Chriſtians*,

stians, and particularly the capital city of the empire, as so stupendous, that it would be next to impossible to oppose them. The emperor therefore finding, that the *Khalif* intended to lay siege to *Constantinople*, he caused a very large number of light ships to be built, the walls to be repaired, and, having filled the public granaries, ordered such of the citizens as had not laid up provisions for three years to depart the city. He likewise added some new works to the place on the sea-side, and disposed his military engines on the towers in such a manner as might enable him to give the enemy a proper reception, whenever they should think fit to appear. In the mean time, *Al Walid* continued his warlike preparations with the utmost vigour, being determined to make himself master of *Constantinople*, if possible, in one campaign [g].

The death and character of Al Walîd.

In the 96th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 715, *Korrah Ebn Sharik*, *Al Walid*'s governor of *Egypt*, died at *Mesr*, where he had erected a large and stately mosque, about three years before his death. He was succeeded by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Resa'a*, who presided over the *Egyptians* till the accession of *Solimân Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân* to the *Moslem* throne. As for the *Khalif Al Walid*, he died this year, about the middle of the latter *Jomâda*, and was buried at *Damascus*. He reigned about nine years and eight months; being at the time of his death, according to some, forty eight, or, as others will have it, forty-three, years of age. He was very tall, swarthy, flat-nosed, and pitted with the small-pox. He had a large beard, with some grey hairs in it, was of a strong robust constitution, and a very choleric temper. He was subject to intemperate sallies of passion, being by no means capable of bridling his anger. According to *Al Makin*, he married sixty-three wives, the greatest part of whom he divorced; which, as that author says, was attended with a very considerable expence. He laid out large sums of money upon public buildings, such as the magnificent mosques at *Damascus*, *Jerusalem*, and *Medina*; all which were either erected or enlarged and beautified in his reign. This *Khalif* appointed *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* his commandant of *Medina*, and was the first of the successors of *Mohammed* who founded an hospital for sick people, and a *Caravansera*, or public house of entertainment, for poor travellers and strangers. His secretaries, who succeeded one another in the order they are mentioned here, were *Korrah Ebn Yezid*, *Kabida Ebn*

[g] AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 72. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. c. liv. p. 112. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ANTONIUS A GUEVARA, in epistola ad Alfons. Burg. Episc. FERDINAND. NUN. PINCIAN. ISIDOR. PACENS. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. p. 696, 697. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 321, 322.

Dawib,

Dawib, *Dahak Ebn Zerik*, *Yezid Ebn Abikeſba*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mâlec*; his chamberlains, *Khâled* and *Saad*, the firſt his ſervant, and the other his freed-man; and the captain of his guards *Caab Ebn Hazem Al Abâſi*. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *O* AL WALID! *you are to die, and to give an account of your actions.* The firſt day of his *Khalifat* was *Friday*, and the laſt *Saturday*. He is ſaid to have had ſome ſkill in architecture, but to have been a very indifferent linguiſt. The accounts of the public treaſury he ordered the clerks, or ſecretaries, to write in *Arabic*, and not in *Greek*, as was the cuſtom before his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Al Walid*, as has been already obſerved, was more powerful than any of his predeceſſors; having ſubjugated, according to the eaſtern writers, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, the vaſt province of *Mawarâ'lnahr*, *Little Bukhâria*, or the kingdom of *Kaſhgar*, and *Turkeſtân*. He likewiſe, if we will believe thoſe authors, rendered that part of *India* on this ſide the *Ganges* tributary to him. The greateſt part of the *Moſlem* hiſtorians differ widely from thoſe of *Syria* in their accounts of this prince. The latter repreſent him as the greateſt *Khalif* of the houſe of *Ommiyah*; whereas the former have tranſmitted him down to poſterity as naturally cruel and violent, of much the ſame diſpoſition with *Pharaoh* king of *Egypt*, called alſo *Al Walid* by ſome of the eaſtern writers. *Khondemir*, one of the principal of the *Perſian* hiſtorians, tells us, that *Katiba Ebn Moſlem*, *Al Walid*'s governor of *Khoraſân*, after he had paſſed the *Jihûn*, advanced to *Samarkand*, where *Magourek*, the king, or *Khân*, of *Mawarâ'lnahr*, was ſhut up, and laid ſiege to that place; that, after having ſuſtained ſeveral very vigorous attacks, it ſurrendered to him by capitulation; the principal article of which was, that *Magourek* ſhould pay the *Khalif* annually, by way of tribute, 2,000,000 *dinârs*, and at the ſame time make him a preſent of 3000 ſlaves; and that, after he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the place, he ordered all the idols therein to be deſtroyed, and conſtructed in it one of the moſt ſuperb moſques to be met with in all the *Moſlem* empire [h].

[h] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 73. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 201, 202. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 376, 377. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Valid*, p 907. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 314. KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam ISM. ABULFED. in hiſt. univerſ. Aut. LEB TARIKH, MIRAT CAINAT, EBN SHOHNAH, alioſque ſcriptor. orient. plur.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

He is ſucceeded by his brother Soliman.

SOLIMAN EBN ABD'ALMALEC, ſurnamed *Abu Ayub*, ſucceeded his brother *Al Walid*, and was inaugurated the very day on which that *Khalif* died. His mother was *Waladah*, the daughter of *Al Abbâs Ebn Harbi Al Abbâſi*. He was a prince of fine parts and ſurprizing eloquence, having been educated amongſt his mother's relations in the deſart. He redreſſed all grievances that had happened before his acceſſion, put an end to all diſorders, encouraged trade, and releaſed all the priſoners in his extenſive dominions, except ſuch as had been incarcerated for capital crimes. In the 96th year of the *Hejra*, or the firſt of his reign, *Katiba Ebn Moſlem*, the governor of *Khoraſân*, rebelled againſt him; but the people of that country were ſo far from joining with him in his defection, that they ruſhed upon him with one accord, cut him to pieces, and elected for their leader one *Wâki Ebn Abu Sawid*, who preſided over them till *Soliman* appointed *Yezid Ebn Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra* his lieutenant of *Khoraſân*. *Yezid* greatly extended the *Moſlem* conqueſts on that ſide, reducing *Taberiſtân* and *Jurjân*, *Georgiana*, or *Giurgiana*, under the dominion of the *Khalif*. In this war he gained many glorious victories, ravaged the enemies territories, killed a vaſt number of the infidels, and impoſed an annual tribute upon the reſt. Soon after, *Solimân* began to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for putting his troops in march againſt *Conſtantinople*, and appointed his brother *Moſlema* to command in that expedition. *Aſamah Ebn Zeid Al Tannukhi* collected the tribute at this time for *Solimân* in *Egypt*. Nothing very material paſſed this year in *Spain*. However, the *Arabs*, by the aſſiſtance of the *Jews*, ſurprized the city of *Toledo* on *Palm-Sunday*, which had returned from them to the enemy. *Mûſa* alſo, the prefect of *Africa*, hearing of the great ſucceſs of *Tarif*, and of the immenſe riches he had acquired, landed again with a large body of the *Moſlem* troops in *Spain*, aſſumed to himſelf the ſpoils taken by that general from the *Goths*, and then in conjunction with him, notwithſtanding the mutual hatred and animoſities that ſubſiſted between them, reduced *Cæſarauguſta*, known at this time by the name of *Saragoſa*, or *Saragoſſa*, and ſeveral other towns. The inhabitants of thoſe places the *Arabs* treated with cruelty enough; plundering and pillaging them all without diſtinction, and even putting many of them to the ſword [1].

[1] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 73, 74. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi ſup. p. 202. EUTYCH. ubi ſup p. 376, 377. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 190——197. Fortalit. Fid. JOAN. VAS. Hiſpan. chronic. p. 697.

THE

THE following year, being the 97th of the *Hejra*, beginning *September* 5th, 715, *Soliman* ordered a *Mikeas*, *Nileſcope*, or pillar to meaſure the increaſe of the *Nile*, to be erected on an iſland between *Geeza*, or *Al Jiza*, the antient *Memphis*, according to Dr. *Shaw*, and *Al Foſtát*; he having been before informed by *Aſamah Ebn Zeid Al Tannúkhi*, his collector of the tribute and cuſtoms in *Egypt*, that the *Mikeas* built at *Holwân* by *Abd'alaziz Ebn Merwân* was become intirely uſeleſs. This *Nileſcope* may poſſibly be ſtill remaining, as that ſeen and deſcribed by the learned Dr. *Shaw* ſtands upon the point of an iſland that lies between *Kairo* and *Geeza*; which ſituation exactly correſponds with that aſſigned *Soliman*'s *Nilometer* by *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*. For a full and ample deſcription of this column, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to Dr. *Shaw*'s obſervations in *Egypt*; where they will meet with the beſt and moſt entertaining account of it, that has hitherto been communicated to the world [k]. *A* Mikeas *built by* Soliman.

THIS year, the *Arabs* rather loſt than gained ground in *Spain*. *Pelagius*, or, as the *Spaniards* call him, *Pelayo*, the ſon of *Fafila*, or *Favila*, duke of *Cantabria*, was proclaimed king of the *Aſturians*; and *Garſias Ximenius*, known amongſt the *Spaniards* by the name of *Garcia Ximenes*, of *Gothic* extraction, founded a kingdom in the *Pyrenean* mountains, whither many of the *Chriſtians* had fled from *Saragoſa* and other towns of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, when they were taken by the *Arabs*. Nor could the *Khalif*'s forces in *Spain* reduce theſe two new princes. The army ſent againſt *Pelayo* returned, without having effected any thing, to *Corduba*; and that deſtined to act againſt *Ximenes*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſeveral ſharp actions with only a body of 600 horſe, was not able to ſeize upon any part of his territories. On the contrary, the latter of theſe *Chriſtian* monarchs advanced his frontiers into the enemy's country, and died after a reign of forty-two years. The firſt of them likewiſe reigned about nineteen years, as our readers will find more particularly related in the modern hiſtory of *Spain*. About this time, *Moſlema*, who is called by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus Maſalmas*, begun his march for *Conſtantinople*, with an army of 120,000 men, advanced firſt to *Amorium* in *Phrygia*, and afterwards to *Pergamus* in *Myſia*, which he ſurprized; and then took up his winter-quarters in the *Leſſer Aſia*. *Theophanes* ſeems to intimate, that either *Soliman* himſelf, or a general of the ſame name, commanded a body of the *Moſlem* forces in this expedition; tho' not the leaſt foundation for ſuch a notion is to be met with in the ori- Moſlema *begins his march for* Conſtantinople;

[k] AL MAKIN & EUTYCH. ubi ſup. SHAW's phyſic. and miſcellan. obſervat. in Egypt, p. 433——439.

ental historians. *Ebn Shohnah* writes, that this prince was at *Ramla*, or *Rama*, when his brother died, from whence he went to *Damascus* as soon as he had received advice of that event, in order to take possession of the *Khalifat*; and that, after a short residence there, he commanded his troops to advance to *Marj Dabek*, near *Aleppo*, from whence his brother *Moslema* marched directly to *Constantinople*, that he might form the siege of that important place. These are the most material transactions of the 97th year of the *Hejra*, both according to the *Christian* and the *Moslem* historians [1].

and besieges that capital.

THE next year, that is, the 98th of the *Hejra*, commencing *August* 25th, 716, several remarkable events happened in those parts of the world, that were the theatres of the war between the *Christians* and the *Moslems*. The *Christians* of *Spain*, who submitted to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*, and chose to reside in the *Moslem* territories, were not disturbed either in the possession of their properties, or the free exercise of their religion. As they were intermixed, and in a manner incorporated, with the *Arabs*, they obtained on that account the name of *Mozarabes*; and the missal then in use amongst them, drawn up by St. *Leander* and St. *Isidore*, and which was followed by all the *Christians* of *Spain* till the time of *Alphonsus* VI. was called the *Mozarabic* missal. This year, *Mûsa* and *Tarif* were recalled by *Solimân*, and not *Al Walid*, as we find asserted by some of the *Spanish* historians, to give an account of their conduct. *Mûsa* left his son *Abd'alaziz* behind him, to govern *Spain* in his absence, who married *Egibon*, *Egilon*, or *Egilona*, *Roderic*'s wife, and fixed his residence at *Seville*, as has been already observed. As for *Tarif*, before his departure, he appointed *Al Khamân*, an excellent officer, to command the *Moslem* forces destined to act against *Pelagius*, whom he thought it a scandal to him not to have reduced. *Al Khamân*, before he proceeded directly to hostilities, sent *Oppa*, or *Oppas*, the archbishop of *Seville*, to prevail upon him, if possible, to take the oath of allegiance to the *Khalif*. This *Oppa* attempted, and had a conference with *Pelagius*, who had taken post with 1000 chosen men in a cave on mount *Ausena*, having disposed his other troops, on which he could not so much depend, to the best advantage, upon the precipices of that mountain; but without effect, that prince being still determined to assert his independency against the *Arabs*. *Al Khaman*, therefore, finding pacific measures in-

[1] JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 697, 698. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 325, 326, 327. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. 449, 450. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Solimân Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 821.

effectual,

effectual, marched against him with a powerful army, but could not meet with an opportunity of attacking him before the following year. In the mean time, *Moslema*, having in vain waited for *Leo*'s performance of certain engagements he had last year entered into with him, when he persuaded him to assume the purple, and promised to support him, left his winter-quarters in the *Lesser Asia*, and resumed his march for *Constantinople*. Upon his arrival at *Abydus*, he made the necessary dispositions for passing the *Hellespont*, and transporting his forces into *Thrace*; which having done, and sent orders to *Solimân*, the *Khalif*'s admiral, to appear with the fleet, he defeated the imperial army that covered *Constantinople*, made himself master of the enemy's camp, and caused the city to be invested on the 15th day of *August*. *Moslema*, or, as the *Greek* writers call him, *Maslalmas*, having soon after opened the trenches in form before the city, and drawn a line of circumvallation round his camp, pushed on the siege with great vigour. On the 1st of *September*, *Solimân*, according to *Theophanes*, in pursuance of the orders he had received, appeared, with the *Arab* fleet, consisting of men of war of a monstrous size, besides merchant-men and light vessels, amounting in all to about 1800 ships, before the town, in order to block it up by sea, and forward the operations of the land-forces. Twenty of the merchant-men, or transports, that, by reason of their heavy lading, sailed slower than the rest, arriving a few days after the grand fleet, were set on fire by some fire-ships sent against them from the citadel, and reduced to ashes; which proved a very considerable loss to the *Arabs*, as every one of them had 100 soldiers on board, armed with coats of mail; all which were either consumed by the flames, or swallowed up by the waves. This greatly animated the garison, and struck the enemy with terror and consternation. It likewise prevented an attack on the sea-side of the city, which the enemy proposed to have made with a great part of their forces the very day on which this action happened. The following winter was so severe in *Thrace*, that the ground was covered with the snow frozen upon it an hundred days; insomuch that almost all the enemy's horses, camels, and other beasts of burden, perished with the cold. They lost likewise a vast number of men by the inclemency of the season, and were reduced to great straits for want of provisions. They found themselves, therefore, incapable of making any considerable progress in the siege before the return of the spring; when two fleets, one of 800 ships, with a vast quantity of corn on board from *Egypt*, under the command of *Sofiân*, and another of 360 merchant-men, or transports, laden with arms, baggage, and provisions, from *Africa*, under the conduct of *Yezid*,

approached to their relief. But both thoſe admirals having received intelligence of the fatal effects of the liquid or ſea-fire, ſo called becauſe it burnt under water, being the invention of one *Callinicus*, a native of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, that had deſtroyed the twenty tranſports above-mentioned, they were obliged for ſome time to ſtand off to ſea. However, at laſt they ventured to draw nearer the city; but were ſoon, for the moſt part, conſumed by the artificial fire diſcharged upon them from certain ſwift veſſels and biremes, on board of which a proper quantity of it had been lodged for that purpoſe. All the land as well as the naval forces brought by thoſe fleets, to reinforce the *Moſlem* army incamped before *Conſtantinople*, and enable it to carry on the ſiege of that capital with more vigour, were either drowned or reduced to aſhes in this action; and the *Greeks* carried off with them all the enemy's baggage, money, and proviſions, that had eſcaped the flames, triumphantly into the town. About the ſame time, a detachment of the imperial forces cut to pieces a body of the *Arab* troops, commanded by one *Merdaſan*, that had ravaged the coaſt as far as *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia*; which cleared the oppoſite ſhore of the enemy's parties, and enabled the emperor's ſubjects to ſupply the beſieged with neceſſaries from thence; the communication between *Thrace* and the neighbouring parts of *Aſia* being now as open as before the commencement of the ſiege. The fiſhing veſſels likewiſe followed their occupation in the *Boſporus* and the *Propontis*, without any diſturbance from the *Moſlems*; ſo that the city, at this juncture, enjoyed a plenty of every thing that was neceſſary for the ſupport of human life. The *Arabs*, on the other hand, were ſo grievouſly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that a famine enſued amongſt them; which obliged them to feed upon horſes, aſſes, and other unclean animals, that died of themſelves; nay, upon human excrements, and even at laſt upon one another. This introduced the plague amongſt them, which ſwept away an infinite number of men; and, to crown all their misfortunes, the *Bulgarians* attacked their camp, and put 22,000 of them to the ſword. However, the people of *Conſtantinople*, according to ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians, were reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that they offered *Moſlema* a large ſum of money, if he would retire. They alſo intimate, that *Leo* outwitted *Moſlema*, and deprived him, by one of not the moſt refined ſtratagems, both of his ſhips and proviſions. Notwithſtanding which, that general, expecting a reinforcement from *Soliman*, then at *Marj Dabek*, near *Kinniſrin* and *Aleppo*, obſtinately perſiſted in his reſolution to continue the ſiege [m].

SOME

[m] JOAN. VASMUS, ubi ſup p. 698, 699, 700. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 329——333. CEDREN. ubi ſup. p. 451. AL MAKIN, ubi

Some authors affirm, that *Solimân* began to build the city of *Ramla*, or *Rama*, in the 98th year of the *Hejra*; but this runs counter to what has been advanced by *Ebn Shohnah*, who relates, that he was there at his brother's death, as we have already observed. It seems more probable, that he only fortified this city, in order to secure it from the insults of the *Arabs* of *Irâk*, who at this time made frequent incursions into *Palestine*. However, *Solimân* is said by the *Arab* writers to have been the first who adorned *Ramla* with a fine palace, a stately mosque, a proper number of aqueducts, and other public buildings; which might not improbably have induced some to think, that he was the founder of that city. This year died his son *Ayub*, whom he had obliged the *Moslems* to acknowledge the heir apparent to the crown; after which, he nominated *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, a prince of exemplary piety, to succeed him. But this last event is more properly to be ranked amongst the transactions of the following year [n].

Solimân's son Ayub dies.

The 99th year of the *Hejra*, part of the 717th and 718th of the *Christian* æra, proved very unsuccessful to the *Moslems* with *Al Khamân* ascended mount *Ausena* at the head of a powerful army, and attacked the cave on the summit of that mountain, where *Pelagius* had posted himself with 1000 men, being the flower of his troops; but was repulsed with the loss of 20,000 men, according to some of the *Spanish* historians. This so animated the *Christians* under *Pelagius*, that they sallied out of the cave, fell upon the *Arabs* in their turn, and overthrew them with very great slaughter. *Al Khamân* himself was killed in the action, and *Oppa* taken prisoner; tho' it is not certainly known what afterwards became of him. As for the *Arabs*, who escaped the carnage on this occasion, they were either obliged to throw themselves down headlong from the precipices of the mountains, or fell into the hands of the *Christians*, who put them immediately to the sword. In the mean time, *Tarif*, arriving first at the *Khalf's* court, accused *Mûsa* of such enormous crimes, and supported with such convincing proofs his accusation, that the latter was not only ill received by *Solimân*, but likewise fined by him in a very large sum of money; which so affected him, that he soon after pined away with grief. One of the crimes laid to *Mûsa's* charge was, that he had secreted most of the riches

The Arabs meet with bad success in Spain.

[n] Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 74. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 202, 203. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 821.

ubi sup. p. 74. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 202, 203. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 821. Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 74. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. 204. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Solimân Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 821 Ism. Abulfed. in Palest. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 140. 141. Albert. Schult. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Ramala*.

acquired in *Spain* for his own uſe, and reſerved but a ſmall part of them for the *Khalif*; upon which, he was not only deprived of the honourable poſt to which he had been advanced, but likewiſe obliged him to pay down 2.000,000 *dirhêms*. And becauſe *Ayub*, of whom we have ſpoken above, was related to *Mûſa*, the *Khalif* recalled him from *Spain*, and ſubſtituted *Alahor*, or *Alaber*, *Ebn Al'd'alrahmân* in his room. All which events are placed by the *Spaniſh* writers in the 97th year of the *Hejra*; whereas, in truth and reality, they happened in the 99th of that æra; and conſequently in the *Khalifat* of *Solimân*, and not of *Al Walid*, as thoſe writers pretend. *Alahor*, upon his arrival in *Spain*, being informed of the terrible havock made amongſt the *Arab* troops by *Pelagius*, imputed this to the treachery of *Julian*, and the ſons of *Vitiza*; whoſe effects he therefore confiſcated, and afterwards put them all three to death. Others, however, affirm, that thoſe traitors met with this fate before *Mûſa*'s departure out of *Spain*. Be that as it will, the *Moſlem* throne was occupied by *Solimân*, the brother of *Al Walid*, the 97th, 98th, and part of the 99th, years of the *Hejra*, as we certainly learn from the beſt of the *Arab* hiſtorians °.

Moſlema *raiſes the ſiege of* Conſtantinople, *and returns home.*

THE *Khalif*'s forces before *Conſtantinople* having been ſo weakened by ſickneſs, deſertion, the attack of the *Bulgarians*, the various aſſaults they had made, and the ſallies of the gariſon, that they deſpaired of taking the city either by ſtorm or capitulation; *Moſlema*, the *Arab* general, found himſelf at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The army, therefore, by his order, decamped, and returned into the *Leſſer Aſia*, in the 99th year of the *Hejra*, after having ſuſtained an incredible loſs. The ſoldiers, for a conſiderable time, were forced to live upon hides, the roots and leaves of trees, the moſt noiſome animals, their own excrements, and even ſome of their own dead bodies, as has been already obſerved, before they abandoned the enterprize in which they had been ſo long imbarked. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* relate, that the *Arab* fleet, with the ſhattered remains of the land-forces on board, ſet ſail for the coaſt of *Aſia*, on the 15th of *Auguſt*, the preſent year; and that, on this very day, that fleet was almoſt totally deſtroyed by a dreadful ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, and the artificial fire of the *Greeks*, ten ſhips only eſcaping the common deſtruction: in which, however, thoſe writers are not ſupported by the concurrent teſtimony of any *Moſlem* hiſtorian. The calamities ſuffered by the inhabitants during

° RODERIC. TOLETAN. hiſtor. Arab. c. x. RASES, ISIDOR. PACENS. JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi ſup. p. 700, 701. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. in hiſt. univ. EBN SHOHNAH, Aut. LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, &c.

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the siege, which continued, according to some, thirteen months, or, as others will have it, two years, or, lastly, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, two years and an half, are not to be described; 30,000 of them having perished with hunger, and the like number been swept away by the plague. As for the *Arab* troops, scarce any of them returned home, tho' the general himself seems to have arrived safe at the *Moslem* court; so that the *Khalif* must have lost near 120,000 men in this fatal expedition [p].

THE same year, *Solimân Ebn Abd'almâlec*, emperor of the faithful, on the 21st day of the month *Safar*, departed this life at *Marj Dabek*, in the district of *Kinnisrin*, to the inexpressible regret of his subjects. He had so indeared himself to them, by releasing from their confinement all the prisoners in his dominions, and other acts of clemency, that they gave him the surname of *Meftah Al Khaïr*, or *the key of goodness*; by which it plainly appeared what a high regard they had for him. When he was on his death-bed, he sent for *Raja*, his *Wazir*, or *Visir*, and ordered him to write down on a piece of paper, that he had nominated *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, his cousin-german, to succeed him, on condition, nevertheless, that *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, his brother, should, after that prince's decease, be called to the succession. This writing having been signed and sealed in form, *Raja*, by his command, assembled all the nobles and grandees of his court, and made them take an oath to recognize the authority of the person named *Khalif* therein after his death. The *Moslem* lords then, in pursuance of another order, came all to *Solimân*'s bed's head, and confirmed in his presence, by word of mouth, what they had before obliged themselves by their own handwriting, as well as by oath, to perform. *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, one of them, soon after meeting *Raja*, desired him to inform him who the *Khalif* designed for his successor; telling him he might safely do this, as he knew himself to be excluded from the succession, as he was perfectly easy in that matter, and as he should sincerely congratulate the new *Khalif* upon his nomination. But *Raja*, being a man of great prudence and discretion, begged to be excused from revealing that secret, reassembled the nobless, as soon as the breath was out of *Solimân*'s body, and made them all, without exception, repeat the oath they had formerly taken: after the conclusion of which ceremony, he opened the paper wherein the successor's name was written, by *Solimân*'s order, and immediately pro-

Solimân's *death and character.*

[p] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 334. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 451, 452. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 204. EBN AMID, KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. ubi sup.

claimed *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* emperor of the faithful. *Soliman* was forty-five, or, as others ſay, thirty-nine, years old at the time of his death, and reigned two years and eight months, wanting only five days. As to his perſon, he was tall, of a fair complexion, had a black beard, and ſeemed to tread upon his heels. With regard to his diſpoſition, he was mild and merciful, as appears from what has been already obſerved of him, and a great lover of women. He died, according to ſome, of a pain in his ſide, or, as others will have it, of an indigeſtion. Nor is this to be wondered at, if what ſome of the *Arab* writers relate of him be true, *viz.* that he could eat three lambs roaſted for breakfaſt, and afterwards dine very heartily in public; or if, according to others, he uſed to devour no leſs than an hundred pounds weight of meat every day. However, an hiſtorian, followed by *Al Makin*, ſeems to intimate, that he loſt his life by drinking a draught of milk, into which ſome poiſon had been infuſed, given him by an *Arab*, ſent by his brother *Yezid* out of *Paleſtine* for that purpoſe. Which, if it be true, ſeems to imply, that this prince knew, or at leaſt ſuſpected, and was diſpleaſed with, *Soliman*'s manner of ſettling the ſucceſſion; as taking himſelf to have an inconteſtable right to the *Khalifat*, after his brother's deceaſe. We are told by ſome of the eaſtern hiſtorians, that *Jaafar Al Barmeki*, one of *Soliman*'s principal counſellors, adviſed him to coin money of a better allay, and a higher ſtandard, than that ſtruck in the reign of his father *Abd'almalec*; ſo that the finer gold and ſilver money, ever current amongſt the *Moſlems* after this event, from this *Jaafar* received the name of *Jaafarian*. In confirmation of which article, it may be obſerved, that the writer of this hiſtory has a *dirhem*, conſiſting of ſilver, ſufficiently fine, ſtruck at *Cufa* in the 134th year of the *Hejra*, being the 3d of *Abu'l Abbas Al Saffah*, the firſt *Khalif* of the houſe of *Al Abbas*, of which we ſhall give our readers hereafter a more particular account. That article will, however, perhaps, render ſuſpicious the antiquity of the *dirhem* above-mentioned, belonging to the univerſity of *Oxford*, ſuppoſed to have been coined at *Waſet* upon the *Tigris* about nine or ten years before the elevation of *Soliman* to the *Moſlem* throne (that alſo exhibits another mark of a later date) the ſilver of which is likewiſe ſufficiently fine [q].

[q] Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 74, 75. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 378, 379. Theophan et Cedren. ubi ſup. Khondemir. Al Zamakhshar. Ism Abulfed. ubi ſup. Vide etiam D'Herbel. ubi ſup. et alib. & Costard's two diſſertations on the ſignification of the words *Kſitah* and *Hermes*, p. 33, 34, 35. Oxford, 1750.

The

THE *Arab* writers inform us, that *Sólimân* had many wives; and that one of theſe predicted his death not long before it happened. *Yezid Ebn Mohalleb*, *Abd'alaziz Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Al Hakem*, and *Fadl Ebn Mohalleb*, ſerved that prince in the capacity of ſecretaries of ſtate; *Mohammed Ebn Haram* in that of *Kâdi*, or judge; *Caab Ebn Khâled Al Abâſi* in that of captain of the guards; and *Abu Obeidah*, his freed-man, in that of chamberlain. The firſt day of his *Khalifat* was *Sunday*, and the laſt *Friday*. His ſucceſſor, *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, ſaid the funeral prayers over him, at the time of his interment. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *I believe in* GOD *our Saviour*. Many particulars relating to him may be met with in the *Perſian* writers, that have been wholly omitted by all the *Arab* hiſtorians [r]. *Some other particulars relating to him.*

SECT. XIV.

IN obedience to *Soliman*'s will, *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* was proclaimed *Khalif* the day on which his predeceſſor died, that is, the 20th, or 21ſt, of the month *Safar*, in the 99th year of the *Hejra*, anſwering to the month of *February*, in the year of CHRIST 718. The *Greek* writers likewiſe make this event to have happened about the ſame time; ſo that their authority, in the preſent caſe, ſupports the concurrent teſtimony of *Al Makîn*, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Abulfeda*, *Abul-Faraj*, *Ebn Arraheb*, *Eutychius*, and all the other beſt *Arab* hiſtorians. His mother *Omm Aſem* was the daughter of *As*, the ſon of the *Khalif Omar*. He ſuppreſſed the ſolemn malediction pronounced by the *Khalifs* of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, after the concluſion of divine ſervice, from the acceſſion of *Moâwiyah* I. to the death of *Solimán*, againſt the name of *Ali*, and that of all his family; every member of which was curſed and excommunicated, during that interval, in all the moſques throughout the empire. *Omar*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, made a ſpeech to the people from the pulpit, which he aſcended immediately after his inauguration, on this occaſion; wherein he endeavoured to inſpire them with ſentiments of piety and moderation; telling them, that he bore not the leaſt ill-will to any *Moſlem*; and that the wicked only had reaſon to be apprehenſive of meeting with any ſeverity from him. After which, he gave the robe he had on to the poor, and came down from the pulpit. But the abolition of this cuſtom, however right in itſelf, by no means pleaſed many of his ſubjects; who, after the diſmiſſion of the aſſembly, cried out, *The law is neglected!* *He is ſucceeded by* Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz.

[r] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 75. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. Aut. LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, &c. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. et alib.

glected! the law is neglected! He likewiſe cauſed fruits of various kinds to be diſtributed amongſt his ſervants, being afraid of an aſſaſſination. We are told by *Khondemir*, that, as ſoon as *Omar* was ſaluted *Khalif*, the moſt beautiful and fineſt horſes were brought him out of his predeceſſor's ſtables; all which he refuſed; and that, mounting the horſe he uſually rode upon, when a private perſon, he went directly to his own houſe; being unwilling to incommode, in any reſpect, the laſt *Khalif*'s family, which then reſided in the palace. Nor could he, according to that author, be prevailed upon to take poſſeſſion of any of the apartments aſſigned him as *Khalif*, till *Solimân*'s domeſtics and relations, ſhamed by his ſuperior modeſty, had withdrawn themſelves from thence. However, notwithſtanding his virtuous diſpoſition, if we will believe the *Greek* hiſtorians, he perſecuted the *Chriſtians* this and the following year; putting to death thoſe who perſiſted in the profeſſion of their religion, and remitting the tribute of thoſe who became converts to *Mohammediſm*. He is alſo ſaid to have written, about the ſame time, a letter to the emperor *Leo*, containing an expoſition of his faith, in order to make a proſelyte of that prince. About this time, that is, the 100th year of the *Hejra*, *Alahor*, or, as *Roderic* of *Toledo* calls him, *Alabor*, ſent a body of troops to ravage *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and the hither part of *Spain*, into which great numbers of the *Chriſtians* had retired, where they committed dreadful devaſtations; and, according to the laſt-mentioned author, impoſed an annual tribute upon thoſe provinces, as well as ſome other parts of *Spain* that had not yet been plundered by the *Arabs*. *Alahor* alſo treated with extreme ſeverity the *Chriſtians* ſettled at *Cordaba*, and even the *Moſlems* themſelves that firſt came into *Spain*; whom he oppreſſed with famine, impriſoned, and put to various kinds of tortures, to compel them to diſcover the treaſures they were ſuppoſed to have concealed. *Abd'alaziz*, the ſon of *Mûſa*, who married *Roderic*'s widow, and fixed his reſidence at *Seville*, is alſo ſaid to have been aſſaſſinated this year. It is likewiſe intimated by ſome of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians, that, before the concluſion of it, there happened a very remarkable ſolar eclipſe, which continued three hours, and was viſible all over *Spain*; during a conſiderable part of which, the ſtars, as in the night, very clearly appeared [s].

THO'

[s] THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p 334. CEDREN. ubi ſup. p. 452. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 75, 76. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 204. ISM. ABULFED. in hiſt. univ. EBN ARRAHEB, apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 105. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 378, 379. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Omar Ben Abd'alaziz*, p. 689.

RODERIC.

THO' *Omar* did not diſtinguiſh himſelf in a military capacity, he diſcovered a moſt humane and benevolent diſpoſition, and a remarkable affection for the houſe of *Ali*, on ſeveral occaſions. The ſuppreſſion of the ſolemn malediction above-mentioned was the firſt inconteſtable proof of this. The principal circumſtances preparatory to, and attending, that unexpected event, have been related in the following manner by *Khondemir*, the *Perſian* hiſtorian. *Omar*, having ſome converſation with a *Jew*, ſaid to him, amongſt other things, *Aſk of me one day or other in public my daughter in marriage.* This the *Jew* did, and was anſwered by the *Khalif*, *How can ſuch a thing be, ſince you and I are of different religions.* To this the *Jew* replied, *Did not* Mohammed *give his daughter in marriage to* Ali? *The caſe there*, ſaid *Omar*, *was quite different: for* Ali *was a* Moſlem, *and has been the commander of the faithful. Why then*, returned the *Jew*, *do you curſe him publickly in your moſques?* Upon which, the *Khalif*, turning his face towards the principal of his courtiers then preſent, ſaid to them, *Anſwer this* Jew. But finding them greatly embarraſſed, and that they had no anſwer to make, he declared, that, for the future, that malediction ſhould be ſuppreſſed; and that, in the room of it, there ſhould be pronounced the following verſe of the *Korân:* "Forgive us, LORD, our ſins; "pardon likewiſe all our brethren, who make profeſſion of "the ſame faith that we do ourſelves." *Ebn Shohnah* relates, that the verſe ſubſtituted in the room of the malediction was, "GOD commands us to obſerve juſtice, and do good." Which formula, however, according to that author, did not fully take place before the 100th year of the *Hejra*. That year likewiſe *Omar* conſtituted *Ayub Ebn Serjabil* governor of *Egypt*. This *Khalif* alſo, about the ſame time, as a mark of his regard for the race of *Ali*, ordered reſtitution to be made to his deſcendents of the territory of *Fidak*, given *Ali* by *Mohammed*, when he beſtowed his daughter upon him in marriage; and appointed a particular receiver to collect the revenues of that diſtrict, and diſtribute them amongſt thoſe that deduced their origin from the children *Ali* had by *Fâtema*, from time to time, by equal portions. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that many of the *Moſlems*, at this juncture, ſhould have declared openly, that the houſe of *Al Abbâs* had more right to the *Khalifat* than that of *Ommiyah*; as being deſcended in a direct line from *Abd'almotalleb*, the grandfather of *Mohammed*, as well as that of *Ali* himſelf, which had no other advantage over them, than that their great progenitor had eſpouſed *Fâtema*, the daughter of the prophet. For, that the ſubjects of the *Moſlem* em-

Who diſcovered on ſeveral occaſions a great affection for the family of Ali.

RODERIC. TOLETAN. hiſt. Arab. c. x. RASES, JOANNES VASÆUS, in Hiſp. chron. p. 701.

pire

pire began actually to talk after this manner, in the 100th year of the *Hejra*, we learn from ſome of the beſt oriental hiſtorians [t].

Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz's *death.*

THE following year, being the 101ſt year of the *Hejra*, and commencing *July* 24th, 719, one *Shûzib* having revolted againſt *Omar*, under divers religious pretexts, the *Khalif* wrote to him, that, if his intention was only to reform religion and the ſtate, whoſe intereſts he took to be inſeparable, he might come to court, where they would concert together the moſt proper meaſures for ſettling all points according to his deſire. Soon after *Shûzib* received the *Khalif*'s letter, he ſent two deputies to repreſent to him, that he had no ſubject of complaint againſt his perſon, as he could not but acknowledge him to be a very juſt and equitable prince; but that ſince, by his own conduct, he had viſibly condemned that of the *Khalifs* of his houſe and family, he ought to cauſe them to be curſed publickly in the moſques, as they had done to *Ali* and his poſterity, during their reſpective reigns. The deputies having executed their maſter's orders, *Omar* anſwered them in the following terms: "As what you require of me relates to another world, "and not to this, I ſhould think myſelf guilty of a very "great ſin, if I complied with your requeſt. For, we do "not find, that GOD has commanded his prophet to curſe "any one; nor are we authorized by his word to treat a per"ſon in that manner, on account of his wicked life; ſince "*Pharaoh* himſelf, who, with ſo much impudence arrogated "to himſelf divine honours, was never formally curſed for his "enormous crimes. Much leſs can I order a ſolemn male"diction to be publickly pronounced againſt the houſe of *Om*"*miyah*, my relations, who pray conſtantly at the uſual times, "obſerve the ſtated faſts, and perform all the other religious "duties of the *Moſlems*." The deputies, not being able to make any reply to ſo obvious a truth, opened to him another of their griefs, and ſaid, "But, Sir, ought ſo juſt and equi"table a prince, as your majeſty is, to leave his crown to an "impious and abandoned ſucceſſor?" The *Khalif* told them, that ſuch a caſe as this might poſſibly happen, and perhaps not; and that therefore they ought to leave to Providence the diſpoſal of future events. To which they inſtantly replied, that "they knew *Yezid Ebn Abd'almálec*, who had been de"clared his ſucceſſor, to be poſſeſſed of all the bad qualities "that could be inherent in the moſt flagitious prince." At theſe words, *Omar* could not forbear ſhedding tears, and de-

[t] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup.

fired

ſired three days time to think of a proper anſwer to what on this occaſion they had ſuggeſted to him. The members of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, having been apprized of the particulars of this conference between *Omar* and *Shûzib*'s deputies, were afraid leſt the *Khalif* ſhould change the order of ſucceſſion, and transfer the *Khalifat* to another family. For this reaſon, they reſolved to diſpatch him; and therefore bribed a ſlave to poiſon him; which villainous deſign was carried into execution this preſent year. He died the 25th of *Rajeb*, after a ſhort reign of two years five months and fourteen days, being then either 33, 37, 39, or 40, years of age, and was interred in the monaſtery of *St. Simeon*, ſituated near the little town of *Maharat*, one of the dependencies of *Hems*; tho' his ſepulchre was in the monaſtery of *The Cow* at *Maarra Noomani*, according to the common opinion. We muſt here beg leave to inform our readers, that *Maarra Noomani*, or *Maarra Al Nooman*, was a very large city of *Syria*, between *Hamath* and *Aleppo*, in the province of *Hems*, that derived its name from *Al Nooman Ebn Baſhir Al Sahabi*, and had annexed to it a territory of a very conſiderable extent. This diſtrict abounded with olives, figs, piſtachos, and various other kinds of fruits. It ſtood near the river *Kowaik*, that waſhes the ſuburbs of *Aleppo*; and a little to the ſouth of it there was formerly a ſepulchre, in which ſome of the *Syrian Arabs* ridiculouſly imagined the remains of *Joſhua*, the ſon of *Nun*, to have been depoſited; which might poſſibly have occaſioned the vulgar error mentioned by *Al Makîn*, relating to the ſituation of the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*'s tomb. But, for a particular deſcription of *Maarra Al Nooman*, or *Marra Noomani*, and its territory, we muſt refer our curious readers to the oriental geographers, who, in this point, will give them full and ample ſatisfaction [u].

THE *Chriſtians* of *Damaſcus* being perfectly well acquainted with the mild and equitable diſpoſition of this *Khalif*, complained to him of the violence offered them by his predeceſſor *Al Walid*, when he took from them by force the church of *St. John* in that city; and at the ſame time ſhewed him the inſtrument ſigned by *Khâled Ebn Al Walîd*, when *Damaſcus* was taken; by which the free exerciſe of their religion, and the poſſeſſion of all their churches, was to be effectually ſecured to them and their poſterity. They, therefore, humbly petitioned *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, that the ſaid church of *St. John* might, *A diſpute between the Chriſtians and Moſlems at Damaſcus.*

[u] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Omar Ben Abd'alaziz*, p. 689, 690. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. ISM. ABULFED. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi ſup. ABULFED. in Syr. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 276. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. in voc. *Maara*. Lugd. Batavor. 1732.

in consequence of that writing, be then restored to them. But the *Khalif*, apprehending that such a restitution might excite commotions amongst the *Moslems*, begged, that, in lieu of their church, they would accept of the sum of money that had been offered them by *Al Walid* on the same occasion, namely, 40,000 *dinârs*, and with it build a new church in some other part of the town. The *Christians* absolutely refusing this, they were told by *Abu Edris Al Holwâni*, that, by virtue of the instrument mentioned, they were, indeed, intituled to the possession of all their churches in that part of the city, which was taken by capitulation; but that all those in the other part, which was carried by storm, by right of conquest, belonged to the *Moslems*. In order, therefore, to settle this affair to the satisfaction of both parties, he proposed, that the church of *St. John*, which the *Khalif* had ordered to be restored to them, upon their refusal of the money offered, should be ceded by the *Christians* to the *Moslems*; and that, upon this condition, the former should remain in possession of all the churches in that part of the town, and the territory belonging to it, laid claim to by the latter. This, after much wrangling and altercation, was agreed to on both sides, and confirmed by *Omar*, who wrote out an instrument, or schedule, with his own hand, to prevent any future incroachments. But, notwithstanding the uprightness and integrity of the *Khalif*, this must be allowed to have been an iniquitous decision. For, as *Khâled Ebn Al Walid*, who took one part of *Damascus* sword in hand, granted by the aforesaid schedule, that he signed, and which was the result of the *Khalif*'s own particular decision, the possession of all the churches in that quarter to the *Christians*, and their posterity, through every future period of time; so the validity of this schedule ought not to have been denied, nor even called in question by any succeeding *Khalif*, or *Moslem* power, whatsoever [w].

His behaviour in his last sickness.

We are told by *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoandshah*, that when the poison taken by *Omar* began to operate upon him, and he was very ill in bed, his friends represented to him, that he ought to make use of some remedy for the recovery of his health. But he told them, that he was so perfectly resigned to the will of God, and so firmly persuaded of the fatal and inevitable term of human life, that he would not so much as rub the tip of his ear with a little oil, in order to be cured of his present indisposition. The same author adds, that he was so extremely frugal, that he took no more than two *dinârs* a day out of the royal treasury, for the subsistence of himself

[w] Al Makin, p. 77. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 378—383. Al Waked.

and

and his domestics; that he never wore any rich or sumptuous apparel; and that his *Divan* was generally held in a place but little illuminated, where he sat always upon the ground [x].

As a farther instance of this *Khalif*'s great humility, it has been observed by *Abu'l Faraj*, that when he was visited by *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec*, in his last sickness, he lay upon a bed made of palm-tree leaves, supported by a pillow formed of beasts skins, and covered with a common ordinary garment. His lips appeared flaccid and of a livid colour, and he had on a dirty shirt. *Moslema* could not forbear blaming his sister *Fâtema*, who was *Omar*'s wife, for suffering the emperor of the faithful to be exhibited to any person's view in so mean and sordid a condition. But, in order to justify her own conduct on this occasion, she assured *Moslema*, that the *Khalif* had never another shirt to put on; which, after thanks had been returned to GOD, for enduing so great a prince with such a meek and humble disposition, drew tears from that general. This writer has farther remarked, that the daily expence of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* did not amount to above two *dirhêms* [y]. *A further instance of his great humility and frugality.*

ONE of the principal *Moslem* doctors, named *Majûshûn*, falling into a trance, and being looked upon as dead by all the people about him, was accosted by an angel, that carried his soul to the gate of the first heaven; which was immediately opened to them. From thence they continued their journey to the seventh heaven, where *Mohammed* is supposed to reside. Upon their entrance, the angel, that conducted *Majûshûn*'s soul thither, being asked who he had brought with him? answered, *Majûshûn*. *He is not*, said another angel, *to be admitted into this place, before the expiration of a certain period of time.* The *Moslem* doctor, therefore, was reconducted to the planet from whence he came by his celestial guide. However, *Majûshûn* informed his friends (for he himself, it seems, published this account of his pretended vision) that he had a transient view of the inhabitants of the seventh heaven, and particularly of *Mohammed*, who had on each side of him *Abu Beer* and *Omar*, and held *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* in his bosom, and between his arms. *Majûshûn*, being surprized that the latter should have a more honourable situation assigned him in heaven than the former, asked the reason of this, and received for answer, that *Abu Beer* and *Omar* had been eminent for their justice and good works at a time when the *Moslems* were distinguished by their piety and zeal for the true religion; but that *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* surpassed them in this, Majûshûn's *vision.*

[x] MOHAMMED EBN EMIR KHOANDSHAH. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 205.

[y] GREG.

that he poſſeſſed all their virtues in an age of injuſtice and corruption [z].

Omar's *character.*

WITH regard to his perſon, *Omar* was ſwarthy, as moſt of the *Arabs* are, lean, had a handſome face, and in it the ſcar of a wound he had received from a wild beaſt in his younger years. Notwithſtanding his youth, he had a conſiderable number of grey hairs, which probably made him appear ſomething older than he really was. As to his diſpoſition, he was extremely juſt, religious, and devout; and had fixed his mind, in a manner from his infancy, intirely upon the other world. He ſeems to have been the brighteſt ornament of the *Moſlems* in that wicked and degenerate age. After his death, the houſe to which he uſed frequently to retire, being then ſhut up, was opened; the *Arabs* hoping to diſcover a conſiderable treaſure in it: but, upon examination, they found only there a cloſe thick riding veſt, that he ſometimes wore, and a ſort of rope or cord hung up, with which he now-and-then amuſed himſelf, after his ſpirits had been exhauſted by long and fervent prayer. His ſecretaries of ſtate were *Raja Ebn Yahya Al Kendi*, *Soliman*'s viſir, and *Ebn Abi Rakia*; his judge, or *Kadi*, *Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id Al Anſali*; the captain of his guards, *Rawah Ebn Yezid Al Sakſaki*; and his chamberlains, *Hobaiſh* and *Raja*, his ſervants. The inſcription of his ſeal was, OMAR *the ſon of* ABD'ALAZIZ *believes in* GOD. The firſt day of his *Khalifat* was *Saturday*, and the laſt *Friday*. The reaſon why *Soliman* preferred him to his own children was, becauſe they were too young to aſcend the *Moſlem* throne, as may be inferred from *Abu'l-Faraj*. The authors followed by *Al Makin* make his mother to have been the daughter of the ſecond *Khalif Omar*; who, they ſay, before his death, declared, that his daughter ſhould bring forth a ſon, who would fill the world with juſtice. We have a particular hiſtory of the life and actions of this *Khalif*, compoſed by *Mohammed Ebn Hoſein Al Ajari*, a writer of conſiderable note, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 360 [a].

SECT. XV.

Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec *ſucceeds* Omar.

AS *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, by his brother *Soliman*'s late ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, was to aſcend the *Moſlem* throne after the death of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, he was ſaluted *Khalif* the ſame day that his predeceſſor died. His mother *Atecah* was the daughter of *Yezid Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn*

[z] Aut. RABI AL AKYAR. [a] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, KHONDEMIR, et D'HERBEL. ubi ſup.

Abu

Abu Sofiân, and the surname usually applied to him *Abu Khâled*. 'Tis worthy observation, that the *Arab* historians have transmitted down to posterity the names of their emperors mothers, in the same manner as some of the sacred writers have done those of the mothers of the kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. Nor is this to be wondered at; the customs of the *Arabs*, as well as their phrases, proverbs, and manner of expression, having all along, in most particulars, agreed with those of the *Hebrews*, who flourished even in some of the earliest periods of the world [b].

Moslema reduces the rebel Yezid, and drives the Turks out of Aderbijan.

As soon as *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec* came to the crown, he removed all the governors of provinces, who had been promoted to their respective posts by his predecessor *Omar*; which undoubtedly excited several commotions in the empire. These, however, were probably soon extinguished, as we scarce find any mention made of them in history. But the rebellion of *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra*, which happened in the year of the *Hejra* 101, created a good deal of trouble to the *Khalif*. *Yezid*, knowing that this prince, by his ill qualities, had rendered himself extremely disagreeable to the *Moslems*, renounced his allegiance to him; and, having drawn together a strong body of troops at *Basra*, advanced to *Cûfa*, the capital of the *Arabian Irâk*, where he met with a considerable reinforcement. *Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, being informed of *Ebn-l Mohalleb*'s defection, sent his brother *Moslema* and *Al Ablâs Ebn Al Walid* against him, at the head of a powerful army; who, coming up with the rebels, fell upon them with such fury, that they slew a great number of them upon the spot, and put the rest to flight. *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb* himself having been killed in the action, *Moslema* ordered his head to be cut off, and sent it immediately to the *Khalif*. However, *Ebn Al Mohalleb*'s son *Moawiyah*, with some of his father's troops, made his escape to *Hormûz*, where the rebel *Yezid* had before built a fortress, that was deemed impregnable, in order to serve him for a retreat, in case any misfortunes should happen to him. But his governor there refusing to open the gates to *Moawiyah*, he was pursued by the *Khalif*'s generals, after several other successive defeats, as far as the *Indus*. The writers followed by *Al Makin*, however, give us a different account of *Moawiyah*'s motions. After his father had been overthrown, according to them, he fled with great precipitation to *Wâset*,

[b] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 78. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 205. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 382, 383. 2 King. xxi. 1. xxii. 1. xxiii. 31. xxiv. 8. 2 Chron. xxii. 2. xxiv 1. xxv. 1. xxvi. 3 et alib. pass. Univ. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 356, 376, 392—395.

where he found *Adi Ebn Artah*, the *Khalif*'s governor of *Basra*, whom he ordered, with thirty-two of his men, to be put to the sword. From *Wâset*, if we will believe these authors, *Moâwiyah* and his troops made the best of their way to *Basra*, and afterwards endeavoured to reach *Sindia*; but, being overtaken by a body of the *Khalif*'s forces, under the command of *Halal Ebn Akhûr Al Mazâni*, sent in pursuit of them by *Moslema*, they were all either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; and the latter being conducted to *Damascus* by the general's order, *Yezid* caused them all to be put to death. *Moslema*, for his eminent services, was appointed by the *Khalif* governor of *Irâk*, and had the lieutenancy of *Khorasân* also conferred upon him: but, upon some disgust, as it should seem, he was soon deprived of both those posts, and succeeded in them by *Omar Ebn Habira Al Fozari*; tho', according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Omar* presided over *Khorasân*, as well as both the *Persian* and *Arabian Irâk*, before the extinction of the late rebellion. Nor does it appear from that author, that *Moslema* had ever the direction or management of affairs in any of those provinces. *Omar*, being settled in his government, sent a body of the *Moslem* troops, under the conduct of *Al Jarah Ebn Abd'allah*, either to make an irruption into the *Turkish* territories, or to force the *Turks* to abandon the *Moslem* provinces. *Al Jarah* executed his orders with great bravery, made himself master of a fortress called *Meltabar*, or *Meltabara*, placed in *Al Turk*, or *Turkestân*, by *Al Makîn*, and drove *Ebn Háf*, the *Turkish Khân*, or *Khakân*, before him from place to place. But notwithstanding this, the *Khân*, having received a reinforcement, waited for *Al Jarah* at *Ardebil*, in the province of *Aderbijân*, engaged him there, and, after a vigorous action, intirely defeated him, putting both him and the greatest part of the troops he commanded to the sword. However, *Moslema*, in a short time, advancing against *Ebn Háf* with another *Arab* army, at last came up with him, overthrew him in a pitched battle, and forced the enemy to abandon not only the province of *Aderbijân*, but every other part of the *Khalif*'s dominions. About the same time, *Yezid* deprived *Ayub Ebn Serjabil* of the government of *Egypt*, to which honourable post he had been advanced by *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, and substituted in his room *Bashar Ebn Safwân Al Calbi*; who was afterwards sent to *Africa*, and succeeded by his brother, *Handalah Ebn Safwân*, in *Egypt*. But, upon his being deposed in the 104th year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, by the *Khalif*'s appointment, assumed to himself the lieutenancy of that country. All which events, according to the eastern historians, were some of the transactions

actions of the 101st, 102d, 103d, and 104th, years of the *Hejra* [c].

Little said of this Khalif by the Greek writers.

We find little said of this *Khalif* by the *Greek* writers. *Theophanes* only observes, that *Izid*, the name he gives *Yezid*, succeeded *Umar*, or *Omar*, who reigned but two years and four months; that this *Izid*, at the instigation of a *Jew* of *Laodicea*, who promised him a reign of forty years, as a reward for his impiety, published an edict against images, injoining his subjects to destroy all those erected by the *Christians* in their churches throughout the *Moslem* empire; that he slew *Izid*, the son of *Mualab*, that is, *Yezid Ebn Al Mohalleb*, who had rebelled against him, and reduced the provinces he had seized upon to his obedience; and, lastly, that he died, after he had sat upon the *Moslem* throne about four years, before his infernal edict, relating to the destruction of images, could either be sufficiently promulged, or put in execution. *Cedrenus* speaks of him in much the same terms. *Dionysius Telmarensis* relates, that this *Khalif* commanded his subjects to exterminate white dogs, white pigeons, white cocks, and, in short, all other animals of the same colour; and that he issued the decree relating to this extermination in the year of our Lord 725. He also raised a persecution against the *Christians*, forbad a *Christian* to be admitted an evidence against a *Moslem*, and fixed the value or price of the latter at double that of the former, according to this author, the same year [d].

Account of the Moslem affairs in Spain during this Khalif's reign.

About the time of *Yezid Ebn Mohalleb*'s defection in *Irâk*, one *Zama* had the command of the *Moslem* forces in *Spain*. He introduced some innovations, relating to the disposition of the tribute exacted of the *Christians* in that country; which probably rendered him more unacceptable to many of the *Arabs* there than even the worst of his predecessors. *Zama*, having received orders to extend the *Moslem* conquests in those western parts of the world, passed the *Pyrenees* with a powerful army, took the city of *Narbonne*, the capital of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and laid siege to *Toloja*, at present known by the name of *Tholouse*, or *Toulouse*. But here he was deserted by the good fortune that had hitherto attended him. *Eudo*, called by some

[c] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 78, 79. Ebn Shohnah, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Khondemir, Colii not. ad Alfragan. p. 119 Yakut, Ism. Abulfed. Ebn Hawkal, Nassir Al Tusi, five Nassir Ettusæus, op. et stud. Johan. Grav. Oxon. 1711. D'Herbel Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jezid Ben Abd'almalek*, p. 486. [d] Theophan. chronograph. p. 336, 337, 338 Georg. Cedren. historiar. compend. p. 453. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 105. Romæ, 1721.

of the *French* writers count *Eudes*, general of the *Franks*, or the *French*, came to the relief of the beſieged, attacked *Zama* in his camp, killed him and a great number of his men upon the ſpot, and forced the reſt to abandon the ſiege. Not content with this victory, he marched afterwards to *Narbonne*, retook that place, and of courſe obliged the enemy to retire out of the province to which it belonged. *Yezid*, having received advice of what had happened, ſent *Azam*, or *Adham*, *Ebn Malec*, with a body of troops, into *Spain*, to protect the *Arab* conqueſts there from the inſults of the *French*, and enable the *Moſlems* to repair the loſs they had ſuſtained. He reduced ſeveral fortified places in *Spain*, that had not before ſubmitted to the *Arabs*, extended the tribute to be paid into the *Khalif*'s coffers, built the famous bridge at *Corduba*, in the 102d year of the *Hejra*, and was at laſt aſſaſſinated by his own people at *Tortoſa*. Some of the *Spaniſh* writers make *Zama* and *Azam* to have been the ſame perſon; nor does ſuch a notion appear to us at all improbable. Be that as it will, after the defeat and death of *Zama*, the *Arabs* choſe one *Abd'alrahmân* for their leader, who preſided over them in *Spain* till the arrival of a new governor from the *Moſlem* court. The *Khalif*, being informed of the murder of *Azam*, conſtituted one *Ambiza* his lieutenant in *Spain*, about the year of the *Hejra* 103; who made ſeveral incurſions upon the territories of the *French*; tho' he rather meditated, than was directly engaged in, a war againſt that people. Towards the concluſion of his government, he propoſed to invade that part of the enemy's country bordering upon the frontiers of *Spain*: but ſoon after he had begun his march, in what manner we have not been told by any of the *Spaniſh* writers, a period was put to his days; and, before his death, he reſigned to one *Odra* the command of the *Moſlem* army deſtined to act againſt the *French*, which, after that unexpected event, immediately returned home. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that, during this interval, *Pelagius* wreſted the city of *Leon* out of the hands of the *Arabs*, and gained ſeveral other very important advantages over them. This prince is ſaid to have been the firſt who took for his coat of arms a red lion in a white field, in which he was afterwards followed by his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of *Leon*. Some of the *Spaniſh* writers inform us, that, at this time, there were ſeveral *Arab* princes, or *Emirs*, in *Spain*; and that the chief of theſe, who was properly the *Khalif*'s governor, or viceroy, had the title of the king of *Corduba*. But thoſe writers have by no means given us, in their relations of what happened during the period immediately following the firſt ſettlement of the *Arabs* in *Spain*,

a clear and distinct account either of their own or the *Moslem* affairs [c].

As *Yezid Ebn Abd'almálec* was much addicted to pleasure, even in the *Khalifat* of his brother *Solimán*, he then bought a singing girl, named *Hababah*, of whom he was passionately fond, for 4000 *dinárs*; but *Solimán*, thinking this a disgrace to him, obliged him to part with her, and she was afterwards purchased by an *Egyptian*. *Saada*, *Yezid*'s wife, being desirous of ingratiating herself in a more particular manner with her husband, once asked him, when he was *Khalif*, whether there was any thing in the world that he yet desired, after his elevation to the *Moslem* throne? He answered, *Yes*, Hababah. Upon which, *Saada* procured her for him; which wonderfully conciliated his affections to her. He had likewise another concubine, called *Selamah*, that he tenderly loved. Being in that part of *Palestine*, called *Belad al Arden*, or *Belad al Ordonna*, that is, the country, or plain, of *Jordan*, and diverting himself in a garden with *Hababah*, whom he loved to distraction, there; he was served at his collation with some of the most excellent fruits of that charming country. During this little repast, he threw a grape at her, which she immediately took up, and put to her mouth, in order to eat it; but being too large, and passing across her throat, it stuck in the passage without a possibility of being removed; so that she lost her breath, and was suffocated in an instant. So we find this matter related by *Khondemir*. But the grape stuck some time in her gullet, and only occasioned a disorder that at last terminated in her death, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. Be that as it will, this melancholy accident so affected *Yezid*, that he fell into an excess of grief, and was inconsolable for the loss of so amiable an object. Nay, the transport of his love and of his sorrow carried him so far on this occasion, that he would not suffer the body of his deceased mistress to be interred for a week, according to *Khondemir*, or three days, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*. Nor would he have permitted it then to be inhumed, had it not been for the repeated instances of his domestics, who could no longer bear the intolerable stink of the dead carcase. However, the sepulchre itself was not able to cure his frenzy. He ordered that to be opened, and the body to be exposed once more to his view. In fine, being incapable of moderating his grief, he survived his dear *Halalah* only fifteen days; and, before he expired, he ordered his remains to be deposited in a grave near her tomb. This sor-

Yezid's death and character.

[c] Roderic. Toletan. hist. Arab. c. xi. Rasis, Chronic. reg. Alfons. Joannes Vasæus, in Hispan. chronic. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jezid Ben Abd'almalek*, p. 486, 487.

rowful event happened in the 105th year of the *Hejra*, after he had reigned a little above four years. With regard to his perſon, he was a man of a fair complexion, had good features, and a round face. As for his character, he was extremely indolent, ſquandered away vaſt ſums of money upon his wives, concubines, and diverſions of various kinds, and was a ſlave to his paſſions; as in ſome meaſure appears from what has been already obſerved, and might be farther confirmed by other ſtories related of him, were it in any manner neceſſary. His ſecretaries were ſucceſſively *Omar Ebn Habira*, *Ibrahim Ebn Habla*, and *Aſama Ebn Zeid Al Selihi*; his judges, or *Kâdis*, *Abd'alrahman Al Haſhabaſh* and *Sa'id Ebn Abu Wafad*; the captain of his guards, *Caab Ebn Khâled Al Abôſi*; and his chamberlains, *Sa'id*, his ſervant, and *Khâled*, his freedman. He died, according to ſome of the eaſtern writers, in *Paleſtine*; or, as others will have it, at *Harrân* in *Meſopotamia*, on the 23d day of the month *Shaaban*; being then about 29, 31, 33, or 37, (for ſo much do authors differ amongſt themſelves) years of age. Nay, ſome hiſtorians write, that he died of a conſumption, after he had declared his brother *Heſhâm Ebn Abd'almâlec* his ſucceſſor, when he was about forty years of age. *Yezid*, a little before his death, ſent one *Yahya Ebn Solimân* to take upon him the command of the *Moſlem* forces in *Spain*. This *Yahya* was a perſon of great ſagacity, diſcernment, and penetration; but had ſomething of cruelty in his temper. However, he was a lover of juſtice, and obliged the *Arabs* to reſtore to the *Chriſtians* all the effects of which they had unjuſtly deprived them in time of peace. It may not be improper to remark, that the name, or ſurname, *Miramolin*, or *Amiramomen*, frequently applied by the *Spaniſh* writers to the *Khalifs*, is only a corruption of the words *Amiro'l Mumenin*, *Amiro'lmumenin*, or *Emir l Mumenin*, *emperor of the believers*. The moſt exact of the *Moſlem* authors inform us, that the firſt day of *Yezid*'s reign was *Saturday*, tho' in this they are not perfectly conſiſtent with themſelves, and the laſt *Tueſday*; and that the duration of his *Khalifat* was preciſely four years and twenty-nine days [f].

SECT. XVI.

Heſham ſucceeds Yezid.

HESHAM EBN ABD'ALMALEC, upon his brother *Yezid*'s deceaſe, was elevated to the *Khalifat*, towards the cloſe of the month *Shaabân*, in the year of the *Hejra* 105. He

[f] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 77, 78, 79. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 205, 206. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 382—385. KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. JOANNES VASÆUS, &c. ubi ſup.

was

was surnamed *Abu'l Walid*, and his mother was *Fâtema*, surnamed *Omm Hâshem*, the daughter of *Hâshem Ebn Ismael Ebn Hâshem Ebn Al Walid Al Makhzumi*. His uncle *Yezid* nominated *Hesham* his successor a little before his death, on condition that his own son *Al Walid*, after the demise of that prince, should be called to the succession. When *Yezid* died, *Hesham* was at *Rusafa*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*; but as soon as he received advice of his advancement to the *Khalifat*, he mounted his horse, and came directly to *Damascus*. Soon after his promotion, he appointed *Khâled Ebn Abd'allah Al Karli* his lieutenant of *Irâk*, and removed his brother, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec*, from his government of *Egypt*; substituting in his room his cousin, *Hasan Ebn Yusef Ebn Yahya*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who continued in that post till the year of the *Hejra* 108. Nothing very material happened in the *Moslem* empire, an account of which has been handed down to us by the *Arab* historians, during the first year of *Hesham*'s reign g.

Hesham's arms not attended with success against the Greeks.

It seems, however, to be intimated by *Theophanes*, that *Hesham* planted gardens and orchards, cultivated the fruitful parts of his territories contiguous to the emperor's dominions, and built palaces in several of the provinces subjugated by the *Arabs*, in the 105th and the 106th years of the *Hejra*. This writer likewise gives us to understand, that, about the same time, he undertook an expedition against the *Greeks*; but was obliged to retire with shame, after he had lost a great number of men, into *Syria*. *Cedrenus* is silent as to the *Arab* affairs, during the 106th year of the *Moslem* æra. *Dionysius Telmarensis* only observes, that *Hesham* succeeded *Yezid*; and that the following year, or the 106th of the *Hejra*, *Abib*, bishop of *Edessa*, whose successor was named *Constantine*, departed this life. Nor does it appear, from the *Spanish* historians, that any thing remarkable, during the latter of those years, happened in *Spain* h.

Some dirhems struck at Rusâfa, in the year of the Hejra 105.

However, before we conclude our account of the events of the year 105, it may not be improper to observe, that some *dirhems* were coined in the mint that had been set up either at *Rusâfa*, or *Rusaka*, this year; as may be inferred from one of those *dirhems* found at *Stegen*, a village near *Dantzick*, the 2d day of *June*, 1722. On the reverse of this piece is exhibited

g Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 80. Eutych. ubi sup. p 384, 385. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 206. D'Herbel. Bibl. orient. in art. *Hischiam Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 450. h Theophan. chronograph. p. 338. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. ubi sup. p. 105, 106. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Assman. ibid.

hibited the following inſcription, in the *Cufic* character, MOHAMMED *is the apoſtle of* GOD, *he is the perfect gift*; and, on the other ſide, theſe words, *Ber Rufakata*, or *Ruſafata*, the letters of which the ſecond word here is compoſed being but indifferently preſerved, *chamſan wamecaten*; i. e. *at* Rufaka, *or* Ruſafa, *in the year* 105. By which we are informed, that this *dirhem* was ſtruck either at *Rufaka*, or *Ruſafa*, in the 105th year of the *Hejra*, and, as it ſhould ſeem, the firſt of the *Khalif Heſhâm*. This we learn from M. *Kehr*, who, tho' he is not able preciſely to determine in which of thoſe places the piece was coined, is inclined to think, that it muſt have been ſent out of the mint erected in the latter of them; as ſuch a notion is not only countenanced by the letters themſelves, but likewiſe by that part of the *Arab* hiſtory we are now upon, which informs us, that *Heſhâm* was proclaimed *Khalif* at *Ruſâfa* the very year in which this *dirhem* was ſtruck. To what has been advanced on this occaſion by M. *Kehr*, we muſt here beg leave to add, that the piece in view could not have been coined at *Rufaka*, or, as 'tis called by *Golius*, *Rafika*; becauſe that city was founded by *Abu Jaafar Al Manſur*, who did not mount the *Moſlem* throne till the 136th year of the *Hejra*, and conſequently did not exiſt 31 years before. M. *Kehr* muſt, therefore, have been miſtaken, when he ſuppoſes, that the *dirhem* might have been ſtruck at *Rufaka*, as well as *Ruſâfa*, in the year of the *Hejra* 105; and that it is ſomething difficult to determine to which of thoſe cities it belongs. *Ruſafa* and *Rufaka* were both of them cities of *Meſopotamia*, ſeated at a ſmall diſtance from *Rakka*, upon the eaſtern bank of the *Euphrates*. The former of them ſeems to be the *Rheſcipha* of *Ptolemy* (Ῥησκίφα) and is frequently mentioned by the *Syriac* writers [h].

The Arabs make ſeveral irruptions into the imperial territories.

IN the 107th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *May* 19th, 725, *Moſlema*, or *Maſalmas*, as he is called by the *Greek* writers, took *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*; and *Moâwiyah Ebn Heſhâm*, another of the *Arab* generals, made an irruption into the *Chriſtian* territories, doing irreparable damage in the provinces through which he moved. This year likewiſe, *Amer*, one of the *Moſlem* commanders inveſted *Nicæa* in *Bithynia* with a body of 15,000 men; after which, *Moâwiyah*, coming up with an army of 85,000 men, formed the ſiege of that city. The *Arabs* battered the walls with ſuch fury, that they levelled a great part of them with the ground, and made ſeveral general aſſaults; but were every time beaten off with incredible loſs, and at laſt forced to abandon the ſiege. *Dionyſius Telmarenſis* relates,

[h] GEORG. JAC. KEHR, in monarch. Aſiatico-Saracenic. ſtat. &c. p. 21. Lipſiæ, 1724. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 253, 254. PTOL. geograph. lib. v. c. 18. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. diſſ. de Monophyſ.

that

that *Moslema*, or *Maslamas*, made himself master of *Neocæsarea* this year, and carried away all the inhabitants with him prisoners, except the *Jews*, who betrayed the place into his hands. The *Spanish* writers make no mention of any military operations this year in *Spain*; but only inform us, that *Hesham* permitted both the *Arabs* and *Christians* in that country to enjoy the sweets of peace, and sent one *Ibahea*, or *Yahya*, an *Arab* of note, to govern his subjects there [i].

THE following year, being the 108th of the *Hejra*, commencing *May* 8th, 726, the *Arabs*, under the conduct of *amasses Moawiyah*, invaded the imperial territories, carried a fortress *immense* there by assault, and then returned home. About the same time, *Hafas Ebn Al Walid*, upon the abdication of *Hasan Ebn Yusef*, was appointed governor of *Egypt*. Nothing material passed this year in *Spain*; the *Moslem* commanders there being wholly employed in amassing treasures for *Hesham*, who was richer, as well as more covetous, than any of his predecessors. According to *Eutychius*, one *Constantine* was constituted patriarch of *Constantinople* either this or the preceding year [k].

Hesham *treasures.*

THE next year, being the 109th of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 28th, 727, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almalec* attacked the *Turks*, or, as they are called by some of the eastern writers, the *Huns*, Turks *out* that is, the subjects of the *Khakan*, who had made an irruption into *Armenia*, and forced them to conclude a treaty of peace with him. He also penetrated the same year to the defile called the *Portæ Caspiæ* by the antients, not far from the *Caspian* sea; which had served as a sort of barrier to the *Moslem* empire on that side, before the late irruption; the *Turks*, or *Huns*, having been long shut up by it in the country that properly appertained to them. This affair is, however, differently related by *Theophanes*, who tells us, that the son of the *Khakan* invaded *Armenia* and *Aderbijan* with a powerful army, overthrew *Garach*, or *Al Jarah*, the *Arab* general, who pretended to oppose him, committed dreadful devastations in that province, and then returned home. But *Dionysius Telmarensis*, to whom we are indebted for the former relation, living at no great distance from the scene of action, not much above forty years after this campaign, and agreeing better with what we find recorded of the reign of *Hesham* by the *Arab* historians than the *Greek* writers, we shall not scruple to prefer his authority to that of

Moslema *drives the* Turks *out of* Armenia.

[i] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 338, 339, 340. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. p. 106. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN in hist. Arab. c. xii. ISIDOR. PACENS. Chronic. reg. Alphonsi. JOANNES VASÆUS, in Hispan illustrat. p. 701. Francof. 1603. [k] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 340. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 384, 385.

Theo-

Theophanes, whose inaccuracy with regard to the *Moslem* affairs has already been touched upon, in the point before us [l].

The Arabs *invade* France;

Some of the *French* and *Spanish* authors maintain, that *Eudo*, duke of *Aquitain*, called by the later *French* writers count *Eudes*, being about this time defeated and put to flight by *Charles Martel*, demanded assistance of the *Arabs*, who had possessed themselves of *Spain*, against that conqueror. The *Moslems*, continue the same authors, accepting of this invitation, passed the *Pyrenees*, and advanced into *Gascoign*, to the number of 400,000 souls, women, children, and slaves, included, under the command of one *Abd'alrahmân*; imagining, that they should make themselves masters of that province without striking a stroke. They committed dreadful ravages in their march; pillaging every place, both sacred and profane, without distinction, through which they moved. This expedition is, however, placed some years later by *Roderic* of *Toledo*, who seems to have reason on his side. He also gives us to understand, that, about the year we are now upon, this prince's avarice occasioned commotions in several parts of the empire; which were not without great difficulty, and a very copious effusion of human blood, appeased [m].

and are defeated by Charles Martel.

In the 110th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 17th, 728, *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec* advanced with a body of *Arab* troops to the coast of the *Caspian* sea, restored the fortifications of the aforesaid defile that had been destroyed by the *Turks* in their late irruption into *Armenia*, seized upon *Derbent* at the foot of mount *Caucasus*, together with the district belonging to it, and obliged the *Turks* to take an oath never to pass their own frontiers, in order to disturb the repose of the *Moslem* territories. But they soon violating that oath, and invading *Armenia*, he attacked them with such bravery, that he forced them to retire into their own dominions. After which, he appointed *Merwân Ebn Mohammed* governor of *Armenia*, and then returned into *Syria*. *Theophanes*, therefore, deserves little regard, when he intimates, that *Moslema* was worsted this year by the *Turks* in a general action, and, after having sustained a very great loss, obliged to fly into the *Khalif*'s territories with the utmost precipitation. About this time, *Abd'almâlec Ebn Resa'a* succeeded *Hasas Ebn Al Walid Al Hadrami* in the government of *Egypt*. Some of the

[l] Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Abu Jaabar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. Theophan ubi sup. p. 341. Strab. lib. xi. Arrian. lib. iii. Dionys. perieg. vers. 1039. Isidorus Characenus, p. 6. de urb. Charac. Plin. lib. vi. c. 15. [m] Annal. Francor. Jacobus Meyerus, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jezid Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 436. Joannes Vasæus, ubi sup. Roderic. Toletan. hist. Arab. c. xii, xiii, xiv. *French*

French and *Spanish* writers relate, that *Eudo*, being vastly terrified at the approach of such a multitude of *Arabs*, as that above-mentioned, who laid waste the country through which they marched, joined *Charles Martel* with all his forces, and, in conjunction with him, attacked the infidels this year near *Tours* with so much courage, that they were overthrown with incredible slaughter; no less than 375,000 of them, amongst whom were *Abd'alrahmân*, the *Arab* general himself, and almost all the officers and persons of distinction that served under him, having been killed in the action. Of the *Christians* no more than 1500 are said to have been missing, after the end of the engagement. This blow, however, was not given the *Moslems*, according to *Roderic* of *Toledo*, so early as the 110th year of the *Hejra*. That author scruples not to affirm, that not only *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gascoign*, but likewise *Calabria* and part of *Apulia*, if not *Sicily* itself, about this time, tho' before the overthrow at *Tours*, acknowledged the sovereignty of the *Khalf*.

THE following year, being the 111th of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 6th, 729, one *Cosmas*, of the *Melchite* persuasion, was constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*; who, if we will believe *Eutychius*, could neither write nor read. Be that as it will, upon his arrival at *Damascus*, he met with a gracious reception from *Hesham*, who, after he had had a conference with him, wrote to *Abd'allah Ebn Al Jihân Al Sakwi*, his lieutenant of *Egypt*, to put the *Melchites*, under *Cosmas*'s government and direction, in possession of all the churches that had been occupied by the *Jacobites* in *Alexandria* for the space of ninety-seven years; that is, from the third year of *Omar Ebn Al Khattâb* to the seventh of the *Khalif Hesham*; during which interval, the *Jacobites* had remained masters of all the *Christian* churches in *Egypt*, except that of St. *Saba* at *Alexandria*, and that of St. *Michael* in *Kasr Al Shama'*, to which the *Melchites* had been confined. Nor did the *Jacobite* patriarch of *Alexandria* only supply *Egypt* with bishops for so long a term, but he likewise sent many others into *Nubia*; the people of which kingdom, till the seventh year of *Hesham*, were almost intirely of the *Jacobite* persuasion. This uncommon favour was, however, not granted *Cosmas* by the *Khalf* without the interposition of several learned men, and even many valuable presents, which he brought with him to *Damascus*, to facilitate the execution of his project, according to *Al Makin*. That historian, nevertheless, seems to advance

The Jacobites *dispossessed of their churches in* Egypt.

[n] DIONYS. TELMARENS. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Heschiam Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 451. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 341, 342. JACOBUS MEYERUS, JOANNES VASÆUS, et RODERICUS TOLETANUS, ubi sup.

this last particular without proper authority to support it, as not the least mention has been made of it by *Eutychius*, the author followed by him on this occasion; tho' he represents *Cosmas* as a maker of needles before his elevation to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and altogether illiterate; which seems to imply, that either a rich present, or a good round sum of money, was necessary to influence the *Khalif* in his favour. Be that as it will, the former author is most certainly mistaken, when he affirms this event to have happened in the third year of the *Khalifat* of *Hesham*; since the latter, whom he pretends to have transcribed on this occasion, asserts, in express terms, that *Cosmas* was advanced to the patriarchal dignity in the seventh year of that prince's reign. As this point of conduct in the *Khalif*, whatever was the motive to it, produced a sort of ecclesiastical revolution amongst the *Christians* in *Egypt*, we could not prevail upon ourselves to omit inserting an account of so remarkable a transaction, tho' not immediately relating to the history of the *Arabs*, here °.

The Moslems invade Cappadocia.

ABOUT the same time, as we are told by an eastern writer, *Hesham* ordered several towns and villages to be built on the river *Zaitun*, which seems to have derived its name from *Zaita*, or *Zeita*, a town about sixty stadia, or furlongs, from *Karkisia*, or *Kirkisia*, the *Circusium*, or *Circesium*, of the antients, in that part of *Mesopotamia* called by the *Arabs Diyar Rabia*, or rather *Diyar Modar*, according to *Golius*. This place has been taken notice of by *Zosimus*, the historian. *Moslema Ebn Abd'almâlec*, the *Khalif*'s brother, and general, is also said to have erected at this time some towns and castles on the river *Beth-Calas*; but with what view or design the *Arabs* built any forts there, we are not told by any author. That general afterwards, with a body of the *Moslem* forces, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and reduced there a fortress of considerable strength. This year the *Khalif*'s governor of *Africa* sent a new lieutenant, named *Odoysa*, into *Spain*; who, being a person of great levity and inexperience, by no means proved acceptable to the *Arabs* there. Him, therefore, *Hesham* thought fit soon to remove from that post, and to substitute *Yaman Ebn Abinaza* in his room. *Yaman* continued in his government about five months, and, after the expiration of that short term, was succeeded by one *Autuman*, or *Othmân*, of whom we scarce find any thing said by the *Arab* historians; so that nothing remarkable, through the whole course of this year, seems to have happened in *Spain* P.

° EUTYCH. ubi sup. p 384—389. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 83, 84. P DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. ZOZIM. lib. iii. c. 17. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 255, 256. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 343. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 457. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xii. JOANNES VASÆUS, ubi sup. p. 702.

THE

THE next year, being the 112th year of the *Hejra*, the firſt day of which was *March* 26th, 730, *Moſlema*, according to *Theophanes*, undertook an expedition againſt the *Turks*, and penetrated to the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea; but, being intimidated by the forces of the *Khâkan*, returned home, without effecting any thing. That this was really the caſe, we are more inclined to believe, from the ſilence of the *Moſlem* writers in relation to any advantage gained by the *Khalif*'s army this year in thoſe parts, than from the authority of *Theophanes*, which, in ſuch points as this, is frequently not to be depended upon. *Autuman*, or *Othmân*, *Heſhâm*'s lieutenant in *Spain*, was diſplaced, after he had remained at *Corduba* about four months, and ſucceeded by *Al Haytam Ebn Obeid*. Againſt this new governor a conſpiracy was ſoon formed; ſeveral of the principal *Arabs* holding private cabals, in order to diſcover a proper method of depoſing him. But they being ſeized, before they could carry their deſign into execution, he ordered ſome of them to be publickly whipt, and others to be beheaded. Amongſt the former there was one *Zath*, or *Zeid*, an *Arab* of great eloquence and noble extraction; who, after he had been treated in a very ignominious manner, made his eſcape out of *Spain*, and took a journey to *Damaſcus*, where he and one *Mahimen*, another *Moſlem* of diſtinction, gave the *Khalif* a full account of every thing that had happened. They alſo deſired, that *Al Haytam* might be recalled, and *Abd'alrahmân* appointed king of *Corduba*, or governor of *Spain*, in his room; which *Heſhâm* readily granted. Upon their arrival in *Spain*, *Mahimen*, who had been inveſted with full power and authority by the *Khalif* for that purpoſe, ordered *Al Haytam* to be publickly whipped, carried with his hands bound behind his back, and loaded with irons, upon an aſs, through the ſtreets of *Corduba*, and then to be impriſoned for life. As for *Abd'alrahmân*, he not being then to be found, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah* was conſtituted governor of *Spain*, and acted in that capacity about two months; at the end of which term, *Abd'alrahmân* himſelf appeared. The *French* annals, according to *Joannes Vaſæus*, pretend, that, about this time, the *Arabs*, at the inſtigation of *Hunold* and *Waifar*, *Eudo*'s ſons, made another irruption into *France*, and penetrated as far as *Burgundy* with a numerous army, laying waſte all the country through which they moved; but were driven again by *Charles Martel* into their own dominions, after they had loſt a very conſiderable part of their troops. In the mean time, *Pelagius* ſtill maintained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of all the poſts he had ſo long occupied upon the *Moſlem* frontiers; nor could he be diſlodged from thence by all the efforts of the enemy [q].

The Moſlem affairs in Spain, during the year of the Hejra 112.

[q] THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hiſt. Arab. c. xii, xiii.

Heſhâm's *troops gain ſome advantages over the* Chriſtians.

In the 113th year of the *Hejra*, *Meſlema* marched at the head of a powerful army againſt the *Khâkan*, took ſeveral of that prince's towns, and carried off with him a great number of his ſubjects into ſlavery, together with an immenſe quantity of plunder. *Moâwiyah*, the *Khalif*'s ſon, alſo penetrated into *Paphlagonia*, took many of the *Chriſtians* in that province priſoners, and returned home loaded with the ſpoils he acquired in this expedition. *Soliman*, another of *Heſham*'s ſons, advanced with a body of troops into another of the imperial provinces, reduced the caſtle of *Pelozorium*, laid waſte the neighbouring tract, defeated a *Greek* army that pretended to make head againſt him, and then returned home with inconſiderable loſs. Some of the *Arab* writers affirm, that the *Greek* emperor himſelf, whom they call *Conſtantine*, was preſent in the action, and fell into the hands of *Soliman*; but, as *Leo Iſaurus*, or *Iſauricus*, ſat then upon the imperial throne, and was probably at *Conſtantinople* when that engagement happened, this laſt article merits not the leaſt attention [r].

Abd'alrahmân *conſtituted governor of* Spain.

Abd'alrahman, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, was this year conſtituted the *Khalif*'s lieutenant in *Spain*; but was ſcarce ſettled in his government, when one *Muniz* aſſembled a body of troops, in order to depoſe him. *Muniz*, however, not being able to take the field againſt *Abd'alrahmân*, was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the principal city of the *Cerretani*, where he was ſtraitly beſieged by the governor's forces. At laſt, finding himſelf incapable of defending the place any longer, he endeavoured to make his eſcape; but, being cloſely purſued by one of *Abd'alrahmân*'s detachments, he was forced to throw himſelf headlong from off a precipice, and miſerably periſhed. His wife, who was count *Eudo*'s daughter, and one of the moſt celebrated beauties of the age, fell into the hands of the victors, and was ſent by *Abd'alrahmân* to *Damaſcus*, as a preſent to the *Khalif*. The death of *Muniz*, whoſe head was cut off, and brought to the governor, proved the total extinction of this rebellion; which, had *Muniz* been reinforced by a body of *French* troops, *Eudo* at firſt ſeeming to favour him, might have been attended with fatal conſequences, both to *Abd'alrahmân* and all the *Khalif*'s other ſubjects in *Spain*. It ſeems to be intimated by ſome of the *Spaniſh* writers, that the famous *Pelagius*, who had ſo ſignalized himſelf in his wars againſt the *Arabs*, died either this or the following year [s].

[r] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar Al Makin. ubi ſup. p. 80. Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 343. Dionys. Telmarens. ubi ſup. p. 106.

[s] Roderic. Toletan. ubi ſup. c. xiii. Joannes Vaſæus, ubi ſup. p. 702.

The

THE next year, being the 114th year of the *Hejra*, *Soliman Ebn Hesham* penetrated, with an army of 90,000 men, into the imperial territories. He advanced as far as *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, and had four generals to serve under him in this expedition. *Malec Ebn Shabib* and *Abd'allah Ebn Batal*, two of those generals, being arrived at *Synnada* in *Phrygia*, with 50,000 men, were met and engaged there by an imperial army, under the conduct of the emperor *Leo* himself, and his son *Constantine Copronymus*, according to *Theophanes*, which gave them so complete an overthrow, that they had above 45,000 of their men killed upon the spot, and the rest with great difficulty made their escape. That author affirms this glorious event to have happened in the 23d year of *Leo*'s reign, about the 122d of the *Hejra*; but *Dionysius Telmarensis* seems to place it in or near the present year; and him we chuse to follow, for the reasons above assigned [t]. *The Arabs thrown by the Greeks.*

ABOUT the same time, an impostor appeared in *Syria*, who gave out, that he was *Moses* risen from the dead, and seduced great numbers of the *Jews*, whom he defrauded of considerable sums of money, and then fled into another province. But being pursued and taken, he was brought before the *Khalif*, who delivered him up to the *Jews*, that they might inflict what punishment they should think fit upon him. Which event is placed by *Theophanes*, wrongly, as we apprehend, in the fifth year of *Leo Isauricus*'s reign; but by *Dionysius Telmarensis*, with greater accuracy and precision, as we believe, in or about the present year [u]. *An impostor appears in Syria.*

ABD'ALRAHMAN, suspecting that count *Eudo* had favoured his son-in-law *Muniz*'s rebellion, which he had so happily extinguished, resolved to follow his blow, and carry the war into the heart of *France*. Having, therefore, assembled a powerful army, he entered that kingdom, and advanced to *Arles* upon the *Rhosne*; where he attacked and defeated a large body of the *Franks*, or the *French*, that attempted to obstruct his march, killed many of them upon the spot, and pushed a great number of them into the *Rhosne*, who not being able to gain the opposite bank, were every one of them drowned. He afterwards passed the *Garonne* and the *Dordonne*, overthrew count *Eudo*, who endeavoured to stop the progress of his arms, and penetrated into the interior part of *France*. In fine, he pursued that count through several provinces, ravaged the country through which he moved, in a dreadful manner, and at last arrived with his numerous forces at *Tours*. That city *The Arabs defeated by the French.*

[t] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 345. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 106. [u] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 336. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. p. 106, 107.

likewise

likewise he made a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion, reducing to ashes the church and all the palaces there, and laying waste the whole district belonging to it with fire and sword. *Charles Martel*, being informed of these devastations, and reinforced by a body of *Germans* and *Gepidæ*, came up with those plunderers near *Tours*, engaged them for seven days together, and at last gave them a total overthrow; making himself master of their baggage, and took from them spoils of an inestimable value. The shatter'd remains of *Abd alrahmân*'s army, after this memorable defeat, with great difficulty, reached the frontiers of *Spain*, and left the *French* in peaceable possession of the whole tract that had been delivered by their victorious general. This is the account of *Abd'alrahmân*'s fatal *French* expedition handed down to us by *Roderic* of *Toledo*; which, as our curious readers will at first sight perceive, differs not only in point of time, but likewise in several other particulars, from that already given. Some authors tell us, that the *Moslem* general took *Avignon* by surprize this campaign; and that it was afterwards retaken by the *French*. They also relate, that, the following year, *Charles Martel* overthrew the *Arabs*, marching, under the command of one of their generals, to the relief of *Narbonne*, then besieged by a body of the *French* forces, at *Illiberis*, with incredible slaughter; scarce any of them escaping into *Spain*. Which of these seemingly jarring relations approaches the neareſt to truth, we shall not take upon us to determine, as a certain author, with very little judgment, has done; but leave it to our more sagacious and intelligent readers to chuse which of them they please [w].

The Khalif's forces routed by Atikh.

About the 115th year of the *Heira*, *Hesham* sent an army under the command of *Kalib* and *Zohair*, two of his generals, to reduce *Atikh*, who had rebelled against him, and drawn together a considerable force to support him in his defection. *Atikh*, receiving advice of their approach, advanced to *Sigara*, fell upon them there by night, intirely defeated them, and put many of their men to the sword. However, as we find nothing afterwards said of him by any good author, 'tis probable that, in a short time, he thought fit to submit to the *Khalif*. About the same year, according to *Theophanes*, *Moâwiyah Ebn Hesham*, with a body of the *Moslem* troops, ravaged several of the imperial provinces in *Asia*, without any considerable loss. A very large and resplendent comet, if we will believe that writer, likewise appeared at this time there [x].

THE

[w] Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. c. xiii, xiv. Annal Francor. Jacobus Meyerus, Joannes Vasæus, ubi sup. [x] Dionys. Telmarens. ubi sup. p. 107. Theophan. ubi sup. p. 344. Georg.

In the 116th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* advanced into the imperial *Armenia*, committed some ravages there, and then returned into the *Moslem* territories. This we learn from *Theophanes*, who gives us no account of any farther operations during the remainder of the campaign. However, there is some reason to believe, that, about this time, *Assad Ebn Abd'allah*, another of the *Khalif*'s generals, gained several victories over the troops of the *Khâkân*, and killed that prince himself in single combat. We are told by an author often cited here, that *Heshâm* sent one *Abd'almâlec*, an *Arab* of noble extraction, in the 116th year of the *Hejra*, to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain*; who, by his tyranny, rendered himself extremely disagreeable to them. He found himself incapable of protecting the country under his government from the insults of the *French*; and having once attempted to pass the *Pyrenees*, in order to take vengeance of that nation, he was driven back into the plains of *Celtiberia* with very great slaughter. *Cedrenus* seems to intimate, that *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* took many prisoners in his *Armenian* expedition, mentioned by *Theophanes*; but neither of those historians has handed down to us the particulars of that expedition [y]. *His arms successful against the Khâkan.*

The following year, *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm* made an irruption into the imperial territories; but the *Greeks* soon assembling a considerable force, he could not long maintain himself there. He, therefore, returned into *Syria*, without having effected any thing considerable; and, according to *Theophanes*, in his march, was killed by a fall from his horse. Nothing material happened this year in *Spain*, under *Abd'almâlec*'s oppressive administration there. We must not forget to observe, that *Ali Ebn Abd'allah*, the grandfather of *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, died in the 117th year of the *Hejra*, in the 78th year of his age, and left two-and-twenty children behind him [z]. Moâwiyah *makes an inroad into the imperial territories.*

About the 119th, or the 120th, year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Heshâm* ravaged some of the imperial provinces contiguous to the *Khalif*'s dominions, and carried off with him a vast number of prisoners. Amongst these there was a *Pergamenian*, who pretended to be *Tiberius*, the son of the emperor *Justinian*. This pretended prince *Heshâm*, in order to do his son *Solimân*, who had taken him prisoner, the greater honour, as well as to strike a terror into the Solimân Ebn Heshâm *ravages some of the imperial provinces.*

Georg. Cedren. ubi sup. p. 457. [y] Theophan. ubi sup. Khondemir, Roderic. Toletan. c. xv. Georg. Cedren. historiar. compend. p. 457. [z] Theophan. et Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 80.

imperial court, treated with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, as though he had been really a member of the imperial family; ſending him to *Jeruſalem*, and all the other principal cities of *Syria*, eſcorted by a numerous body of troops, and attended by a very ſplendid retinue. But however his ſubjects might be pleaſed with ſuch oſtentation and parade, it does not appear, that the *Khalif* himſelf reaped any remarkable advantage from this prepoſterous conduct. In the 118th year of the *Hejra* died *Abd'almalec Ebn Kefa'a*, *Heſhâm*'s governor of *Egypt*, and was ſucceeded by *Abd'alrahman Ebn Khâled Ebn Moſaffir Al Fahâmi*. The following year, the *Khalif* removed the tyrant *Abd'almalec*, to the unſpeakable joy of the *Moſlems* there, from his government of *Spain* [a].

Account of the Arab *affairs in* Spain.

THE next year, *Solimân Ebn Heſhâm* fell again into the imperial territories, where he committed dreadful depredations. Amongſt the captives he carried into ſlavery, there was one *Euſtathius*, the ſon of *Marianus*, a *Greek* of diſtinction, whom he took with him to the *Khalif*'s court, in order to ſet off the ſucceſs that had attended him in this expedition. After *Heſhâm* had diſmiſſed *Abd'almâlec*, to the great joy of the *Arabs* there, from the honourable poſt he had ſo unjuſtly enjoyed a conſiderable time in *Spain*, he appointed one *Ocba*, or rather *Okba*, to preſide over the *Arabs* of that province in his room. *Okba*, upon his arrival at *Corduba*, impriſoned his predeceſſor, loaded him with irons, and deprived of their offices all the judges and governors of cities, that owed to him their elevation. He likewiſe obliged the *Arabs* under his government to obſerve ſtrictly the ceremonies, as well as the moral duties, injoined by their religion, collected the tribute exacted of the *Chriſtians* with the utmoſt rigour, took all opportunities that offered of filling the *Khalif*'s coffers, and brought all the moſt enormous offenders to condign puniſhment. However, as he governed exactly according to law, the *Moſlems* could not with any colour of reaſon complain of the iniquity of his adminiſtration. He meditated an expedition againſt the *French*, but was not able to carry his deſign into execution. Being arrived at *Saragoſa* with his fleet, he received advice from the coaſt of *Africa*, that the *Moſlems* of *Spain* had an intention to depoſe him; upon which, he poſted away with all poſſible celerity firſt to *Corduba*, and afterwards to the continent of *Africa*, where he aſſembled a body of troops, with which he returned to *Spain*, put the ringleaders of the projected revolt to death, and ſettled himſelf once more in his former poſt. Afterwards growing very

[a] THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p. 457. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 80.

in-

infirm, he resigned the government to his predecessor *Abd'almâlec* in the 124th year of the *Hejra*, with the unanimous approbation of all the *Khalîf*'s subjects in *Spain*, a little before he died. We must not forget to observe, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Khâled Ebn Mosaffir Ebn Tabit Al Fahami* was removed from the government of *Egypt*, after he had resided there about a year, and *Handala Ebn Safwân Al Calbi* substituted in his room [b].

In the 120th year of the *Hejra*, *Hesham* removed *Khâled Al Karli* from the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, and appointed *Yusef Ebn Omar Al Thakîfi* to preside over that province. It appears from some of the authors followed by *Al Makîn*, that one *Abnakhayyal* was about this time constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*, and afterwards persecuted by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Mûsa Ebn Nasr*, originally a *Jew*, at that time governor of *Egypt*; who first imprisoned him, and then extorted from him a large sum of money, which he was obliged to beg of the *Christians* settled in *Egypt* and some of the neighbouring provinces. But as the facts touched upon in this relation have not been mentioned by *Eutychius*, or *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, who has written the fullest and most particular account of the affairs of the church of *Alexandria*, during this period, we will not take upon us to determine whether *Al Makîn*, or rather the authors he followed, are absolutely to be depended upon in the point before us [c]. Abnakhayyal *constituted patriarch of* Alexandria.

The following year, being the 121st of the *Hejra*, *Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* assembled an army of 14,000 men at *Cûfa*, and obliged the inhabitants of that city to take an oath of fidelity to him. But, upon the approach of *Yusef Ebn Omar*, the governor of *Basra*, with a body of troops to extinguish this rebellion, they asked him what were his sentiments of *Abu Becr* and *Omar?* He replied, he had always entertained a good opinion of them. Upon which, they renounced their allegiance to him, rescinded their former oath, and immediately deserted him; so that he found himself obliged to stand an engagement with only fourteen men. He could not, therefore, forbear observing, that the *Cûfans*, by their infamous conduct on this occasion, had acted in character, and played over again the game of *Hosein*. In fine, *Yusef* easily defeated him, pierced his brain with an arrow, and consequently killed him upon the spot. Of the few *Cûfans* that attended him, not one escaped. Zeid *rebels against the* Khalif, *and is defeated by* Yusef Ebn Omar.

[b] Theophan. et Cedren. ubi sup. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. c. xv. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 80. [c] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 80, 82, 83.

After the end of the action, *Yuſef* ordered his head to be cut off, and ſent it to the *Khalif*; by whoſe command it was fixed upon one of the gates of *Damaſcus*. His body was depoſited in a ſepulchre the ſame night he died, out of which it was taken the next morning, and affixed to a croſs or gibbet erected for that purpoſe; but ſoon after reduced to aſhes, by an expreſs order of the *Khalif*. His ſon, in order to avoid meeting with the ſame fate, fled to *Balkh*, the metropolis of *Khoraſân*, ſaid to have been built by *Loraſpes*, the father of *Hyſtaſpes*, king of *Perſia*, about the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* made himſelf maſter of *Jeruſalem*. Some believe that it was built by *Alexander the Great*, and from him at firſt denominated *Alexandria*; but *Golius*, with a greater degree of probability, takes it to anſwer to the *Bactra* of the antients. Be that as it will, it is ſituated in a very pleaſant and fertile country, upon the *Dehâſh*, a fine river that paſſes by its ſuburbs, and, about twelve paraſangs from the city, diſcharges itſelf into the *Oxus*. Soon after the extinction of the preceding rebellion, *Moſlema Ebn Abd'almâlec*, the *Khalif*'s brother, penetrated into the imperial territories, and made himſelf maſter of *Catamana*, a city of conſiderable note. *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân*, ſurnamed *Himar*, ſubdued alſo this year *Serir Al Dheheb*, or rather *Serir Al Theheb*, that is, *the throne of gold*, a province ſituated between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, in which the city of *Derbent* ſtands, called by the *Turks Demir Capi*, *the iron gate*; and impoſed upon the *Khân*, or prince of that country, after he had plundered and pillaged the inhabitants of it, an annual tribute. *Theophanes* alſo ſeems to intimate, that *Solimân Ebn Heſhâm* conquered that tract this very year; which not a little ſupports what has been advanced on this head by the *Arab* hiſtorians [d].

Moſlema *dies.*

THE next year, being the 122d of the *Hejra*, *Moſlem Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, *Heſhâm*'s brother, departed this life. He was the greateſt general of the age, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many occaſions above the other *Arab* commanders, both by his courage and conduct. This year the *Khalif* ordered a bridge to be built over the *Euphrates*, the conſtruction of which began on the *Syrian* bank of that river, oppoſite to the city of *Callinicum* in *Meſopotamia* [e].

[d] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 81. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 207. YAKUT, EBN HAWKAL. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176. SHARIF AL EDRISI, KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 344. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. Orient. in art. *Heſchiam Ben Abdalmalek*, p. 451.

[e] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. DIONYS. TELMAREN. et JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi ſup. p. 107.

IN

In the 123d year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 26th, 740, the *Khalif Heſhâm*, as we find aſſerted by *Theophanes*, ordered a very conſiderable number of *Chriſtian* captives, taken by his generals in their irruptions into the imperial territories, to be put to the ſword. Which article, however, ſeems too repugnant to the civil and religious conſtitution of the *Moſlems*, as here before deſcribed, to be admitted as a certain and indubitable truth. Either this or the following year, about the beginning of *January*, a remarkable comet, or blazing-ſtar, is ſaid to have appeared [f]. *A blazing-ſtar appears.*

The next year, being the 124th year of the *Hejra*, *Heſhâm* ſent *Handala Ebn Safwân*, the governor of *Egypt*, into *Africa*, and appointed *Hafas Ebn Al Walid* to preſide over the people of *Egypt*. In this poſt *Hafas* continued till the death of *Heſhâm*; but was removed from it by *Al Walîd Ebn Yezid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, the *Khâlif*'s ſucceſſor, who ſubſtituted *Iſa Ebn Abi Atâ* in his room. This year the bridge over the *Tigris* at *Amida* having received great damage from an inundation, *Heſhâm* ordered it to be repaired, or rather rebuilt, and procured a conſiderable number of architects, who met together at *Amida* for that purpoſe. The conſtruction of this bridge was, however, a work of ſo much difficulty, that it was not finiſhed before the *Khalif*'s death. About the ſame time, according to *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*, moſt of the inhabitants of *Edeſſa* were deſtroyed by an inundation of the *Deſanes*, which laid almoſt all the houſes there under water; tho', if we will believe *Theophanes*, that inundation happened on the 28th day of the month *Peritius*, or *February*, in the preceding year. About the year we are now upon, if *Roderic* of *Toledo* may be attended to, there was a rebellion in the weſtern part of *Africa*, which probably extended itſelf into *Nigritia*, or at leaſt to the frontiers of that country, as the rebel army, according to him, conſiſted of *Moors*, ſome of whom, in their complexions and friſzled hair, reſembled the *Negroes*, or *Blacks*; and were men of ſuch determined courage and reſolution, that they defeated an army of 100,000 men ſent againſt them by the *Khalif*. Nay, their general, flushed with this ſucceſs, if that author may be credited, meditated the conqueſt of *Spain*; which excited even many of the *Khalif*'s ſubjects there to a revolt. However, *Abd'almâlec*, *Heſhâm*'s governor of that province, proved ſuperior to the rebels, drove a large body of them from *Toledo*, after they had beſieged that city twenty-ſix days, cut many of them to pieces, diſperſed the reſt, and obliged two other bodies of them to return to their duty. But, notwithſtanding this, the rebel general, who had ſet up for himſelf in *Africa*, *A rebellion in Africa.*

[f] Dionys. Telmarens. et Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi ſup. Theophanes, ubi ſup. p. 347.

according to *Roderic*, ſtill continued to aſſert his independency there. Nay, he not only baffled all the *Khalif*'s efforts to reduce him, but likewiſe found himſelf in a condition to extend his frontiers. For, he ſent an army, under the command of *Abd'alrahmân*, one of his generals, to invade *Spain*; which advanced to *Corduba*, reduced that place, took *Abd'almâlec* alive in it, and put him to a cruel death. Could this relation of *Roderic* be intirely depended upon, it would ſeem to imply, that, before the commencement of this rebellion, the *Khalif*'s arms had penetrated into the interior part of *Africa*, and reduced at leaſt a conſiderable part of the country of *Gætulia*, if not *Nigritia*, to the obedience of that powerful prince; tho' the time when that conqueſt was made has not been clearly pointed out to us by any of the *Arab* hiſtorians [g].

Heſhâm's *death and character.*

In the 125th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 4th, 742, on the ſixth day of the latter *Rabi*, *Heſhâm Ebn Abd'almâlec* died at *Ruſâfa*, after he had ſat nineteen years ſeven months and eleven days upon the *Moſlem* throne. He was fifty-three, or, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, fifty-five, or, as others will have it, fifty-ſix, years of age, at the time of his death. With regard to his perſon, he was of a fair complexion, though his hair was of a reddiſh, or ſandy, colour. Some of the *Arab* hiſtorians relate, that he was ſquint-eyed, and had a very ugly face; tho', according to others, that blemiſh, or defect, in him was not at all unbecoming. He tinged his beard with *Al Henna* and *Al Catam*, in the ſame manner as did the prophet himſelf, and his immediate ſucceſſors. In relation to his character, it has been obſerved by ſome of the eaſtern writers, that he governed without any prime miniſter; tho', being of a covetous and rapacious diſpoſition, he greatly haraſſed his ſubjects. He had many wardrobes, which cannot be ſaid of any of his predeceſſors, and therein an infinity of garments; tho', having ſealed them all up, his ſucceſſor *Al Walid* could not find a winding-ſheet to wrap his body in after his deceaſe, till a ſervant brought him one for that purpoſe. His ſecretaries of ſtate were *Sa'id Ebn Al Walid Al Abraſh Al Calbi*, his principal favourite, and *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hârita*; the captain of his guards *Caab Ebn Hâmed*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Mohammed Ebn Safwân Al Jamjami*; and his chamberlain *Gâleb*, his freed-man. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *Wiſe judgment is a fat beaſt of burden.* The firſt and laſt days of his reign are ſaid to have been *Wedneſday*. One of his ſons aſſigning once as a reaſon for not attend-

[g] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 81, 84. Roderic. Toletan. hiſt. Arab. ad calc. Al Mak. hiſt. Saracen. ab Erpenio edit. Lugd. Batavor. 1625. c. xvi.

5 ing

ing divine ſervice in the moſque, that he had no beaſt to carry him thither; the *Khalif* forbad him the uſe of either horſe or camel for a whole year. One of his ſubjects having been accuſed of drinking wine, as well as keeping ſinging girls, and playing on a lute, and brought before him with the inſtrument he was ſo much delighted with, the *Khalif* ſaid, *Beat that drum about the raſcal's ears.* Upon which, ſome of his domeſtics beat the fellow with the lute, and he ſhed tears plentifully. Being then adviſed to take his puniſhment patiently, and not diſgrace himſelf by weeping, he ſaid, *I weep not becauſe I am treated in this manner, but becauſe he ſo contemptuouſly calls my lute a drum.* We are told by *Theophanes*, that *Heſhâm* permitted the *Chriſtians* of *Antioch* to chuſe for their patriarch, after they had been deprived of one forty years by the *Arabs*, *Stephen*, a monk of uncommon ſanctity and auſterity of life, and one with whom he had contracted a particular intimacy; which they conſidered as a bleſſing derived to them immediately from heaven. This article, though paſſed over in ſilence by other *Chriſtian* writers, has likewiſe been handed down to us by *Cedrenus* in almoſt the ſame terms. *Heſhâm* has been repreſented by *Khondemir*, who tells us, that he would not truſt any perſon with the keys of his coffers in which his treaſures were depoſited, as one of the moſt avaricious princes that ever lived; which, indeed, perfectly agrees with the character given of him by other hiſtorians. Nevertheleſs, he loved horſes extremely, of which he kept at leaſt 4000 in his ſtables. After his death, 700 coffers full of moveables, linen, and garments, or habits, of various kinds; amongſt which 1000 breeches and 10,000 ſhirts were found, locked and ſealed up with his proper ſeal. The diſtemper of which he died was the quinſey, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. His body was interred at *Ruſâfa*, a city ſuppoſed to have been either founded or rebuilt by him; and, for that reaſon, in order to diſtinguiſh it from other places of the ſame name, ſome of the eaſtern writers ſtile it the *Ruſâfa* of *Heſhâm*. But, notwithſtanding what may have been inſinuated to the contrary by ſeveral of the *Moſlem* authors, *Ruſafa* could not have been founded by *Heſham*, as he reſided there before he was *Khalif*, and conſequently before he was capable of attempting ſuch a foundation. However, he afterwards probably repaired and enlarged this city, which was the *Reſcipha* (Ῥησκιφα) of *Ptolemy*, as has been remarked above, and is frequently mentioned by the *Syriac* writers. It has been already obſerved, that *Conſtantine*, ſurnamed *Copronymus*, *Leo Iſauricus*'s ſon, was attacked, defeated, and taken priſoner, according to the authors followed by *Al Makin*, by one of *Heſhâm*'s

shâm's sons; but that this was utterly inconsistent with what has been related of that prince by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. We must beg leave farther to remark, that *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Sirin*, who wrote a treatise concerning the interpretation of dreams, upon the principles of the book composed by *Abu Ishâk Al Kermâni*, flourished in the reign of this prince; and that *Heshâm* had two small lordships, called *Al Haba* and *Al Mara*, in the district of *Rakka*, that brought him in an annual revenue of 10,000 *dirhêms* [h].

SECT. XVII.

He is succeeded by Al Walid.

UPON the death of *Heshâm*, *Al Walid*, in pursuance of his father *Yezid*'s last will and testament, mounted the *Moslem* throne. He was surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs*, and proclaimed *Khalf* the very day that his uncle *Heshâm* died; being then about forty years of age. His mother *Omm Al Hejâj* was the daughter of *Mohammed Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Hakem Ebn Abu Okail Al Thakifi*. He had been treated with great kindness, and even marks of distinction, by *Heshâm*, till he had totally given himself up to a most dissolute course of life. But at last, by spending his time in drunkenness, and discovering an absolute disregard for all the religious observances and institutions of the *Moslems*, he incurred the displeasure of that prince; who, finding his nephew's life to be little better than one continued scene of debauchery, first reproved him for the enormities he was guilty of, and then, upon his remaining still incorrigible, altered the whole course of his conduct towards him. *Al Walid*, not being able to bear the rigoroust reatment he met with from *Heshâm*, retired, with his friends and domestics, to *Azrak*, where he remained till his uncle's death; of which being apprized by two couriers, he posted away with the utmost celerity to *Damascus*, in order to take possession of the *Khalifat*. During his residence at *Azrak*, according to some of the eastern writers, *Al Walid* behaved not only in an irreproachable, but even an exemplary manner; tho', after his elevation to the *Moslem* throne, he soon relapsed into his former ex-

[h] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 81, 82. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 207, 208. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 388, 389. Ism. Abulfed. de vit. Mohammed. c. lxv. p. 143. Joan. Gagn. not. in Abulfed. ibid. Theophan. ubi sup. p. 349. Georg. Cedren. ubi sup. p. 460. Khondemir, Ebn Shohnah, Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 451. Yakut, Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 253, 254. Ptol. geograph. lib. v. c. 18. Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi sup. Jos. Sim. Asseman. dissertat. de Monophysit.

ceſſes, and abandoned himſelf to all ſorts of debaucheries. Upon the arrival of the aforeſaid courier, he immediately iſſued an order to thoſe who preſided over *Heſham*'s treaſures, which were immenſe, to ſecure every thing for his uſe: upon which, *Ayyad*, *Al Walid*'s ſecretary, being releaſed out of the priſon where he had been confined by *Heſhám*, affixed the new *Khalif*'s ſeal to all the doors of the treaſuries, and would not ſuffer any perſon to approach them before his maſter had taken upon himſelf the government. Hence, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, it came to paſs, that *Gâleb*, *Heſhám*'s freed-man, was obliged to wrap up that prince's corpſe in a winding-ſheet, nothing better being at that time to be found. *Al Walid* is ſaid to have treated his predeceſſor's friends and domeſtics with extreme ſeverity; telling them, that this was the very ſame treatment he and his adherents had met with from their maſter. The lame and the blind of *Damaſcus* he cloathed and ſupplied with plenty of proviſions, and diſtributed a vaſt quantity of perfumes and coſtly apparel amongſt the women of that city, ſoon after his acceſſion. In fine, he was prodigal to a ſurprizing degree; never refuſing any favour to a perſon who put up a petition to him. Having increaſed with a tenth part the pay of all the troops within his vaſt and moſt extenſive dominions, he wonderfully conciliated the affections of the ſoldiery to him; ſo that he eaſily prevailed upon them, and of courſe the whole body of his ſubjects, to agree to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion upon his two ſons *Al Hakem* and *Othmán*, in ſuch a manner that the ſurvivor was deſtined, after the death of the other, to aſcend the *Moſlem* throne. It appears from the eaſtern writers, that *Yahya Ebn Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Hoſein*, who, after his father's death, had made his eſcape to *Balkh*, the metropolis of *Khoraſán*, was defeated and put to the ſword by a body of *Al Walid*'s troops at *Jurján*, *Jurjâna*, or *Georgiana*, in the 125th year of the *Hejra*, not long after *Heſhám*'s death. The body of this *Imám* (for ſo he is called by the followers of *Ali*) was firſt affixed to a gibbet, or croſs, and afterwards reduced to aſhes, which were thrown into the *Euphrates*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. But this laſt particular ſeems to be a miſtake, as the city of *Georgiana*, the metropolis of a province of the ſame name, is ſaid by ſome to belong to *Khoraſán*, by others to *Taberiſtán*, and by others to *Khowarazm*, not far from the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, and conſequently at a very conſiderable diſtance from the *Euphrates*. This year, that is, the 125th of the *Hejra*, the repoſe of the *Arab* dominions in *Spain*, according to *Roderic* of *Toledo*, was diſturbed by civil diſſenſions. *Al Walid* ſent one *Abu'l Katar* to take upon himſelf the government of that province; but he was oppoſed by the

Arabs

Arabs there, under the conduct of *Ismael* and *Toban*, two of their countrymen, who at last found an opportunity of cutting him off: after which event, *Toban* was unanimously declared the commander in chief of the *Moslems* in *Spain*. The same year the *Khalif*'s forces made an irruption into the imperial territories, where they committed dreadful depredations, and carried off with them an incredible number of *Christians* prisoners. About the same time, the emperor *Constantine*, surnamed *Copronymus*, sent *Andreas Spatharius* his embassador to *Damascus*, to solicit succours of *Al Walid*; and *Artabasdus*, his competitor, dispatched *Gregorius Logotheta*, as his minister, on the same occasion, to the *Khalif*'s court. It has been remarked by *Theophanes*, that *Peter*, the metropolitan of *Damascus*, had his tongue cut out out, for reflecting upon the *Mohammedan* tenets, by *Al Walid*'s order, and was afterwards banished to *Yaman*; as also, that both he and another *Christian* of the same name, at *Maiuma* in *Palestine*, suffered martyrdom the same year [1].

Al Walid's *death and character.*

THE following year, being the 126th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 25th, 743, *Al Walid* openly professed *Zendicism*, a species of infidelity nearly resembling *Sadducism* amongst the *Jews*, and perhaps not very remote from the *Deism* of some of our modern unbelievers, if we will believe the *Persian* historians; which, together with his flagitious and abandoned course of life, the genuine consequence of the impious principles he maintained, gave such offence to the people of *Syria*, that they unanimously resolved to depose him. In order to which, they chose *Yezid*, the son of *Al Walid* I. his cousin-german, for their leader, and inaugurated him *Khalif*. *Yezid* was no sooner placed on the throne, than he assembled a body of troops, and marched against *Al Walid*, who then resided in the territory of *Boheira*, at a small distance from *Damascus*. The mutineers easily dispersed the *Khalif*'s forces, and besieged him in his palace. At their first appearance before the gates, he expostulated with them, and reproached them with ingratitude; telling them, that "he had "eased them of their taxes, relieved their needy, and been "more generous to them than any of his predecessors." To which they replied, that "tho' they were by no means stran-

[1] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 84. EUTYCH. patriarch. Alexandrin. annal. ubi sup. p. 388, 89. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 209, 210. EBN SHOHNAH, KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 190, 191. ABULFED. in geogr. HAMDALLA, SAID EBN ALI AL JURJANI, YAKUT, ALBERT. SCHULT. ind. geograph. ad vit. Salad. in voc. *Georgia*. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 349, 350.

"gers

" gers to his good qualities, yet they at the ſame time knew, " that his bad ones vaſtly preponderated; that he had fre- " quently inebriated himſelf with wine, kept up an illicit " commerce with his father's concubines, and been guilty of " almoſt every kind of criminal exceſſes." After which, ten of the moſt reſolute of them forcing their way into the palace, *Waja Al Fanin*, their leader, or, according to others, *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'almálec*, or, laſtly, as others will have it, *Wahmal Ebn Al Walid*, diſpatched him with very great eaſe; he not attempting to make the leaſt reſiſtance. After his death, one of his hands and his head were cut off, carried in triumph thro' the ſtreets of *Damaſcus*, and at laſt affixed to one of the gates of that city. The funeral prayers were ſaid over him by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, at the time of his interment, in the uſual manner. His two ſons, *Al Hakem* and *Othmán*, ſurnamed *the Rams*, were immediately impriſoned, as ſoon as *Yezid* had communicated to the *Moſlems* the news of his aſſaſſination. With regard to his perſon, *Al Walid* was of a middle ſtature, had a handſome face, tho' his hair began to grow grey, and a fair complexion. He was of a very wicked diſpoſition, being extremely addicted to gaming, drunkenneſs, and every ſpecies of ſenſuality. He kept company only with the younger and more abandoned part of hisſubjects. He raviſhed a girl in one of his drunken fits, and afterwards obliged her to repeat ſome prayers to the multitude, with a veil over her face. He is likewiſe ſaid to have carried wine and dogs with him to *Mecca*, being vaſtly fond of hunting, and to have ordered an iron tomb to be made for him, which he propoſed to have placed in a certain part of the *Caaba*. Notwithſtanding his life was one continued ſcene of debauchery, he had quick parts, and was a tolerable good poet; tho' he exerciſed his genius chiefly on the moſt obſcene and laſcivious ſubjects. A ſpecimen of his poetical performances has been preſerved by *Al Makin*; who informs us, that he ordered *Ma'bad*, a ſinger in favour with him, to repeat two or three verſes, and then precipitated himſelf thrice into a ſort of baſon, or reſervoir, formed of wine and water for that purpoſe; which proved a great diminution of his authority, and paved the way to his deſtruction. *Eutychius* repreſents him as a perſon of conſiderable eloquence, though this did not turn out of the leaſt advantage either to himſelf or his ſubjects. To his other enormous crimes he added that of gluttony, according to *Al Makin*. He was aſſaſſinated towards the cloſe of the latter *Jomáda*, after he had reigned a year and three months, being then about forty-two years of age. He had thirteen children, ſome of which were boys, and others girls. His ſecretary of ſtate was *Al Abbás Ebn Moſlema*; his judge, or *Kádi*,

Mohammed

Mohammed Ebn Safwân Al Jamjami; the captain of his guards *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Homaid Al Calbi*; and his chamberlain *Katri*, his freed-man. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*; and the inscription of his seal was, *O* WALID, *fear death!* The untimely end of this *Khalif* proved a mortal wound to the house of *Ommiyah*, and of course not a little contributed to the advancement of the family of *Al Abbâs* to the *Moslem* throne. *Al Walid* is farther said, by the *Persian* historians, to have been so impious a prince, that he tore to pieces, and trod under foot, several copies of the *Korân* [k].

SECT. XVIII.

He is succeeded by Yezid, *the son of* Al Walîd I.

YEZID, the son of *Al Walid* I. who succeeded *Al Walid* II. in the *Khalifat*, was, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, a just and virtuous prince. He was generally surnamed *Abu Khâled*, and sometimes, by way of derision, *Al Nakes*, *the diminisher*, and *Ebn Al Nakes*, *the son of the diminisher*, or *the son of the diminished*, because he found himself obliged, by the emptiness of his coffers, to diminish the pay that had been allowed the soldiery by the *Khalifs*. His mother was *Mah Afrid*, or *Shahferend*, according to the *Arab* historians, the daughter of *Firûz*, the son of *Yazdejerd*. He became, therefore, sovereign of *Persia* by hereditary right; and was so far from thinking himself above claiming the title derived to him from his mother, even after he was *Khalîf*, that he constantly stiled himself the son of *Khosrû*, king of *Persia*, the descendant of the *Khalîf Merwân*, and a prince amongst whose ancestors, of the mother's side, were the *Roman* emperor and the *Khâkân*. Soon after his inauguration, he caused the *Moslems* to acknowledge his brother *Ibrahim* the heir apparent of the crown, and, after him, the succession legally to devolve upon *Abd'alaziz Ebn Al Hejâj Ebn Abd'almâlec*; and then obliged them to take the oath of allegiance, or fidelity, to those princes. Upon the divulgation of the news of *Al Walid*'s violent death in the provinces, great commotions happened there. The people of *Hems* demanded the blood of the *Khalif*, or, in other words, insisted that vengeance should be taken of his murderers for the effusion of that blood. To extinguish this rebellion, *Yezid* sent an army against them; which they soon defeated,

[k] Aut. LEB TARIKH, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, AL MOSTATRAF, apud Pocock. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 136. ut et ipse Poc. ibid. RELAND. de relig. Mohamm. p. 270. MILLIUS de Mohammedism. ante Mohammed. p. 311. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 210, 211. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 85, 86. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 388—391. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 351. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 461.

and

and put 300 of his men to the ſword. *Solimân Ebn Heſhâm*, who had been loaded with irons, made an irruption into the diſtrict of *Al Maarra Al Nooman*, or *Maarra Nomani*, ravaged it, and then advanced to *Damaſcus*. The people of *Paleſtine* roſe againſt their governor, and killed him. During theſe troubles, *Yezid* removed *Yuſef Ebn Omar* from the lieutenancy of *Irâk*, and ſubſtituted *Manſûr Ebn Jamhûr* in his room. About the ſame time, *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Himar*, rebelled againſt *Yezid* in *Armenia*; giving out, that his deſign was to revenge the death of *Al Walîd*. He aſſembled a very conſiderable force, but was pacified by *Yezid*, who conferred upon him the government of *Meſopotamia*, *Mawſel*, *Armenia*, and *Aderbijân*, on condition that he ſhould take the oath of allegiance to him. The *Greek* writers ſeem to intimate, that he was a friend to the family of *Al Walîd* II. and deſirous of taking the ſons of that *Khalîf* under his protection; which is likewiſe confirmed by ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians. We are told by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, that a comet appeared in the northern part of the hemiſphere towards the cloſe of the *Khalifat* of *Al Walîd*; and that the people ſeated on the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea were greatly alarmed by ſeveral violent ſhocks of an earthquake about the ſame time. It cannot be inferred from *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that any thing remarkable happened, during the reign of *Yezid Ebn Al Walîd Ebn Abd'almâlec*, in *Spain* [1].

Soon after the concluſion of the pacification between the *Khalîf* and *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Himar*, at *Harrân* in *Meſopotamia*, the former died of the plague at *Damaſcus*, on *Wedneſday* the 18th of the month *Dhu'lhajja*, in the 126th year of the *Hejra*, after he had reigned five or ſix months, and was, at the time of his death, forty, or, as others ſay, forty-ſix, years of age. His funeral ſervice was ſaid by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walîd* his brother, who ſucceeded him. As to his perſon, he was of a thin habit of body, a moderate ſtature, and a ſwarthy complexion. His muſtaches, or whiſkers, were not ſo thick and large as thoſe of the *Arabs* generally are. With regard to his diſpoſition, he is ſaid to have been oſtentatious, eloquent, and proud. He was, however, after his elevation to the *Moſlem* throne, looked upon as an honeſt, juſt, and good-natured prince. He hath been repreſented as a favourer of the *Kadarians*, a ſect denying abſolute predeſtination; ſay-

Yezid *dies of the plague, after he had reigned ſix months.*

[1] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 211, 212. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 86, 87. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 390, 391. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Jezid Ben Valid*, p. 487. Theophan. chronograph. p. 351. Georg. Cedren. ubi ſup. Vide Roderic. Toletan. ubi ſup. c. xvii. p. 16.

ing,

ing, that evil and injuſtice ought not to be attributed to GOD, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or puniſhed for his actions, which GOD has granted him power either to do or to let alone. Some, therefore, imagine, that they are denominated *Kadarians*, becauſe they deny *Al Kadr*, or GOD's *abſolute decree*; tho' others, thinking it not ſo proper to affix a name to a ſect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it to come from *Kadr*, or *Kodrat*, i. e. *power*, becauſe they aſſert man's *power* to act freely. Some pretend, that the *Kadarians* are the *Magians* of the *Moſlems*, as admitting a good principle, *viz.* GOD, and an evil one, *viz.* man; and that the firſt author of this ſect was *Mâbad Ebn Khâled Al Johni*, who was put to death by the famous *Al Hejâj* at *Baſra*.

Some farther particulars relating to him.

WE are told by *Al Makin*, that the body of *Yezid*, which, as well as that of his predeceſſor *Al Walid*, ſeems to have been buried at *Damaſcus*, was dug up, and affixed to a croſs, or gibbet, by order of *Merwân Ebn Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Himar*, the laſt *Khalif* of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, after he had aſcended the *Moſlem* throne. *Yezid's* ſecretary of ſtate was *Tâbit Ebn Solimân*; his judge, or *Kâdi*, *Othmân Ebn Omar Ebn Mûſa Al Timi*; the captain of his guards, *Yezid Ebn Al Shammakh Al Lakhmi*; and his chamberlain, his ſervant, *Fatan*. The firſt day of his reign was *Friday*, and the laſt *Wedneſday*. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *O* YEZID, *perſiſt in that which is right!* The *Greek* writers inform us, that he was ſurnamed *Leipſos*, or *diminiſhed*; which pretty nearly correſponds with the *Arabic Nakes*, or *Al Nakes*, a nickname ſometimes given him by the *Moſlems*. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Ebn Arraheb* and *Abu'l Walid*, as well as *Eutychius*, or *Ebn Batrik*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, aſſert *Al Walid* II. to have reigned preciſely one year and three months. It appears from *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*, that *Yezid*, who ſucceeded him, his brothers *Ibrahim* and *Aubâs*, together with *Abd'alaziz Ebn Al Hejâj Ebn Abd almâlec*, contrived and effected the deſtruction of that *Khalif*; and that he was aſſaſſinated at the city of *Core*. *Dionyſius* likewiſe relates, that *Yezid* ſat ſix whole months upon the *Moſlem* throne. It may be inferred from *Abu'l Faraj*, that the friends of the houſe of *Al Abbâs*, at *Merâ* in *Khoraſân*, began to put themſelves in motion this year [n].

SECT.

[m] AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. AL SHAHRESTAN. apud Pocockium. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 235, 238, 240, &c. ut et ipſe Poc. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art *Cadaria*, p. 224. [n] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 87. EUTYCH. ub. ſup. p. 390, 391. THEOPHAN. et GEORG. CEDREN.

SECT. XIX.

IBRAHIM EBN AL WALID EBN ABD'ALMALEC EBN MERWAN EBN AL HAKEM, in consequence of the settlement of the succession in the preceding reign; was declared *Khalif* the same day that his brother *Yezid* died. His mother's name was *Naama*, or, as others will have it, *Hasheja*. His subjects sometimes dignified him with the title of *Khalif*, sometimes with that of *emperor of the faithful*, and sometimes they considered him only as a private person. His reign was so short, that it has scarce been mentioned by *Eutychius*; nor have *Dionysius Telmarensis* and *Theophanes* taken any farther notice of him, than barely to observe, that he succeeded his brother *Yezid*. According to the former of those writers, about the time that this prince first took upon himself the government, a grievous famine and pestilence raged all over the east °. Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid *ascends the throne*;

IN the beginning of the year of the *Hejra* 127, commencing *October* 13th, 744, *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, surnamed *Himar*, the governor of *Mesopotamia*, *Mawsel*, *Armenia*, and *Aderbijân*, who had rebelled against *Yezid*, under the pretext of revenging the murder of *Al Walid* II. marched first to *Edessa*, and afterwards to *Kinnisrîn*, with a powerful army, in order to lay siege to *Damascus*, and depose *Ibrahim*. *Bashar* and *Masrûr Ebn Al Walid*, who then commanded the *Khalif*'s forces at *Kinnisrîn*, being apprized of *Merwân*'s approach, advanced at the head of their troops to give him battle; but they were deserted by their men, who went over in a body to the enemy, and delivered up their generals into *Merwân*'s hands. *Bashar* and *Masrûr* were therefore thrown into prison, and there for some time straitly confined; after which, *Merwân* advanced to *Hems*, the inhabitants of which city immediately took the oath of allegiance to him. Here he reinforced his army with such an additional number of troops, that he found it to consist of 80,000 effective men. With this force he marched against *Solimân Ebn Hesham*, *Ibrahim*'s general, who was in motion with an army of 120,000 men. As soon as the two armies came in sight, *Merwân* invited the *Khalif*'s forces to join him, in order to take vengeance of the murderers of *Al Walid* II. But this they refusing to do, a fierce and bloody conflict ensued; in which *Solimân* was overthrown, *and is deposed.*

CEDREN. ubi sup. EBN ARRAHEB et ABU'L WALID, apud Jos. Sim. Assemân. ubi sup. p. 107. DIONYS. TELMAREN. apud Jos. Sim. Assemân. ibid. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 211.

° AL MAKIN et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 351. DIONYS. TELMAREN. ubi sup. p. 107.

with

with incredible slaughter, and forced to fly with the remains of his shatter'd troops to *Damascus*. *Merwân* took many prisoners likewise in this decisive action; all which he released, upon their taking the oath of fidelity to *Al Hakem* and *Othmân*, *Al Walid*'s sons, who had remained in a state of confinement ever since their father had met with his tragical fate, at *Damascus*. But this, in reality, proved not of the least service to those unfortunate princes. For, *Solimân* being well assured of *Merwân*'s intention to fix one of them upon the *Moslem* throne, he no sooner arrived at *Damascus*, than he and *Ibrahim* ordered both of them to be put to death; after which, he plundered the imperial treasury, and then, notwithstanding the measures concerted to intercept him, made his escape. However, *Al Hakem* and *Othmân*, foreseeing what would happen to them, before their deaths, took care to transfer their right to *Merwân*, and declared to their fellow-prisoner *Abu Mohammed Al Sheibâni*, that, in case they should be destroyed, *Merwân* ought to be considered by all the *Mosems* as lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Soon after *Solimân*'s departure, the citizens of *Damascus* opened their gates to *Merwân*, who caused the bodies of the two young princes to be decently interred, and was saluted *Khalif* by *Abu Mohammed Al Sheibani*, now released from his confinement, in consequence of the declaration that to him had been formerly made. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, the deposed *Khalif*, and all the people of *Syria*, at the same time recognized his authority; so that there was no person in the empire capable of disputing his title, or in any respect of standing in competition with him [p].

Ibrahim *survives the revolution, and lives to the year of the* Hejra 132.

As *Ibrahim* so readily acknowledged *Merwân* emperor of the *Mosems*, he survived this revolution, and lived to the year of the *Hejra* 132; when, as some say, he was assassinated by one *Nû'ân*; or, according to others, was drowned; or, lastly, as others will have it, was murdered by *Merwân*'s son, who is said afterwards to have affixed his body to a gibbet, or cross; so that we have no certain account of the circumstances attending the death of this prince. With regard to his person, he had small whiskers, or mustaches, not unlike those of his predecessor *Yezid*, and two pretty remarkable locks of curled hair. He was, according to the authors followed by *Al Makîn*, of a stupid and imprudent disposition. His secretary of state was *Dukas Ebn Sarah Al Lakhmi*; his judge *Othmân Ebn Omar Al Timi*; and his chamberlain, *Katri*, *Al Walid*'s

[p] Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 87, 88. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 212. Theophan. ubi sup. Georg. Cedren, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Ibrahim Ben Valid*, p. 480. Dionys. Telmarens. ubi sup.

servant.

ſervant. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *I truſt in the living* God. He reigned, according to *Al Makîn* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, only ſixty-nine or ſeventy days; ſo that, by ſome writers, he is not ranked amongſt the *Khalifs*, or *Moſlem* emperors, as has been already obſerved. The firſt day of his *Khalifat* was *Thurſday*, and the laſt *Tueſday*. We are told by *Ebn Shohnah*, that this *Ibrahim* was ſurnamed *Al Makhlû*, or *the depoſed*. He has likewiſe been mentioned by *Khondemir*, as a perſon intirely reduced to a private ſtation. Another of the *Perſian* hiſtorians relates, that he was cut off about three months after he was driven from the throne; tho', in our opinion, a greater degree of credit is due to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who extends his life, as has been hinted above, to the 132d year of the *Hejra* [q].

SECT. XX.

He is ſucceeded by Merwân Ebn Mohammed.

SOON after *Merwân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*'s acceſſion, he took his predeceſſor *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, and *Solimân Ebn Heſhâm*, at their requeſt, under his protection; tho' the latter, with ſeveral others of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, not only refuſed to aſſiſt at his inauguration, but even at firſt oppoſed, to the utmoſt of his power, every ſtep taken by the people of *Damaſcus* in favour of the new *Khalif*. His mother's name, according to *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Makîn*, who make her the daughter of one *Ibrahim Ebn Aſir Al Nakha'i*, was *Liana*. She was, as *Eutychius* informs us, *Moſab Ebn Zobeir*'s widow, when *Mohammed*, *Merwân*'s father, took her to wife. This *Khalif* was ſurnamed *Abu Abd'almâlec*, and denominated, from his undaunted courage, by ſome of his ſubjects, *Himar Al Jezîrah*, i. e. *the aſs of* Meſopotamia, or *the warlike aſs*; the aſſes of that country being, in his days, remarkable for their unparalleled fortitude and intrepidity. He had likewiſe the appellation of *Al Jaadi*, which is ſaid to have been derived from his uncle *Al Jaad Ebn Darham*. He was ſcarce ſettled on his throne, when he conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Haſan Ebn Abahia*; whom he removed from that honourable poſt in about ſixteen days time, and ſubſtituted *Hafas Ebn Al Walid* in his room [r].

[q] Al. Makin, ubi ſup. p. 88. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 212. Ebn Shohnah, Khondemir, Aut. Leb Tarikn, Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, D'Herbel. Bibl. orient. art. *Ibrahim Ben Valid*, p. 480. [r] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 392, 393. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 89. Theophan. et Cedren. ubi ſup.

The people of Hems *rebel against* Merwân.

THE same year, that is, the 127th of the *Hejra*, the people of *Hems* rebelled against *Merwân*; who marched against them at the head of a powerful army. Upon his arrival before the town, he desired to know what could excite them to such a defection, and summoned them to surrender. In answer to which, they assured him, that they were disposed to obey his orders; and, opening one of their gates, immediately admitted him, with 300 of his men, into the town. The troops that entered with him they instantly cut to pieces; and the *Khalif* himself escaped, with great difficulty, out of the gate of *Tadmor*. However, he afterwards overthrew them in a pitched battle, put a great number of them to the sword, dismantled their city, and affixed to crosses, erected for that purpose, the bodies of about 600 of those who had been the most active in this rebellion [s].

The Damascenes *likewise declare against him.*

THE people of *Damascus*, following the example of the citizens of *Hems*, soon after declared against the *Khalif*, and deposed the governor he had left to preside over them. But, after the extinction of the former rebellion, *Merwân* moved with great celerity towards *Damascus*, entered the city by force, and brought to condign punishment the ringleaders who had excited the *Damascenes* to a revolt. This effectually appeased all commotions, and restored the capital of the *Moslem* empire to its former tranquillity [t].

The Basrans *also revolt.*

SOON after the re-establishment of the public tranquillity at *Damascus*, in the 127th year of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Hesham* set up for himself at *Basra*, where he was proclaimed *Khalif* by the people of that city. In order to support his pretensions to the imperial dignity, he raised an army at *Basra*, consisting of 10,000 effective men; with which he advanced to *Kinnisrin*, where he was joined by a vast number of the *Syrians*, who flocked to him from all parts. *Merwân*, receiving advice of the rapid progress made by *Solimân*, marched against him with all the forces he could assemble at *Damascus*, and in the neighbourhood of that city; and, at last coming up with him, gave him battle, and intirely defeated him, with the loss of 30,000 men. *Solimân*'s affairs being in a manner ruined by so terrible an overthrow, he fled to *Hems*, and was joined there by a body of 900 men, who engaged themselves by oath to stand by him to the last drop of blood. With these troops he posted himself in ambuscade at *Telmair*, on mount *Al Zaitûn*, in the district of *Al Maara Al Nooman*, in order to surprize *Merwân*; who, he knew, must pass over that mountain in his way to *Hems*, to which place he took for granted the *Khalif* would pursue him without de-

[s] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. [t] Idem ibid.

lay. As ſoon as *Merwân*'s forces appeared, the rebels roſe out of their ambuſcade, and fell upon them with incredible fury. But *Solimân*, after a very vigorous action, was again overthrown, had the greateſt part of his men killed upon the ſpot, and found himſelf obliged to retire with precipitation to *Hems*. But, being cloſely purſued by the victors, he conſtituted his brother *Sa'id Ebn Heſhâm* commandant of the place, leaving with him the ſhattered remains of his troops that ſurvived the late carnage, and fled to *Tadmor*. Soon after his departure, *Merwân* appeared before the town, inveſted it, and beſieged it ſeven months; during which term, he battered it inceſſantly with above eighty catapults. The inhabitants, as well as the gariſon, being at laſt reduced to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered to the *Khalif*, and delivered up *Sa'id Ebn Heſhâm* into his hands. In conſideration of which ſubmiſſion, *Merwân* pardoned the rebellious inhabitants of this city, and took them all under his protection [u].

A revolt likewiſe intended at Cûfa.

About the ſame time, *Abd'allah Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar Ebn Abu Táleb* aſſerted his right to the *Khalifat* at *Cûfa*. But *Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, *Merwân*'s governor of that city, having been apprized of the intended revolt, took his meaſures ſo well, that he diſperſed *Abd'allah Ebn Moâwiyah*'s adherents without any great effuſion of blood, drove him into the mountains, and found means to extinguiſh this rebellion before it could arrive at any conſiderable height [w].

The partiſans of the houſe of Al Abbâs *begin to be in motion.*

But notwithſtanding the ſucceſs *Merwân* hitherto had met with, in rendering abortive all his enemies deſigns and machinations, the partiſans of the houſe of *Al Abbâs* began now to grow powerful in ſome of the interior provinces of the empire. The firſt of that family, who made any conſiderable figure, was *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, who flouriſhed in the time of *Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*, and was nominated the chief of that houſe in the 100th year of the *Hejra*. When this honourable poſt was offered him, he reſided at *Al Homaima*, and his father *Ali* was ſtill living. Amongſt the perſons who formed the deputation ſent him on this occaſion, by thoſe who were inviolably attached to the intereſts of the houſe of *Al Abbâs* in *Khoraſân*, the principal were *Solimân Ebn Kothair*, *Malec Ebn Al Hatim*, and *Kahtaba*; who brought many valuable preſents with them, and a ſum of money amounting to 400,000 *dirhems*. At the firſt conference between them and *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abda'llah Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Abd'almotalleb*, the latter is reported to have ſaid,

[u] Iidem ibid. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. [w] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 90.

" I shall soon die, and my son *Ibrahim* will be your leader, " till he shall be slain. After his death, my other son *Abd'al-* " *lah*, surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, shall preside over " you, and settle the government of the *Moslems* upon a solid " and lasting foundation. He shall likewise cut off all the " members of the house of *Ommiyah*; a family that have " maintained themselves so long on the throne by repeated " acts of violence, and an incredible effusion of *Moslem* " blood." They were then introduced to *Abd'allah*, as their future sovereign, and had the honour to kiss his hands and his feet. As for *Mohammed*, he departed this life in the 125th year of the *Hejra*, and was succeeded in the honourable post assigned him by his son *Ibrahim*; who, immediately after his father's death, dispatched *Abu Hâshem*, a person he could intirely confide in, to *Merû* in *Khorasân*, then the residence of the principal friends of the house of *Al Abbâs*, to notify to his adherents there that tragical event, and to animate them to a perseverance in their attachment to his person and family. *Abu Hâshem* succeeded in the execution of his commission, according to his desire, and received from the *Moslems* at *Merû* a large sum of money, collected there for his master's service. It appears, however, from *Abu'l Faraj*, that *Abu Hâshem* was not the first embassador sent to the people of *Khorasân* in the interest of the house of *Al Abbâs*; since, if any credit may be given to that author, *Ziyâd* was dispatched in that capacity to *Khorasân* by *Mohammed Ebn Ali* himself, in the 109th year of the *Hejra*. To which he adds, that this *Ziyâd*, upon his arrival at *Merû*, probably the *Maruca* of *Ptolemy*, a city of *Khorasân*, for a description of which we must refer our curious readers to the eastern geographers, made great complaints of the dissolute lives and iniquity of the members of the house of *Ommiyah*; and that he was put to death by *Asad*, *Hesham*'s governor of *Khorasân*, who had received a full and ample account of the whole affair, together with ten of the *Cûfans*, who were privy to his intrigues. The same author likewise relates, that, in the 118th year of the *Hejra*, *Ammân Ebn Yezid*, a person of very loose and impious principles, came into *Khorasân*, and engaged great numbers of the people there to declare for *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs*. It must here be observed, that this *Mohammed Ebn Ali* was sixty-three, or, as others will have it, sixty-seven years of age at the time of his death; and that he left eleven sons, besides his successor *Ibrahim*, behind him [x].

[x] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 91, 92. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 208, 209, 211. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 184, 185. Prol. geogr. Vide etiam. Christ. Cellar. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 21.

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In the 127th year of the *Hejra*, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ali* nominated *Abu Moslem*, a youth about nineteen years of age, of the family of *Isfandiyár*, whose true name was *Abd'alrahmân*, to go as his representative into *Khorasân*. But *Soliman Ebn Kothair*, the chief of the friends of the house of *Al Abbás* there, believing that *Abu Moslem*, on account of his youth, was by no means qualified for so arduous a post, and fearing lest his rawness and inexperience should prove the total ruin of their affairs, refused at first to receive him with such marks of distinction as were required by *Ibrahim*, and even to obey any of his orders. However, to set *Ibrahim* right in his notions, *Solimân Ebn Kothair*, *Laher Ebn Korait*, and *Kahtaba*, took a journey to *Mecca*, then the residence of *Ibrahim*; and, having deposited in one of his servant's hands a present, for his master's use, consisting of many valuable effects, besides 20,000 *dinârs* and 200,000 *dirhems* in ready money, they had a conference with him; the result of which was, that they should acknowledge *Abu Moslem*, *Ibrahim*'s governor of *Khorasan*; which they accordingly did. In the mean time, *Nasr Ebn Sayár*, *Merwân*'s lieutenant of *Khorasân*, having received advice of these commotions, assembled a body of horse, and sent them to disperse the rebels before they were joined by the reinforcements they expected from *Syria* and the peninsula of the *Arabs*. On the other hand, *Abu Moslem* having erected his standard, and raised a considerable army, advanced at the head of his forces to attack *Nasr Ebn Sayâr*; upon which, a fierce conflict ensued, in which *Nasr* was intirely defeated, lost the greatest part of his men, and was obliged to betake himself to a precipitate flight. This blow proved extremely prejudicial to the interests of the house of *Ommiyah*, and not a little contributed to the elevation of that of *Al Abbâs* to the *Moslem* throne *y*.

And defeat the forces sent against them.

It may not be improper to observe here, that some *dirhems* were struck this year in the mint erected at *Wâset*; of which one was found on the coast of the *Baltick*, near a village called *Stegen*, at a small distance from *Dantzick*, in *June* 1722. This *dirhem* exhibits a passage in the *Cufic* character, taken out of the 112th *sûra*, or chapter, of the *Korân*, asserting the unity, eternity, &c. of God, on the reverse; and, on the other side, the words, *Be-Waseta sæb'en wa'ëschrina wameäten*, i.e. *At* Wâset, *in the 127th year*. By which we are to understand the 127th year of the *Hejra*, or *Mohammedan* æra, corresponding with the first of the *Khalif Merwân*, surnamed *Himar Al Jezirah*, or *the ass of* Mesopotamia. This *dirhém* has been particularly described by M. *Kehr*, in the piece here mentioned, to which

Dirhêms *struck this year at* Wâset.

y Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 92. Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup.

we shall beg leave to refer our curious and inquisitive readers.

Merwân *makes preparations to oppose them.*

THE following year, being the 128th of the *Hejra*, *Merwân* removed *Hafas Ebn Al Walid* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Joweirah Ebn Sahl Al Ajlâni* in his room. He also the same year, which was the second of his reign, made vast military preparations to oppose the rebels of *Khorasân*, who now began to alarm several of the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, and even to threaten the house of *Ommiyah* with utter excision. After the late victory, they declared *Merwân* an usurper, and took the oath of allegiance to *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, whom they asserted, by right of succession, to be lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*. Many of the *Syrians* likewise secretly favoured the pretensions of the house of *Al Abbâs*; having been disobliged by *Merwân*, who, after the defeat of his predecessor *Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid*, had transferred the imperial treasury from *Damascus* to *Harrân* in *Mesopotamia*. Some of the *Christian* writers relate, that *Merwân* gained two victories over *Ibrahim*'s forces the preceding year; having first overthrown, in a great battle, *Nekaim Ebn Tebith*, in the plains of *Gara*, and afterwards *Solimân Ebn Heshâm*, upon a spot of ground at a small distance from the river *Lita*. After this last defeat, *Merwân*, according to one of these writers, made himself master of *Hems*, affixed *Yezid*'s body, which he ordered to be taken out of the tomb where it had been interred, to a gibbet or cross, and extorted from a wealthy *Jew* an immense sum of money, amounting to 400,000 *dinârs*. *Merwân* also, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, sent one *Thoaba*, an *Arab* of distinction, this year to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain* [z].

Abu Moslem *makes himself master of* Khorasân.

IN the 129th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *September* 22d, 746, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed* sent *Abu Moslem* a banner, which he called *Al Thell*, or *the shadow*, and a royal or imperial standard, stiled by him *Al Sahab*, or *the cloud*. These *Abu Moslem* fixed upon two lances, and ordered them to be carried before him, whilst he proclaimed his master rightful emperor of the faithful, and *Imâm*, and published in the principal places of *Khorasân* the title and pretensions of the house of *Al Abbâs* to

[y] GEORG. JAC. KEHR, monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. &c. p. 20. Lipsiæ, 1724. [z] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Marwan* II. p. 558. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. THEOPHAN chronograph. p. 351. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 107. ut et ipse JOS. SIMON. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPH. SIG. BAYER. histor. Osrhoen. et Edessen. ex nummis illustrat. p. 279. Petropoli, 1734. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xvii. p. 16.

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the *Khalifat*. Of the names *shadow* and *cloud* he assigned to the people of *Khorasân* this interpretation, *viz.* "That as the earth "would never be uncovered by the clouds, nor quite void of "shade; so the world would never henceforth be without a "*Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*." In fine, *Abu Moslem* brought this year such a formidable force into the field, that the *Khalif*'s troops could not make head against him; so that he obliged all *Merwân*'s commandants of fortresses in *Khorasân* either to take an oath of fidelity to *Ibrahim*, or within a limited time to quit that vast province [a].

THE next year, being the 130th of the *Hejra*, one *Dachac*, or rather *Dakhâk*, together with one *Yacûp*, or *Jacob*, *Kaibari*, and *Sakasbi*, according to *Dionysius Telmarensis*, rebelled against *Merwân* in *Mesopotamia*. These rebels assembled such a powerful army in the neighbourhood of mount *Izla*, that they engaged the *Khalif*'s forces sent against them at *Telmasrita*; but were overthrown with prodigious slaughter, leaving the greatest part of their men behind them dead upon the spot. *Theophanes* relates, that this *Dakhâk* was prince of the *Aruritæ*, an *Arab* nation settled in *Mesopotamia*, who, in their wars, left their wives and children, and all their effects, behind them, that they might march with the greater expedition, and be the more at liberty to engage the enemy, as being then quite *free* from all impediments. And this, indeed, the name *Arurita* itself sufficiently points out to us; it having been undoubtedly deduced from the *Syriac* word *Arurojuto*, or rather *Hiruto*, which denotes *liberty* or *freedom* in the *Syriac* language. Nor is it to be wondered at, that some *Syriac* terms should be used by the *Arabs*, who were now in possession of *Mesopotamia*; since the language of that country was at this time a mixture of the *Syriac* and *Arabic*. *Theophanes* also writes, that one *Thebit*, or *Ebn Tebith*, had a great hand in exciting the *Arabs* of *Mesopotamia* to this revolt; and that both he and *Dakhâk*, together with 12,000 of their men, were cut to pieces by the *Khalif*'s troops in the territory of *Hems*. He farther observes, that *Merwân* permitted the *Christians* of *Antioch*, upon their application to him for this favour, to elect for their patriarch *Theophylact*, a presbyter of *Edessa*, in the room of their former patriarch *Stephen*, who died this year. The *Khalif* also commanded his subjects to treat with all possible marks of respect the new patriarch, if we will believe *Cedrenus* and this author. It likewise appears from *Theophanes*, that *Merwân*, about this time, ordered one of his executioners, an *Ethiopian*, to suffocate *Aba*, or *Abas*, a magi-

Merwân *extinguishes a rebellion that breaks out in* Mesopotamia.

[a] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 213. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

cian, who had deſtroyed many of the *Chriſtians*, been acceſſory to the murder of the *Khalif Al Walid* II. and committed dreadful depredations in ſeveral of the provinces, in a ſack of unſlaked lime; which act of juſtice he accordingly performed. It is alſo ſaid, that *Merwân* ordered 120 *Calbites*, or *Arabs* of the tribe of *Calb*, called *Chalbanians* by *Theophanes*, probably on account of their attachment to the houſe of *Al Abbâs*, to be hanged at *Hems*. We are told by *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that *Thoaba* died, and was ſucceeded by one *Yuſef*, towards the concluſion of the laſt, or the beginning of the preſent year, in *Spain* [b].

The friends of the houſe of Al Abbâs *make a farther progreſs.*

THE ſame year, *Abu Moſlem* entered *Merû* with his army, and ſeized upon the imperial palace there. He alſo obliged all the troops poſted in and about that city, as well as in other parts of *Khoraſan*, to take an oath to ſupport the intereſts of the houſe of *Hâſhem*, without naming any particular perſon. As *Abu Moſlem* had found means to cut off almoſt all the officers who ſerved under *Naſr Ebn Sayâr*, and intirely ruined the troops he commanded in the general action, which proved ſo fatal to the partiſans of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, *Merwân*'s governor of *Khoraſân* found it impoſſible to bring another army into the field againſt the rebels before the preſent year. But *Naſr* having now aſſembled his forces, he advanced to *Naiſabour*, in order to attack *Kahtaba*, who had taken upon himſelf the command of *Ibrahim*'s troops. The vicinity of the two armies, as neither of them was diſpoſed to continue long in a ſtate of inaction, brought on ſeveral very fierce engagements, wherein *Naſr* was generally worſted, and loſt 30,000 men, killed and taken priſoners; which ſtill more and more animated the partiſans of the houſe of *Al Abbâs*. From *Naiſabour Khataba* marched to *Jurjân*, *Jurjâna*, or *Georgiana*, the capital of a province of the ſame name, attacked *Banâna Ebn Hanthala*, who had poſted himſelf with a body of troops near that city, overthrew him with great ſlaughter, made himſelf maſter of his camp, and took a very conſiderable quantity of plunder. As for *Banâna* himſelf, he was killed in the action; which ſtill farther embarraſſed the *Khalif*'s affairs. With regard to the province and city of *Jurjân*, or *Jurjâna*, ſome of the eaſtern geographers make them to appertain to *Taberiſtân*, others to *Khoraſân*, and others to *Khowarazm*; they being ſituated upon the frontiers of all thoſe countries. But *Abulfeda*, with whom we are diſpoſed to agree

[b] DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 107, 108. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 353, 354. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p 461. THEOPH. SIG. BAYER. ubi ſup. p. 280. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup.

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in this particular, aſſerts them to be ſeparated and diſtinct from every one of thoſe regions; and is followed herein by moſt of the oriental geographers of a later date. For a farther deſcription of the province of *Jurjân*, or *Jurjâna*, and its capital, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to *Golius*, who in this point, as well as many others of a ſimilar nature, will give them full and ample ſatisfaction [c].

It may not be improper to obſerve here, that, according to *Theophanes*, *Dakhâk*'s rebellion was extinguiſhed in the fifth year of *Conſtantine Copronymus*; tho', in this, he runs counter to what has been advanced by *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*. The former of thoſe authors has likewiſe, as well as *Cedrenus*, remarked, that the emperor *Conſtantine Copronymus*, encouraged by the diſſenſions that then reigned amongſt the *Arabs*, made an impreſſion upon *Syria* and *Dulichia*, with a powerful army, the ſame year; though neither of thoſe writers has handed down to us the particulars of that expedition. There happened ſeveral inſurrections, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, this year in *Spain*; many of the *Arabs* there being highly diſſatisfied with the conduct of *Yuſef*, who had ſucceeded *Thoaba*, a warlike and magnanimous commander, in the government of that fertile and opulent region. This, as the ſame writer obſerves, occaſioned a vaſt effuſion of human blood; tho' the differences that had for ſome time prevailed amongſt the *Moſlems* there were at laſt amicably compoſed, and the public tranquility in every part of that country perfectly reſtored [d].

Conſtantine Copronymus *makes an irruption into* Syria, *&c.*

In the year of the *Hejra* 131, *Naſr Ebn Sayâr*, in order to avoid falling into the hands of *Abu Moſlem*, fled to a town, according to ſome of the eaſtern geographers, belonging to *Deylam*, but, as others will have it, to *Khoraſân*. Soon after his arrival there, he fell ſick, and was carried to *Sâwa*, near *Hamedan*, or *Hamadan*, where he expired. About this time, *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, attended by his brothers, *Abu'l Abbâs* and *Abu Jaafar*, his ſon, his uncle, and a conſiderable number of ſervants, went on pilgrimage to *Mecca*. As he and his retinue rode on thirty camels richly capariſoned, appeared in ſplendid attire, attended by a more than ordinary quantity of baggage, and made a very conſiderable figure; this journey could not long be concealed from *Merwân*, then

Ibrahim *put to death, by* Merwân.

[c] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Hamdalla, Sa'id Ebn Ali, Al Jurjani, Yakut, Ism. Abulfed. in geogr. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 190, 191. Alb. Schult. ind. geographic. in vit. Salad. &c. [d] Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 354. Georg. Cedren. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Joſ. Simon. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 108. ut et ipſe Jos. Simon. Asseman. ibid. Roderic. Toletan. ubi ſup.

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in the territory of *Damascus*; the inhabitants of the deserts of *Sham*, as well as those of *Mecca* and *Medina*, giving the *Khalif* immediate intelligence of it. Besides, *Ibrahim*'s intentions being already sufficiently made manifest by what had lately happened in *Khorasân*, it was impossible that his pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which was performed with so much pomp and parade, could long remain a secret either to *Merwân* himself, or his governors in *Syria* and *Irâk*. This journey, therefore, being soon discovered, the commandant of *Damascus*, by the *Khalif*'s order, sent a detachment of horse to pursue him; which came up with him near *Harrân*, seized him, carried him to that city, and confined him in prison loaded with irons, where he soon after died. Authors, however, are not perfectly agreed with regard to the circumstances attending his death; some of them asserting, that he was destroyed by drinking a poisonous draught, others by the fall of an old ruinous building, and, lastly, others by placing his head upon a poisoned pillow. But whichsoever of these accounts may be true, he had, some time before he was taken, ordered his brother *Abu'l Abbâs* to retire to *Cûfa*, and commanded all those that attended him to acknowledge him *Khalif* after his decease. *Abu'l Abbâs*, therefore, in consequence of this order, had made the best of his way, with his brother *Abu Jaafar*, his uncle, and several of his friends, to that place. There he, with his family, lay concealed till the troops, who had declared in favour of the house of *Al Abbâs*, to whom *Ibrahim* had written, and recommended him in the strongest terms, advanced to his support. According to *Dionysius Telmarensis*, several violent shocks of an earthquake were felt this year in *Syria*; one of which overthrew *St. Mary*'s church in the city of *Mabug*, or *Manbij*, and destroyed the bishop, and a great number of *Christians*, who were buried under the ruins of that church, whither they had retired for shelter. It seems to appear from *Theophanes*, that *Merwân*, either towards the beginning of this or the close of the preceding year, dismantled the city of *Heliopolis* in *Syria*, and put all the principal men of that place to the sword. The same author likewise, as well as *Cedrenus*, informs us, that there happened about this time a dreadful earthquake in *Palestine*, and particularly that part of it bordering upon the *Jordan*, which overturned many churches, monasteries, and towns, and destroyed vast numbers of people. Nay, it appears from those writers, that the shocks of this earthquake, which was probably the same with that mentioned by *Dionysius Telmarensis*, were perceived in almost every district of *Syria*. It may be inferred from the *Greek* writers, that the imperial fleet, surprized that of the *Arabs*, consisting of a thousand ships, in one of the ports of *Cyprus*, about the year

year we are now upon, and ſo intirely defeated it, that only three of them eſcaped. After the extinction of the late rebellions in *Spain*, *Yuſef*, tho' of a libidinous and petulant diſpoſition, conducted affairs to the ſatisfaction of the *Moſlems* of that country, according to *Roderic* of *Toledo*, the preſent year. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, and his family, held their reſidence at *Humaïn*, or *Homaima*, a town of the *Arabian Irák*, before the late cataſtrophe happened to him [e].

THE following year, being the 132d of the *Hejra*, commencing *Auguſt* 20th, 749, *Abu'l Abbás Ebn Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Al Saffáh*, on *Friday*, the 12th of the former *Rabí*, went from *Abu Moſlema*'s houſe at *Cúfa*, after evening prayer had been performed in the moſque of the *Banu Ayúb*, to his own palace there. The next day, all the officers of the troops cantoned in and about that city, each of them cloathed in black, and mounted on a good horſe, with a ſword by his ſide, formed a ſort of military cavalcade, and paid their duty to him. Soon after which, *Abu'l Abbás*, with that whole train of the military men attending him, went from his own palace to the citadel, or imperial palace, where he firſt harangued them, and then received their oath of allegiance to him. This ceremony being over, he ſent his uncle *Abd'allah*, with a powerful army, to attack *Merwán*'s forces that were incamped near *Tubar*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Mauſel*, or *Moſul*, where that *Khalif* was then waiting for an account of the ſucceſs of the body of troops he had ordered to march againſt *Kahtaba*, one of the greateſt generals of the age, conſiſting of 20,000 men, under the command of *Yezid*, his governor of *Irák*. *Kahtaba* receiving advice of *Yezid*'s approach, immediately advanced againſt him, at the head of his troops, in order to give him battle, ſoon brought him to a general action, intirely defeated him, and obliged him to fly to *Wáſet*. Early the next morning, *Kahtaba*'s forces paſſed the *Euphrates*, in purſuit of the vanquiſhed enemy; but the waters of that river being then ſwelled to an uncommon height, both he and his horſe were carried away by the rapidity of the current, and, according to ſome of the *Arab* writers, never met with; tho', if others of them may be believed, his body was afterwards found. Be that as it will, this tragical event by no means cooled the ardour of his troops, who, under the conduct of his ſon *Hamid*,

Abu'l Abbás proclaimed Khalif, and defeats Merwán's forces.

[e] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 213. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 354, 355. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi ſup. p. 462. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi ſup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. c. xvii. p. 16.

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continued to purſue the fugitives with ſo much vigour, that they ſoon diſperſed them in ſuch a manner, that they found it abſolutely impoſſible to rally. After the end of the action, *Hamid* returned with his victorious army to *Cûfa*, and *Alu Moſlema Ebn Al Halal* was declared privy-counſellor to *Abu'l Abbâs*. A body of troops was afterwards ſent to block up *Yezid Ebn Omar Ebn Hobeira* in *Wâſet*; which formed a camp at *Najila*, before they entered upon any farther military operations. The new *Khalif*, *Abu'l Abbâs*, whoſe mother *Rabta*, or *Radiah*, was the daughter of *Abd'allah Ebn Abid*, was cloathed in black at the time of his inauguration, and retired, a month after the concluſion of that ceremony, to *Anbar*, a city of *Irâk*, upon the *Euphrates*, which he made the ſeat of the *Khalifat*, and conſequently the capital of the *Moſlem* empire, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [f].

Abd'allah *likewiſe overthrows* Merwân.

SOON after *Abd'allah*, with his army, had taken poſt near *Tubar*, *Merwân* received advice of the defeat of his forces under *Yezid*, in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*. This bad news greatly afflicted him; tho' he in a ſhort time recovered himſelf, and reſolved to give the enemy battle. A general action, therefore, immediately enſued; in the beginning of which the *Khalif* found himſelf obliged to diſmount, in order to make water. But now a ſecond misfortune happened, of much worſe conſequence to his affairs than the former. For, he had no ſooner ſet his foot on the ground, than his horſe took fright, and ran with great ſwiftneſs into the midſt of his men; who, ſeeing the beaſt without his rider, imagined that the *Khalif* was ſlain at the firſt onſet; and therefore, without taking any care to inform themſelves farther in this matter, left their ranks, and betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. Nor could the *Khalif*, though he made all poſſible efforts to rally them, bring them again to the charge; ſo that the only expedient he could purſue at this melancholy juncture, was to fly to *Damaſcus*, then the capital of his empire. But the inhabitants of that city, finding his condition deſperate, treated him with contempt, and abandoned him; which unexpected deſertion obliged him to leave that place, and fly into *Egypt*; over which country he had appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Al Magharah*, one of his favourites, after the diſmiſſion of *Joweirah Ebn Sahl*, to preſide, the preceding year. Here he maintained himſelf for ſome time; but was at laſt attacked, and put to death, by *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*'s brother *Saleh*, who was ſent againſt him at the head of a ſtrong detachment, in a

[f] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 213, 214. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 93, 94. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient art. *Marvan* II. p. 559. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124.

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town or village of *Sa'îd*, or *Thebais*, called *Bûsîr Kûridas*, on *Sunday* the 27th of the latter *Jomâda*. At the battle of *Tubar*, an incredible number of *Merwân*'s ſoldiers were killed upon the ſpot, and many more drowned in the *Euphrates*; amongſt the latter of which the *Khalif Ibrahim Ebn Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec*, who had formerly been depoſed, is ſaid to have been by ſome of the *Arab* writers. After that deciſive action, *Abd'allah*, *Abu'l Abbâs*'s general, made himſelf maſter of the enemy's camp, where he found an immenſe quantity of plunder, and purſued *Merwân* firſt to *Kinniſrîn*, and afterwards to *Hems*. From the latter of thoſe places that *Khalif* fled to *Damaſcus*, where he met with the reception already mentioned; which obliged him to make the beſt of his way through *Paleſtine* into *Egypt*. As *Abu'l Abbâs*'s troops continued the purſuit, without the leaſt interruption, a vaſt multitude of the partiſans of the houſe of *Ommiyah* periſhed on this occaſion; which, as *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* himſelf was pleaſed to obſerve, completely revenged the death of *Hoſein*. As for the citizens of *Damaſcus*, tho' they had ſo ſhamefully deſerted *Merwân*, they refuſed to open their gates to the victors; upon which, *Saleh Ebn Ali*, who was ſent againſt them by *Abu'l Abbâs* with a body of troops, entered their city by force, and gave it up to the ſoldiery to be plundered for three whole days. He alſo put to the ſword *Al Walid Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Hakem*, *Merwân*'s governor of the place, and then purſued his route into *Egypt*. However, before his departure, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, he intirely diſmantled that city, and cauſed the bones of the princes of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, interred there, to be dug out of their graves, and ordered them all to be burnt. The latter of thoſe authors likewiſe relates, or at leaſt ſeems to intimate, that *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* himſelf purſued *Merwân* into *Egypt*, and not his brother *Saleh*, as the former of them is pleaſed to aſſert; as alſo, that *Merwân* was killed with a lance in the moſque at *Bûsîr*, on the laſt day but one of the month *Dhu'lhajja*. After which, his head was cut off, and ſent as a preſent to *Abu'l Abbâs*; who, at the firſt ſight of it, adored GOD in a moſt devout manner, diſtributed 10,000 *dinârs* amongſt the poor, and, in conjunction with *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, his general, returned thanks to the Deity for delivering into his hands his formidable competitor, or, as he was nicknamed by *Abd'allah*, *the Aſs of* Meſopotamia [g].

[g] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth orient ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 100, 101. Aut. lib. AL MOSHTARFI, apud Iſm. Abulfed. in Ægypt. clim. cogn. ii. et et ipſe ABULFED. ibid.

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Merwân's character.

WITH regard to *Merwân*'s character, he is said by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* to have been a valiant and magnanimous prince, endued with great prudence, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. He sat upon the throne a little above five years, and was sixty-nine, or, as others say, fifty-nine, or, lastly, as others will have it, fifty-six, years of age, at the time of his death. He left behind him two sons, *Abd'allah* and *Abd'alaziz*; the former of which was afterwards taken, and thrown into prison, where he remained till the *Khalifat* of *Harûn Al Rashid*. He was then released from his confinement, tho' loaded with irons for some time after that event, died childless, and was buried at *Baghdâd*. The first day of *Merwân*'s reign was *Sunday*, and the last *Thursday*. His secretary was *Abd'alhamid Ebn Yahya*; the captain of his guards *Al Kawthar Ebn Al Aswad Al Anawi*; his chamberlain his freed-man *Saklâb*, or *Safiat*, as he is called by *Al Makîn*; and his judge *Othmân Al Timi*. The inscription of his seal was, *O wise man, remember death*. The *Arabs* express the date of the catastrophe that befell the house of *Ommiyah*, in the person of *Merwân*, who was the last *Khalif* of that house, by the word *Kalb*, which consists of three letters, *Káf*, *Lâm*, and *Ba*, denoting 132, the number of the year of the *Hejra* in which *Merwân* was killed, and the *Khalifat* of the princes of the house of *Ommiyah* intirely abolished [h].

Some farther particulars relating to him.

SOME of the *Christian Arabs* have pretended, that this *Khalif*, when in *Egypt*, attempted to violate the chastity of a religious there. That saint, continue they, in order to defend herself from the violence with which she was threatened, and preserve her virtue inviolate, offered to give *Merwân* an unguent, which would render the part rubbed with it invulnerable; and begged, that he would first try the experiment upon her. To this the *Khalif* readily agreed, anointed her neck with it, and then with one blow of his scymitar cut off her head; making in this manner undesignedly a martyr of her. *Merwân* is said by some of the eastern writers to have been a greater eater than most of his time. Tho' the *Khalifs* of the house of *Al Abbâs* endeavoured to destroy all the descendants of this prince, yet we are told, that one of them escaped first into *Egypt*, afterwards into *Africa*, and last of all into *Spain*, where he founded the second dynasty of the *Ommiyan* princes, who assumed the title of *Khalif* there. We learn from *Theophanes*, *Dionysius Telmarensis*, *Cedrenus*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*, that the last battle, the loss of which proved the total ruin of *Merwân*'s affairs, was fought upon the banks of the

[h] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 94. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 559. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 392—395. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup.

Zab,

Zab, a river that has its source between the cities of *Irbil*, or *Arbela*, and *Mawsel*, or *Mosul*, and seems to answer to the *Lycus* of *Strabo*. As *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*'s troops had not only swarthy complexions, but were likewise dressed in black, they were termed by the *Arabs Mesuadi*, by the *Syrians Uchama*, which words denoted *black* in the *Arabic* and *Syriac* languages, and *Maurophori* by *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*. As the gross of *Abu'l Abbâs*'s army was formed of the natives of *Khorassân*, whose country bordered upon *Persia*, they are likewise called *Persians* by several authors. *Theophanes* denominates the spot on which the two armies engaged *Zaba*, and *Dionysius Telmarensis Beth Zabe*; probably because *Merwân*, as we are informed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, had, for some time, fixed his residence there, or, at least, in the neighbourhood of that place. After the defeat of his forces, that prince fled to *Harrân*; from whence, a bridge having been before thrown over the *Euphrates*, probably near *Batn*, *Batan*, or *Bettân*, he made his escape into *Syria*, and afterwards gradually into *Egypt*, where he met with the above-mentioned fate: notwithstanding which, the *Moslems* still continued, according to *Roderic* of *Toledo*, to be governed by his lieutenant *Yusef*, in *Spain* [1].

SECT. XXI.

THE same year, the new *Khalif Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh* ordered *Abu Moslema Ebn Al Halâl* to be put to death, for forming a design to transfer the *Khalifat* to the house of *Ali*, or *Abu Taleb*, from that of *Al Abbâs*. He also cut off *Yezid Ebn Omar Ebn Hobeira*, though he had before promised to take him under his protection, because he had entered into some machinations to fix *Abd'allah*, the son of *Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Taleb* upon the *Moslem* throne. After these executions, he conferred upon his brother *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr* the government of *Aderbijan*, as well as that of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia*; upon his brother *Yahya* that of *Mosul*; upon his uncle *David* that of *Hejâz* and *Yaman*; upon his uncle *Isa* that of *Cûfa*; upon *Sofiân Ebn Moâwiyah Al Mohallebi* that of *Basra*; upon *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Ashath* that of *Persia*; upon *Mansûr Ebn Jamhûr* that of *India*

The governors of provinces appointed by Al Saffâh soon after his accession.

[1] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 355, 356. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assemani. ubi sup. p. 108, 109. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. ASSEMAN. ibid. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar compend. p. 462. THEOPHIL. SIGFR. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 280, 281. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 235, 252, &c. STRAB. lib. xvi. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. ubi sup.

and

and *Sindia*; upon *Abu Moſlem*, who had brought about the revolution in favour of the race of *Al Abbâs*, that of *Khoraſân*; upon his uncle *Abd'allah Ebn Ali* that of *Syria*; and, laſtly, upon his uncle *Saleh Ebn Ali* that of *Egypt*. The laſt of which governors choſe for his deputy *Abu Aun Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Yezid*. *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Al Abbâs*, after his return from *Ramla*, made a public entry into *Damaſcus*, in order to take poſſeſſion of his new government, and exerciſed unheard-of cruelties upon the members of the houſe of *Ommiyah* there. Some of them he tortured in a moſt barbarous and inhuman manner, and others he burnt to death. At *Ruſafa*, he ordered *Heſhâm Ebn Abd'almâlec* to receive 120 ſtripes upon his bare back; which ſeparated the fleſh from the bones in ſuch a manner, that it all fell to the ground, and was reduced to aſhes, by this cruel governor's command; who, at the ſame time ſaid, "This is done by way of retaliation for the barba-"rous treatment met with by my father from him, who told "me, that he received formerly 60 ſtripes for no crime at all." By the preceding liſt of governors and provinces, it clearly appears, that the *Moſlem* empire was of a vaſt extent, when *Al Saffâh*, the firſt of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbâs*, aſcended the throne [k].

The Khalif's *troops gain ſeveral advantages over the partiſans of the houſe of* Ommiyah.

THE following year, being the 133d of the *Hejra*, commencing *Auguſt* 9, 750, the people of *Chalcidene*, a diſtrict of *Syria* ſeparated by the province of *Chalybonitis* from the *Euphrates*, took up arms in favour of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, and advanced into the neighbourhood of *Hems*; but were overthrown there by the *Khalif*'s troops, called *Maurophori* by *Theophanes*, who put four thouſand of them to the ſword. About the ſame time, a body of *Arabs* of the faction of *Kais*, under the command of one *Burikha*, formed a conſpiracy againſt the *Khalif*, and cut off a conſiderable number of the partiſans of the houſe of *Al Abbâs*; but they were at laſt diſperſed, with very great loſs, by *Al Saffâh*'s forces. As the *Arabs* on this occaſion appeared in white cloaths, and the *Khalif*'s men in black; hence aroſe the two different factions of the *Whites* and the *Blacks* in *Syria*, that have been taken notice of by ſeveral of the eaſtern writers. However, *Merwân*'s head having been cut off, after the laſt defeat of that prince's forces, in *Egypt*, it was embalmed, and expoſed to public view in the principal cities of the empire; which effectually appeaſed commotions. One of the *Greek* hiſtorians informs us, that *Merwân*'s army, overthrown at the battle of *Zaba*, conſiſted of 300,000 men; and that he eſcaped with only 3000 ſlaves into *Egypt*. *Theophanes* relates, that the *Arabs* were divided

[k] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 97.

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at this time into two powerful factions, which he calls the *Kaisians* and the *Imanites*; the latter of which seem to have been either the people inhabiting the province of *Omân*, or that branch of the *Shiites* denominated *Imâmians* by some of the *Moslem* writers. These *Imanites*, according to the same author, were superior in fortitude to the *Kaisians*, had before destroyed great numbers of them, and then joined the forces assembled by *Kahtaba* to act in favour of the house of *Al Abbâs*. *Yusef*, *Merwân*'s lieutenant, notwithstanding the late revolution in *Syria*, continued this year to preside over the *Moslems* in *Spain*[1].

The principal events in the Mosleim empire during the year of the Hejra 134.

In the 134th year of the *Hejra*, and part of the preceding year, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* made an irruption into *Armenia* and the neighbouring provinces, reduced the cities of *Melitene*, *Theodosiopolis*, and *Jezira*, carried part of the inhabitants off with him into *Thrace*, and seized upon the greatest part of *Armenia*. It appears from *Theophanes*, that the *Khalif*'s officers, about this time, butchered vast numbers of the *Christians* in *Palestine*. *Dionysius Telmarensis* relates, that considerable commotions happened at *Maiphercat*, *Maipherchin*, *Maipheracta*, or *Mayafarkin*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, this year. One *Cyrus Ebn Tebith* advanced from thence at the head of a body of troops into a district called *Culab*, and put seven of the principal men of that district to the sword. Of which the inhabitants of a neighbouring territory, named *Phis*, receiving advice, they fortified their capital, raised what forces they were able, and made the proper dispositions, under the command and direction of one *John*, a *Syrian*, to give the enemy a warm reception, if they should think fit to appear. But, notwithstanding these dispositions, one *Severus*, a native of *Phis*, endeavoured to bring his countrymen under a foreign yoke, and went over to the *Arabs*. However, *John* routed the troops sent against them under the conduct of this *Severus*, and killed the greatest part of them upon the spot. He also defeated *Cyrus*'s governor of *Culab*, who had rebelled against his master, and possessed himself of *Elal* and *Phasphasat*; driving him from thence with considerable loss. He afterwards advanced to *Hadar*, escaped an ambuscade laid for him by one *Stephen*, who had been reinforced with a body of *Arab* troops commanded by *Awf*, a *Moslem* general, and intirely dispersed that corps. *Gregory*, an *Iberian*, likewise, at this juncture, moved at the head of a detachment against the people inha-

[1] Theophan. ubi sup. p. 356—358. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 109 ut et ipse Jos. Sim Asseman. ibid. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 394—397. Christ Cellar. geograph. antiq. lib. iii. c. 12. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 80, 81. Rod. Toletan. hist. Arab. ubi sup. Sale's prelim. disc. p. 175.

biting the banks of the river *Hara*, and put many of them to the sword; which induced the members of the canton seated on mount *Say* to flock to *John*, who commanded the forces of *Phis* in no small numbers, in order to enable him to expel from their country the barbarians. The eastern part of *Mesopotamia*, at the same time, renounced all allegiance to the *Khalîf*, and set up *Burikha*, who had been defeated the preceding year by *Al Saffâh*'s troops, in opposition to him. At *Edessa*, *Abd'allah Ebn Boktr* assumed the supreme command, after he had destroyed the monasteries of *Cuba*, *Resmat* in *Taisapha*, *Catara*, *Hesmâ*, *St. Lazarus*, *Beth Maada*, *St. Abel*, *St. Milles*, and *Senin*, in the neighbourhood of *Edessa*, *Harrân*, and *Tela*. The winter this year in *Mesopotamia*, and the neighbouring provinces, was extremely severe; the ground being covered a long time with snow, and the waters with ice. This, in conjunction with several large swarms of locusts, which intirely consumed all the corn, produced a dreadful famine in *Iberia*, *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*, especially the last of these provinces, into which a prodigious multitude had retired out of the others, for the sake of a subsistence. We must here beg leave to observe, that the city of *Tela*, the *Constantia*, *Constantina*, *Antipolis*, and *Anthemusia*, of the antients, was, according to *Theophanes*, fifty-six stadia east of *Nisibis*, and about the same distance, in a southern direction, from *Amida*; and that *Maipheracta*, called by the *Arabs Mayafarkîn*, and sometimes, by way of contraction, in the days of *Abulfeda*, *Fârki*, was a city of *Mesopotamia*, about seven or eight days journey from *Mosul*, denominated, as it should seem, by *Ammianus Marcellinus Macepracta*, and taken, without any just foundation, by *Renaudot* to be *Tagrit*, or the *Martyropolis* of *Procopius*. It must likewise be remarked, that *Roderic* of *Toledo* is undoubtedly mistaken, when he asserts *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Âli*, surnamed *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, to have been inaugurated this year; since he runs counter herein to the whole stream of *Mosiem* antiquity, as well as to the authority of the best *Greek* and *Syrian* writers [m].

[m] Theophan ubi sup. p. 358. Georg. Cedren. ubi sup. p. 463. Dionys. Telmarens. ubi sup. p. 109, 110. Jos. Sim. Asseman. in dissertat. de Monophysit. pass. Ism. Abulfed. in descript. Mesopotam. n. 241. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. v. c. 26. Aut. chronic. Edessen. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. i. p. 273, 395. Christ. Cellar. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 15. Procop. Pers. lib. i c. 8. Strab. geogr. lib. xvi. Plin. lib v. c. 24. Renaudot. lit. orient. tom. ii. p. 271. Theoph. Sigefr. Bayer. ubi sup. p. 281. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. c. xviii. p. 17.

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THE next year, being the 135th of the *Hejrá*, the rebel *Burikha*, having raised a powerful army, advanced to *Dara*; where he was met and engaged by the *Khalif*'s forces, who overthrew him with very great slaughter. The partisans of the house of *Ommiyah* received likewise two other notable defeats at *Mosul* and *Akula*; the former of which places, called sometimes *New Nineveh*, and by the *Arabs Mowsel*, was a city of *Mesopotamia*, seated upon the *Tigris*, about six days journey from *Maipherácta*; and the latter, supposed by *Bar Hebræus* to have been the same with *Cûfa*, was seated, according to *Sharîf Al Edrisi*, upon the *Euphrates*, about five stations from *Baghdâd*. It was denominated by *Abulfeda*, who makes it to have been a small town in his days, *Dair Al Akûl*, and placed by him at no great distance from *Baghdâd*, about ten parasangs from *Al Madâyen* upon the *Tigris*; tho' he takes it to be a different city from *Cûfa*. After these defeats, in which the rebels lost abundance of men, the *Khalif* appointed *John*, the general of *Phis*, who had signalized himself so much on many occasions against the *Arabs* of *Maipherácta*, governor of a considerable extent of territory in that part of his dominions, and loaded him with presents. His brother *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who commanded the forces employed in the reduction of the rebel *Burikha*, *Al Saffáh* had before constituted governor of *Mesopotamia*. *Salikh Ebn Sabikh*, another of the *Khalif*'s generals, undertook an expedition into *Armenia*, and obliged the principal cities of that province to deliver hostages into his hands, as pledges for their future fidelity to the *Khalif*; all which he conducted to *Maipherácta*. Some of these *John*, the general of *Phis*, soon after came to release; upon which, the people of *Maipherácta* would have persuaded *Salikh* to cut him off by treachery; but he escaped by the favour of *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who took him under his protection. *Stephen*, one of the *Ommiyan* commanders already mentioned, died suddenly this year at *Harrân*. It appears from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, as well as from *Dionysius Telmarensis*, who has been followed herein by M. *Bayer*, that *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed*, who acquired so much glory by the defeat of the rebel *Burikha*, must have been *Al Saffáh*'s successor, the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, who had been appointed by his brother, in the beginning of his reign, the governor of *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Aderbijân*. For, that his name, as well as *Al Saffáh*'s, was *Abd'allah*, may be inferred from all those authors. It may not be amiss to inform our readers here, that *dirhems* were still struck at *Cûfa*; the author of this history having one of them, in excellent conservation, with the following legend and inscription, according to the learned Dr. *Hunt*, in the *Cûfic* character, upon it:

As also during the following year.

There is no God, *but the one only* God: *He has no companions. This* dirhêm *was ſtruck at* Cûfa *in the* 134*th year.* By which we are given to underſtand, that this piece was coined at *Cûfa*, in the 134th year of the *Hejra*, or *Mohammedan* æra, and the third of the *Khalîfat* of *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali*, ſurnamed *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh.* The unity of God, and his ſuperiority over all other beings, intimated by the expreſſions, *There is no* God *but the only one* God, and *He has no companions*, by which the *Mohammedans* exclude the Son and the Holy Ghoſt from a participation of the divine nature, are points deducible from the 4th, the 5th, and the 112th, chapters, of the *Korân.* It cannot be inferred from *Roderic* of *Toledo*, ſo often cited here, that any thing remarkable happened this year, under *Yuſef*'s adminiſtration, in *Spain* [n].

Al Saffâh's *death, and character.*

In the 136th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *July* 7th, 753, *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffah*, the firſt *Khalîf* of the houſe of *Al Abbâs*, departed this life, either at *Anbâr*, according to *Eutychius*, or, as *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* will have it, at *Al Haſhemiyah*, a city erected by himſelf, at a ſmall diſtance from the former, if not adjoining to it, on *Sunday*, the 12th, or 13th (for about this authors differ) of *Dhu'lhajja*, the very day that he completed his 33d year. Some writers have, however, related, that he was but 32 years and an half old at the time of his death. He died of of the ſmall pox, and reigned about four years and nine months, according to the beſt of the *Arab* hiſtorians. He was, as to his perſon, tall, handſome, and of a fair complexion. His noſe was a little diſtorted; but he was portly, and of a very good ſize. With regard to his diſpoſition, he was diſcreet and munificent, had good parts, and was extremely averſe to ſhedding of blood; though he was obliged, contrary to his natural inclination, in order to preſerve himſelf upon the throne, to maſſacre a prodigious number of the friends and adherents of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, beſides thoſe he ſlew in the different engagements he had with *Merwân*'s forces, upon the *Euphrates*, at *Damaſcus*, and in *Egypt.*

[n] Dionys. Telmar. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p 110. ut et ipſe Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Bar Hebræus, apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. in diſſertat de Monophyſit. ut et ipſe Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. et alib. Sharif Al Edrisi, Ism. Abulfed. in deſcript. Meſopotam. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 232——235. Alb. Schult. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup p. 91—95. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 214. Theo h. Sigefr. Bayer. ubi ſup. Al Kor. Moham. ſ iv, v, cxii. Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya, Rod. Toletan. ubi ſup.

Iſa

Isa Ebn Mûsa, his nephew, said the usual prayers over him at the time of his interment. As a proof of his singular munificence, we are told, that he made a present to *Abd'allah Ebn Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* of 2,000,000 *dirhêms* at once; which exceeded every thing of that kind that had been done by any of his predecessors. He was the first of the *Khalifs* who created a privy-counsellor, namely, *Abu Moslema Ebn Al Halâl*, whom he caused to be executed for an intention to transfer the *Khalifat* from his family to that of *Abu Tâleb*, and afterwards *Khâled Ebn Barmac*; those of the house of *Ommiyah* making use of their secretaries of state as counsellors, whom they consulted on all emergent occasions. His judge, or *Kâdi*, was *Abu Leili* of *Medina*, and afterwards *Abu Yahya* of the same city; the captain of his guards was *Abd'al Jabâr Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Azdi*; and his chamberlains *Abu Othmân Ebn Saleh* and *Ebn Ghassân*. The inscription of his seal was, GOD *is the trust of* ABD'ALLAH, *who believeth in him*. The first day of his reign was *Friday*, and the last *Sunday*. He had a very tender affection and high regard for the family of *Mohammed*, and was a prince of very pious sentiments. Being one day viewing himself in a glass, and perceiving himself in the flower of his age, he addressed himself to GOD in the following terms: "O GOD! I will not "say what *Solimân Ebn Abd'almâlec*, a *Khalif* of the house "of *Ommiyah*, used to say, *I am the king and prince of youth*; "I pray thee to preserve my life only for thy service, and to "grant that I may enjoy a greater share of health than of "any other blessings." The words were scarce out of his mouth, when he heard one of the slaves in his antichamber say to his comrade, "By what I see, there is only five days "difference between your age and mine." The *Khalif* was immediately struck with the expression, as much as if he had heard the divine decree intimating to him the certain period of his days; which, in effect, those words did, as he was in a short time after attacked by the small-pox, which carried him off about two months and five days after they were spoken. We are told by a *Persian* historian, that this *Khalif* was surnamed *Al Saffâh*, because he did not obtain possession of the *Khalifat* without an incredible effusion of human blood. In this prince's reign, as we are informed by the *Christian* writers, the emperor *Constantine Copronymus* constituted one *Ishak*, a *Christian* bishop, and his particular favourite, patriarch of *Antioch*, and the east, and put to death one *Matratinus*, for not receiving him in that character. That emperor likewise sent an order to the patriarch of *Alexandria* to admit *Ishak* in the aforesaid capacity, or, in case of refusal, to repair immediately to *Constantinople*; with which he did not think fit

to comply. But *Ishak* and *Athanasius*, who succeeded him, dying soon after, one *George* was advanced to the patriarchate of *Antioch*; and removed afterwards from that honourable post by the following *Khalif*, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, who substituted in his room a *Christian* bishop that was one of his most intimate friends. In the beginning of the *Khalifat* of *Al Saffâh*, several conflicts happened between his forces and those of *Merwân* in *Egypt*, before he could make himself absolute master of that country. The latter of those princes is said to have been extremely cruel to the *Christians* in *Egypt*, frequently threatening to cut off the patriarch of *Alexandria*'s head, and ordering a scymitar to be brought him for that purpose; but receiving advice, that *Al Saffâh*'s forces, under the command of *Saleh Ebn Ali*, had entered *Egypt*, he immediately passed the *Nile*, took post in the city of *Geeza*, or *Al Jizah*, the antient *Memphis*, and laid *Mesr*, then the capital of *Egypt*, in ashes, together with all the corn and provisions at that time in the place. After which, he seized upon a nunnery, at a small distance from *Geeza*, made all the religious therein prisoners, and, amongst the rest, a beautiful nun, whose chastity he offered to violate, in the manner already related. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* seems inconsistent with himself, in relation to the year of *Merwân*'s death; intimating in one place, that it happened in the 132d year of the *Hejra*, and in another the following year. Some of the *Arab* authors inform us, that this *Merwân* was a monstrous glutton, and so extremely fond of sheep's kidneys, that he could not forbear wrapping his hand in the corner of his vest, whenever he saw a sheep, and tearing out of it that part; which he devoured immediately. To this they add, that, after the ravenous operation, he threw off his vest, and put on another; and that he left above ten thousand such greasy vests behind him. With regard to *Al Saffâh*'s age, at the time of his death, though, according to the *Arab* writers, this did not exceed thirty-three years, as has been already observed; yet he was forty-two years old, when that tragical event happened, if we will believe *Khondemir*, the celebrated *Persian* historian °.

° Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 97—100. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 214, 215. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 394—397. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 124 Ism. Abulfed. in Ægypt. Shaw's geograp. observat. in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, &c. p. 341. Ebn Shohnah, Aut. lib. Bina Kiti, Aut. lib. Thecat. Raouat, Khondemir, in Khelassat Al Akhbar. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Marvan* II. & *Saffâh*, p. 559, 730, 731.

SECT.

SECT. XXII.

UPON the death of *Abd'allah Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, his brother *Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr*, who, in *Al Saffâh*'s life-time, had been declared the preſumptive heir of the crown, was proclaimed *Khalif* in the imperial city of *Anbâr*, then the capital of the *Moſlem* empire. His brother, who lodged the will made in his favour in the hands of his uncle *Iſa Ebn Ali*, with orders to him to open it, and oblige the people to take an oath of fidelity to the new *Khalif*, as ſoon as he was dead, had appointed *Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr* chief of the caravan of pilgrims viſiting *Mecca* this very year; ſo that the latter was on his journey to *Mecca* when the former expired. This happened in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, which, as its name imports, is peculiarly ſet apart for the celebration of the grand ſolemnity there. Upon the arrival of the news of *Al Saffâh*'s death, he immediately diſpatched *Abu Moſlem* to *Cûfa*, to take care of his affairs. When *Abu Moſlem* arrived there, in order to oblige the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Manſûr*, and proclaim him *Khalif*, he found that his nephew, *Iſa Ebn Mûſa*, had been attempting to uſurp the *Khalifat*. But the appearance of this great general, who was ſoon followed by *Al Manſûr* himſelf, put an end to all the towering projects of *Iſa*, and obliged him to aſk pardon of the new *Khalif* for his temerity and preſumption; who granted him his life, upon condition that he ſhould always remain in a private ſtation. However, his uncle *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, then governor of *Syria*, was not intimidated by this ſucceſs; but ſet up for himſelf in that country, where he gave *Al Manſûr* much more trouble than his nephew *Iſa* had done, as will hereafter very clearly appear [p].

Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr ſucceeds Al Saffâh.

IT may be inferred from *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*, who lived about the time that the firſt *Khalif* of the houſe of *Al Abbâs* aſcended the *Moſlem* throne, or very ſoon after, that ſeveral rencounters at leaſt, if not bloody battles, happened in *Syria* between the partiſans of that houſe and the adherents of the family of *Ommiyah*, in the laſt year of *Abu'l Abbas Al Saffah*. The particulars of theſe actions, however, have not been handed down to us; though we may conclude, from the general account given us of them by the aforeſaid writer and *Theophanes*, that the troops on both ſides committed dreadful devaſtations

Hoſtilities continued between the houſes of Al Abbâs and Ommiyah.

[p] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 215. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, in hiſt. Saracen. p. 100. KHONDEMIR, ubi ſup. ALBERT. BOLOV. de peregr. Meccan. p. 12. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 396—399.

in that rich and opulent province. The *Persians*, however, as *Dionysius* calls the friends of the house of *Al Abbâs*, proved superior to their enemies in this war, and dismantled all the fortified towns of *Syria*, except *Antioch*, whose fortifications they left intire. According to *Roderic* of *Toledo*, three suns, or two parhelia, were seen either this or the preceding year at *Corduba* in *Spain*. It has been observed by *Rases*, that no rain fell there, either this or the following year; which occasioned a great scarcity of provisions, if not a downright famine, in that fertile region, over which *Yusef* still continued to preside q.

Abu Jaafar *inaugurated at* Al Hashemiyah.

THE following year, being the 137th of the *Hejra*, which commenced *June* 27th, 754, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs* was inaugurated at *Al Hashemiyah*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al-Tabari*, with all possible demonstrations of joy on the part of his subjects there. His mother *Salma*, the daughter of *Bashar*, who had been only his father's concubine, was born at *Basra*. He was first saluted *Khalif* at a place called *Al Safâh*, i. e. *the famous*, *the bright*, *the illustrious*, &c. from whence he took occasion to predict, that his reign would be glorious, and distinguished by many actions of éclat. His uncle *Isa Ebn Ali* assembled all the members of the house of *Hâshem* at *Anbâr*, in order to support his interest, before his arrival there. This, at that juncture, he judged a necessary precaution; being apprehensive, that his nephew's title to the *Khalifat* would be disputed by a powerful faction; and that, in consequence of such a contest, new troubles in the interior part of the empire must immediately ensue r.

Abu Moslem *overthrows* Abd'allah Ebn Ali.

IN the mean time, *Abd'aliah Ebn Ali*, *Abu'l Abbâs*'s uncle, having been apprized of his nephew's death, and that his other nephew, *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, brother to the deceased, had been proclaimed *Khalif* at *Cûfa*, came to a resolution not to recognize his authority; and, in consequence of this resolution, caused himself to be acknowledged in the same quality at *Damascus*. In vindication of his conduct on this occasion, he thought fit to alledge, that when *Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffâh*, the first *Khalif* of the house of *Al Abbâs*, sent him to attack *Merwân*, the last *Khalif* of the race of *Ommiyah*, he declared, that, in case he could deliver him and his family from all future apprehensions of that dangerous enemy, who disputed the empire with him, he should be called to the succession imme-

q DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi sup. THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant. Copronym. non. apud Jos. Sim. Assemani. ubi sup. p. 110. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. RASES. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. p. 703. Francofurti. 1603.

r ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 100. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 396——399.

diately

diately after him; and that having executed that prince's orders, in relation to *Merwân*, he thought he had a right, in purſuance of the aforeſaid declaration, to aſpire to the *Moſlem* throne. To ſupport his pretenſions to the *Khalîfat*, he raiſed a powerful army in *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Meſopotamia*, and advanced with great expedition to the banks of the *Maſius*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Niſibis*, where he incamped. *Abu Jaafar*, receiving advice of this rebellion, ſent *Abu Moſlem* againſt *Abd'allah*, with all the forces he could aſſemble in *Perſia*, *Khoraſân*, and *Irâk*; who, having haraſſed him, without intermiſſion, for five months together, at laſt brought him to a general action, intirely defeated him, and forced him to betake himſelf to a precipitate flight. This battle was fought on *Tueſday*, the 26th day of the latter *Tiſri*, a *Syrian* month, anſwering to our *November*, in the 137th year of the *Hejra*, and of our LORD 754. *Theophanes* pretends, that this engagement happened at *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*; in which he muſt be greatly miſtaken, as running counter in this point to *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*, and all the moſt celebrated *Arab* hiſtorians. He likewiſe ſeems to intimate, that the victory gained by *Abu Moſlem* was in a great meaſure owing to the bravery of the *Sclavonian* and *Antiochian* troops, that ſerved in *Al Manſûr*'s army. He farther gives us to underſtand, that the *Syrian* troops attacked ſeveral bodies of the *Khalif*'s forces this year in *Paleſtine*, *Hems*, &c. and cut great numbers of them to pieces. After the end of the action upon the *Maſius*, *Abu Moſlem* ſeized upon the enemy's camp, and made himſelf maſter of all their baggage; but, conſidering them in the light of *Al Manſûr*'s ſubjects, and *Moſlems*, he did not put many of them to the ſword. As for *Abd allah*, his affairs being intirely ruined by this blow, he left the ſhattered remains of his army to ſhift for themſelves, and made the beſt of his way to *Baſra* [s].

IT will be proper to obſerve here, that tho' the houſe of *Al Abbâs* owed their elevation to the *Khalîfat* almoſt intirely to *Abu Moſlem*, there had for ſome time been a conſiderable miſunderſtanding between that general and *Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr*. The latter perceiving the former, in his brother's life-time, to be ſo revered by the people of *Khoraſân*, over whom he then preſided, that he ſeemed to be independent even on the *Khalif* himſelf, would have perſuaded *Al Saffâh* to put him to death; but that prince, not being willing to puſh his ingratitude ſo far, could by no means be prevailed upon to Abu Moſlem *aſſaſſinated by the* Khalîf's *order.*

[s] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. et AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR, ubi ſup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. ad ann. Conſtant. Copronym. 14^m. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

follow

follow his advice. However, he refuſed him the poſt of *Mirhaje*, or chief of the caravan of pilgrims viſiting *Mecca*, which he ſollicited for himſelf, and conferred it upon his brother *Abu Jaafar*, in the laſt year of his reign. This not a little chagrined *Abu Moſlem*, who thought his important ſervices to the houſe of *Al Abbás* gave him a right to any employment he ſhould think fit to demand. Leaving, therefore, the *Khalif*'s court in diſguſt, he could not forbear ſaying, "that, as the houſe of *Al Abbâs* were members of the "prophet's family, and had poſſeſſion of the gates of *Mecca*, "they might have left him the honour he deſired." In order likewiſe to manifeſt his diſcontent, he ſet out for *Mecca* a day before *Abu Jaafar*, and carried an immenſe quantity of proviſions with him upon the backs of 200 camels, with which he regaled twice a day the principal pilgrims of the caravan; and, after the end of every entertainment, made each of them a preſent of a veſt. The affront offered on this occaſion to *Abu Jaafar*, which was highly reſented by that prince, afterwards coſt him dear. For, as ſoon as he came to the throne, tho' he retained *Abu Moſlem* in his ſervice, as has already been ſeen, in order to extinguiſh *Abd'allah*'s rebellion, no one of his other governors of provinces being able to aſſiſt him with a ſufficient body of troops at this perilous conjuncture, he ſeemed in earneſt to meditate his deſtruction. Having received advice of the total overthrow of *Abd'allah*, the *Khalif*, who was naturally of a covetous diſpoſition, ſent an officer that was not preſent in the action to the army, to bring him a faithful and exact account of the plunder that was taken. This conduct appearing very ſtrange to *Abu Moſlem*, he ſaid to the officer with ſome emotion, "I have hitherto given "ſo good an account to the *Khalif* of the lives and blood of ſo "many thouſand men, who have paſſed over the edge of my "ſword, ſince it has been drawn for his ſervice, that he "ought not to have doubted of my fidelity with regard to "the ſpoil." Nor was he content with expreſſing his reſentment in this manner. For, inſtead of marching into *Syria* and *Egypt*, after the defeat of *Abd'allah*, as by his orders he was obliged to do, he retired into *Khoraſán*, where he lived for ſome time in a ſort of independency, tho' without any formal renunciation of his allegiance to the *Khalif*. However, at laſt, either by the artifices of his enemies, or too great a preſumption of his own merit, he was drawn to court, and met with a moſt gracious reception there; though, a few days after, he was aſſaſſinated by four perſons poſted in his chamber by *Al Manſûr*, for that purpoſe. The following detail of the circumſtances preceding and attending this horrid action have been handed down to us by *Abu'l Faraj*. *Abu*

Moſlem, by his diſtribution of veſts amongſt the *Arab* pilgrims that attended him to *Mecca*, and his reparation of the roads, as well as of the fountains and wells of water, ſo neceſſary for the refreſhment of thoſe pilgrims, had acquired ſuch a reputation as excited the jealouſy of *Al Manſûr*, and induced him to reſolve upon his deſtruction. To which he was farther prompted by a letter brought to him from *Abu Moſlem*, who ſet out from *Mecca* before him, and received advice of the deceaſe of *Al Saffâh* upon the road, in which he condoled with him for his brother's death, without congratulating him upon his acceſſion; which extremely irritated the new *Khalif*. Nor did he either ſtop upon the road till that prince came up, or return to him, as in point of duty he ought to have done; which greatly aggravated the affront, and made *Al Manſûr* more ſenſible of the contumelious treatment he had received. From that moment he not only hated *Abu Moſlem*, but was afraid of him, and could enjoy no ſort of reſt till he had formed a ſcheme for his deſtruction. *Abu Moſlem*, on the other hand, was very well apprized, that he had incurred the diſpleaſure of the *Khalif*, and therefore conſulted one of his friends at *Raya*, whether or no it would be proper for him to go to court? That truſty confident adviſed him by no means to ſee the *Khalif*, but to retire inſtantly into *Khoraſân*. This he refuſing to do, and making the beſt of his way to *Al Manſûr*'s reſidence, it was told him, "that he had "left his counſel behind him at *Raya*;" which afterwards paſſed into a proverb amongſt the *Arabs*. *Al Manſûr*, upon his arrival, at firſt treated him with great marks of diſtinction, and ordered him to refreſh himſelf that night in a proper manner; which he did, without delay. But, the next day, when he returned to court, he was aſſaſſinated by four of the *Khalif*'s guards, who had placed themſelves behind a curtain for that purpoſe, and, as ſoon as *Al Manſûr* clapped his hands, which was the ſignal agreed upon between them, they ruſhed upon him, and, amidſt his outcries for mercy, and loud profeſſions of loyalty to *Al Manſûr*, immediately diſpatched him. Upon his firſt appearance before the *Khalif* that day, after he had ſent for him, he upbraided him with the diſreſpect he had ſhewn him, and particularly with having inſerted his own name before that of his ſovereign in one of his letters, as well as with ridiculing, in conjunction with *Nâlec Ebn Al Haitham*, a letter that he himſelf had ſent him. In anſwer to which accuſations, *Abu Moſlem* endeavoured to excuſe his former conduct, and, in order to move the *Khalif*'s compaſſion, proſtrated himſelf before him; but without effect, that prince wiſhing God might deſtroy him, if he did not inſtantly put him to death. He then clapped his hands, and the aſſaſſins appeared;

appeared; upon which, *Abu Moſiem* cried out, *Preſerve me, O emperor of the faithful, from your enemies.* To whom the *Khalif* replied, *What more deadly enemy have I than yourſelf?* We find it intimated by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that *Al Manſûr* vowed *Abu Moſlem*'s ruin, becauſe he had calumniated him; but that for ſome time he in vain attempted to get him into his power, tho' at laſt he decoyed him to court, where he met with his tragical fate. The ſame author alſo relates, that he was maſſacred on the 25th day of the month *Shaabân*, in the 137th year of the *Hejra*; and that, after the perpetration of this horrid fact, his body was thrown into the *Tigris*. Some writers pretend, that this great general had an intention to transfer the *Khalifat* from the houſe of *Al Abbâs* to the deſcendants of *Ali*, or rather at firſt to have ſettled the latter upon the *Moſlem* throne; and that this was the principal cauſe of his deſtruction. Be that as it will, he is ſaid to have killed ſix hundred thouſand men in the various battles he fought for the houſe of *Al Abbâs*, and on other occaſions, or, as ſome will have it, that number, beſides thoſe he deſtroyed in his military expeditions. He is alſo ſaid to have been a great glutton and epicure; to have conſumed every day 3000 cheeſe-cakes, or tarts, and 1000 ſheep, beſides oxen and fowls; and to have had 1000 cooks, and as much kitchen furniture as would load 1200 beaſts of burden. He had three wives, with every one of which he lay only once a year. He was one of the moſt jealous and ſuſpicious of mortals, and kept his wives confined in a caſtle, into which no one but himſelf was permitted to enter. They were ſupplied with neceſſaries through the windows of that priſon; and whenever any of them was introduced to his embraces, ſhe rode on a beaſt that was afterwards killed, and the ſaddle on which ſhe ſat burnt the night after it had been uſed, in order to prevent any man's ever making uſe of them for the future. He was indiſputably valiant and brave, tho', with regard to his intellectual abilities and humanity, authors are not perfectly agreed; ſome of the eaſtern hiſtorians repreſenting him as prudent, merciful, and diſcreet, whilſt others of them have characterized him as an officer of a fierce, mercileſs, and intractable diſpoſition. A certain *Moſlem* being once aſked, whether *Abu Moſlem* or *Al Hejâj* was the better man? he replied, *I will not ſay, that* Abu Moſlem *was better than any other man, but that* Al Hejâj *was worſe than him.* Some pretend, that he was born in a village belonging to the territory of *Merû*, a famous city of *Khoraſân*; others ſuppoſe him to have been an *Arab*, extremely well verſed in the writings of the antient poets of his own nation, as well as in the moral traditions of the ſayings and actions of *Mahammed*; and, laſtly, others maintain, that he

he was originally a slave, and of *Curd* extraction. But however this may be, as he had the principal share in that surprising revolution, which fixed the house of *Al Abbâs* upon the *Moslem* throne, and makes so great a figure in the *Arab* history, we thought it would be highly proper to oblige our curious readers at least with the preceding short sketch of his life and character, as well as a circumstantial account of his tragical exit, here [t].

Sinan, *the* Magian, *rebels against the* Khalîf; *and is overthrown by* Jamhûr.

After the death of *Abu Moslem*, one *Sinan*, a *Magian*, or adorer of fire, of *Naisabour*, the metropolis of *Khorasân*, who had made himself master of *Abu Moslem*'s treasures, excited the people of that country to a revolt against the *Khalîf Al Mansûr*; but he was soon defeated, though at the head of 100,000 men, and the province reduced to the obedience of the *Khalif*, in the year of the *Hejra* 137, by *Jamhûr Ebn Morad*, who had been sent against him by *Al Mansûr* with a powerful army. That general having acquired an immense quantity of spoil in this expedition, the *Khalîf* was prompted by his avaricious temper to send a person expres to the army, to seize upon it; which so disgusted *Jamhûr*, that he immediately turned his arms against his master. But *Al Mansûr* having ordered a formidable army to march against him, he abandoned the city of *Raya*, where he had cantoned his troops, at the approach of the *Khalif*'s forces, and retired to *Ispahân*, in order to possess himself of that city and its dependencies. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Dionysius Telmarensis* is guilty of a mistake, when he asserts *Al Saffâh* to have died this year; such an assertion running counter to what has been advanced on this head by *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Eutychius*, *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and all the rest of the most celebrated *Moslem* historians [u].

Jamhûr *is defeated by the* Khalîf's *forces.*

The following year, being the 138th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif*'s forces, under the command of *Mohammed Ebn Ashâat*, pursued *Jamhûr* to *Ispahân*, where he had taken post with a body of troops; but, upon the approach of *Mohammed*, he retired with great precipitation into *Aderbijân*. Here, for some time, he maintained himself; but the *Khalif*'s army at last coming up with him, attacked him with incredible bravery,

[t] Khondemir, ubi sup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. ubi sup. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 100, 101. Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 215—217. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 398, 399. Golii not. ad Afragan. p. 183, 184. Theophan. chronograph. p. 360.

[u] Khondemir, ubi sup. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 110. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Eutych. et Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Ebn Shohnah, Ism. Abulfed. in hist. univer. &c.

and

and intirely defeated him. *Dionyſius Telmarenſis* ſeems to intimate, that an engagement happened this year in the neighbourhood of *Meſopotamia*, between the governor of that province's ſon and one of the imperial generals, who had made an irruption into the *Moſlem* territories; tho' we meet with no account of this action in any of the *Arab* writers. On the 9th day of *March*, either the preſent or the following year, ſeveral ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, which did very conſiderable damage. About this time, *Theodorus*, patriarch of *Antioch* was baniſhed into an obſcure part of *Paleſtine* by the *Arabs*, for holding an illicit correſpondence with the emperor, and diſcovering to that prince ſeveral ſecrets relating to the preſent ſituation of the *Moſlem* affairs. On this occaſion, the *Chriſtians* were forbidden either to build or repair any churches, to expoſe publickly the croſs in any part of the *Khalif*'s dominions, or to enter into any religious diſputes with the *Arabs*. *Salem*, one of *Al Manſûr*'s generals, according to *Theophanes*, invaded *Cappadocia* the ſame year with an army of 80,000 men; but was obliged to retire out of that country with conſiderable loſs, and without any other advantage than the acquiſition of a few *Armenian* deſerters, whom he conducted into the *Moſlem* territories. *John* patriarch of *Antioch*, *Michael* patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Timothy* biſhop of *Edeſſa*, *Conſtantine* biſhop of *Samoſata*, *Dionyſius* biſhop of *Harrân*, *Serguna* biſhop of *Marde*, and *David* biſhop of *Dara*, who was afterwards created patriarch, all *Monophyſite* prelates, flouriſhed in the year we are now upon; and *Athanaſius Sandalenſis*, biſhop of *Maipheracta*, erected a monaſtery on mount *Telbeſme*, *Tela-d-Beſme*, or *Tel Beſmai*, called afterwards the monaſtery of *Mar Athanaſius*, about the ſame time. *Aba* alſo, who belonged to the monaſtery of *Mar Abib*, was promoted to the ſee of *Amida* in *Meſopotamia*, in the room of *Severus*, who reſigned. The ſynod of *Mabug* ſeems likewiſe to have been held in the church of *St. Thomas*, without the town, the preſent year; at which aſſiſted *John* biſhop of *Callinicum*, *Timothy* biſhop of *Edeſſa*, *David* biſhop of *Dara*, *Aba* biſhop of *Amida*, *Serguna* biſhop of *Marde*, *Mardin*, or *Maredin*, *Stephen* biſhop of *Chabura*, *Conſtantine* biſhop of *Samoſata*, *Cyriac* biſhop of *Tur-Abdin*, *Dionyſius* biſhop of *Harrân*, *Elias* biſhop of *Sigar*, *Paul* biſhop of *Tagrit*, *Jonas* biſhop of *Be Nuhadra*, *Naarda*, *Nearda*, or *Nardea*, and ſeveral other *Syrian* and *Meſopotamian* prelates of conſiderable note. The reſult of which ſynod was a ſchiſm, occaſioned principally by the influence of a monk named *John*, at whoſe inſtigation the eaſtern *Meſopotamian* clergy choſe *John* biſhop of *Callinicum* for their patriarch; whilſt thoſe ſeated at *Moſul*,

ful, and in the western parts, elevated one *George*, not then upon the spot, to that honourable post. It seems to appear from *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that the *Angli*, or *English*, laid waste, about the 134th year of the *Hejra*, the borders of the *Moslem* conquests in *Spain* [w].

A prince of the house of Ommiyah *acknowledged* Khalif *in* Spain.

In the 139th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm Ebn Ab'dalmâlec Ebn Merwân*, after the intire ruin of his family in *Asia*, arrived in *Spain*. That fugitive prince, at this time about twenty-eight years of age, was recognized by the *Arabs* of that country for lawful *Khalif* of the west, and is said to have reigned thirty-two years and several months; leaving his crown, according to some of the eastern writers, to his son *Heshâm*, in the 172d year of the *Hejra*. He erected the great mosque at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, about two years before his death; and founded a monarchy, that remained near 200 years. The *Spanish* chronicle informs us, that he was surnamed *Al Adel*, or the *Just*; and that he left eleven sons and nine daughters behind him. We must not forget to observe, that *Rasis* has placed *Abd'alrahmân*'s arrival in *Spain* in the preceding year. That prince assumed to himself the title of *Emir Al Mûmenin*, or emperor of the faithful, of *Spain*, and king of *Corduba*; and, after the defeat of *Yusef*, in the year of the *Hejra* 142, asserted his independency, and refused to pay any tribute to the eastern *Khalif*. *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* is undoubtedly guilty of a mistake, when he affirms *Moâwiyah Ebn Heshâm* himself, the father of *Abd'alrahmân*, to have been the first *Khalif*, or *Moslem* emperor, of *Spain*; as, in this point, he runs counter to the whole stream both of *Spanish* and *Arab* antiquity. *Al Mansûr* imposed about this time, according to *Theophanes*, an additional tribute upon the *Christians* in his dominions, which even the monks and religious were obliged to pay, sealed up the furniture of their churches with his own seal; and, that it might be the more easily disposed of, put it into the hands of the *Jews*. Some authors pretend, that the *Khalif* this year issued an order for the reparation and enlargement of the temple at *Mecca*; but that this was ever carried into execution, does not from any *Arab* author appear. On *Tuesday*, *March* 3d, a terrible earthquake happened in *Jezira*, or *Mesopotamia*, which, according to *Dionysius Telmarensis*, demolished three considerable towns [x].

THE

[w] Khondemir, ubi sup. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 110, 111. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Theophan. chronograph. p. 361. Golii not. ad Alfragan. pass. Jos. Sim. Asseman. dissertat. de Monophysit. pass. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. c. xvii. p. 16, &c. [x] Khondemir, ubi sup. Ebn Amid, Chronic. Hispan. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup.

The Rawandians *attempt to aſſaſſinate the* Khalif.

THE next year, being the 140th of the *Hejra*, beginning *May* 25th, 757, the *Khalif Al Manſûr* ſent *Abd'al Wahab*, his brother *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*'s ſon, with an army of 70,000 men, to *Malatia*, or *Melitene*, a city of *Armenia*, or, as others will have it, of *Cappadocia*; where he incamped, during the ſpace of ſix months, and in that time reſortified the town, that had a little before been diſmantled by the *Greeks*. He alſo made it a place of arms, depoſited a great part of his treaſures there, and left in it a gariſon of 4000 men. He likewiſe built a caſtle, or citadel, at *Claudias*, or *Claudiopolis*, a neighbouring city of *Cappadocia*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. But the moſt remarkable event that happened this year, was the rebellion, or inſurrection, of the *Rawandians*, an impious ſect, who, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, held a *metempſychoſis*, or tranſmigration of ſouls, in the city of *Al Haſhemiyah*; of which we ſhall here beg leave to give our readers a ſhort and ſuccinct relation. The *Rawandians* were deſcended, or at leaſt received their name, from one *Al Rawand*; and have been repreſented by ſeveral of the eaſtern hiſtorians as ſome of the firſt who ſtrenuouſly promoted the intereſt of the houſe of *Al Abbâs* in *Khoraſân*. But *Abd'allah*, the ſon of this *Al Rawand*, having been engaged in ſome diſputes with *Abu Moſlem*, who was very powerful in *Khoraſân*, he came to an open rupture with him; the conſequences of which were by no means favourable to *Abd'allah Ebn Al Rawand*, and his adherents, who were intirely defeated and diſperſed, and obliged to hide themſelves in the moſt obſcure parts of that province. From this time to the preſent year, after *Abu Moſlem* had been put to death by the *Khalif*'s order, *Abd'allah* lay concealed; but being now freed from all apprehenſions of his moſt formidable enemy, he aſſembled all his followers in the city of *Al Haſhemiyah*, then the reſidence of the *Khalif*, and, at the head of them, went in proceſſion round *Al Manſûr*'s palace there, in the ſame manner as the religious *Moſlems* did round the *Caaba*. By this they gave him to underſtand, that they invoked him as their deity, and ſcrupled not to pay him divine honours. The *Khalif* being extremely incenſed at ſuch an open and bare-faced impiety, ordered an hundred of the principal of them to be impriſoned. This ſevere treatment ſo irritated the reſt, that, ſince *Al Manſûr* would not be looked upon as a divinity, they were reſolved to aſſaſſinate him, and ſubſtitute another in his room. In order

ſup. c. xviii. p. 17. RASES, Hiſpan illuſtrat. ubi ſup p 703. Francofurti, 1603. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 101. ISM. ABU'L FED. hiſt. univ. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 361. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 111. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

to

to facilitate the execution of which design, they took an empty coffin to the prison where their companions were confined, under the pretext of carrying from thence a dead body, and released them all. After which, they went in a body to the *Khalif*'s palace, with a resolution to murder him; but he, being a person of uncommon bravery, tho' he was surprized, with very few people about him, instantly mounted a mule, never a horse in this hurry and confusion being at hand, and immediately advanced towards the mutineers, with an intention to sell his life as dear as possible. In the mean time, *Mâan Ebn Zaidat*, who had kept himself concealed, in order to avoid the *Khalif*'s resentment, he having been one of the chiefs of the *Ommiyan* faction, seeing the imminent danger *Al Mansûr* was in, sallied out of his retreat, put himself at the head of that prince's attendants, and charged the rebels with such fury, that he intirely defeated them. This generosity of *Mâan* was so signal and unparalleled, that it passed into a proverb amongst the *Arabs*. The *Rawandians* were treated so rudely on this occasion, that they were all, to the number of 6000 men, killed upon the spot; and the *Khalif* delivered from instant death, when his case seemed to be absolutely desperate. However, the affront that had been offered him in his capital city so chagrined him, that he resolved to build a new city upon the banks of the *Tigris*, and fix his residence there. The foundations of which city, known from that time to the present by the name of *Baghdâd*, were laid five years after *Abd'allah Ebn Al Rawand*'s revolt, and consequently in the year of the *Hejra* 145 [y].

THE same year, *Al Mansûr* removed his uncle *Saleh Ebn Ali* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Abd'almâlec Ebn Yezid* to succeed him in that post. *Theophanes* seems to have had the *Rawandians* in view, when he informs us, that some of the *Persians*, or *Maurophori*, that is, of the faction of the house of *Al Abbâs*, after they had dissipated their substance, threw themselves headlong from off the tops of towers, and other high buildings, in order to fly from thence to heaven; which strange and amazing conduct he attributes to demoniacal obsession. Some other actions he also relates of them, which to him seemed to proceed from the same source. The ringleaders of this infatuated faction, or sect, to the number of six, he farther tells us, the *Khalif* ordered to be put to death, after they had been discovered, at *Berœa* and *Chalcis*. It appears probable, from what has been observed

Other events of the 140*th year of the* Hejra.

[y] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 217, 218. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 264—269. EBN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 398, 399.

by *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* reduced this year *Malaga*, *Seville*, and ſome other places of note in *Spain* [z].

The Moſlems make an irruption into the imperial territories

THE following year, being the 141ſt of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* depoſed *Abd'almâlec Ebn Yezid*, whom he had the preceding year conſtituted governor of *Egypt*, and appointed *Mûſa Ebn Caab* to preſide over the people of that country in his room. About this time, the *Moſlems* forbad the *Chriſtians* to write the public accounts of the tribute paid the *Khalif* by the ſeveral provinces of his empire; though afterwards, finding themſelves incapable of penning ſuch accounts, they were obliged to repeal the order that had been made. The ſame year, a body of the *Arab* troops made an irruption into the imperial territories, defeated a ſtrong detachment of the *Armenian* forces, under the command of one *Paulus*, that pretended to oppoſe them near the river *Melas*, and then retired, with a conſiderable number of captives, after they had put many of the emperor's ſubjects to the ſword, into their own dominions. This year, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* ſeems to have gained ſeveral advantages over *Yuſef* in *Spain*, and to have aſſembled a powerful army of *Spaniſh Arabs* at *Seville*, in order to ſupport his pretenſions to the *Khalifat* there [a].

Abd'alrahmân *meets with great ſucceſs in* Spain.

IN the 142d year of the *Hejra*, *Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr* depoſed *Mûſa Ebn Caab*, who had been advanced to the government of *Egypt* the year before, and appointed *Mohammed Ebn Aſad* to rule the *Egyptians* in his ſtead. Some diſputes are ſaid to have ariſen amongſt the eaſtern *Chriſtians* about the time of celebrating Eaſter, this preſent year. At the ſame time alſo, or the following year, according to *Theophanes*, one *Theodorus*, a *Syrian*, in the diſtrict of *Heliopolis*, rebelled againſt the *Arabs*, and brought a conſiderable army into the field. But the *Khalif*'s forces at laſt came up with him, intirely defeated him, and cut the whole body of the rebels he commanded to pieces. In the year we are now upon, *Ab'dalrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah* likewiſe overthrew *Yuſef* at *Corduba*, purſued him to *Toledo*, and formed the ſiege of *Veia*, or *Beia*. In fine, this *Yuſef* was attended by a ſeries of misfortunes, and at laſt ſlain at *Toledo*, by ſome from whom he expected, and perhaps deſerved, a better fate. This we learn from ſome of the beſt of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians. When *Abd'alrahmân*, after the great ſucceſs he had met with, marched with his army to beſiege *Valencia*, the *Chriſtians*, according

[z] ABU JAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 361. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup.

[a] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 101. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 362. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup.

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to *Raſes*, being ſtruck with terror, applied themſelves to the body of St. *Vincent*, then in their poſſeſſion, that had wrought many miracles, for its protection, and carried it with them in their flight to the ſea-ſide. Theſe unhappy wretches were afterwards diſcovered by one *Alibohaces*, an *Arab* of diſtinction, as he was hunting, and the people accompanying him, on the ſea-coaſt of *Algarve*. The men and women the *Arabs* put to the ſword, carried the children away into captivity, and left the body of the ſaint upon a narrow tract projecting into the ſea, denominated *Promontorium Sacrum* by the antients, and by the moderns, as is ſaid, from this event, the *Cape of St. Vincent*. As for *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah*, after the death of *Yuſef*, he ſeized upon *Corduba*, as well as the famous garden in *Arabic* termed *Razafa*, and made himſelf maſter of all the *Moſlem* territories in *Spain*. He alſo cut off *Jirât Al Hadra*, *Beye*, and other *Arab* commanders, who had revolted againſt him, and aſſembled a conſiderable force, in order to drive him from the throne. Of their followers he ſlew great numbers in battle, hanged ſome, and put many others to various kinds of deaths; by which means, he perfectly ſettled himſelf in the *Khalifat* of the weſt, reſtored the public tranquillity, that had been ſo long diſturbed, and intirely appeaſed all commotions in the *Moſlem* part of *Spain* [b].

THE next year, being the 143d of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ebn Aſad* was removed, by the *Khalif*'s order, from his poſt, and *Hamid Ebn Kahtaba* appointed to govern the *Egyptians* in his room. About this time, the repoſe of a conſiderable part of *Africa* was diſturbed by ſome tumults and commotions, which were preceded by a ſolar eclipſe that happened on *Friday*, *Auguſt* 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning. *Theophanes* ſeems to intimate, that the *Rawandians*, about the ſame time, committed ſome diſorders in ſeveral parts of the *Moſlem* empire, and particularly in the neighbourhood of *Baſra*. It appears likewiſe from the ſame author, as well as from *Dionyſius Telmarenſis* and *Cedrenus*, that a very remarkable comet, reſembling a fiery beam, and therefore called by the *Greeks docites* (Δοκίτης) was ſeen ten days together in the eaſtern, and twenty-one days in the weſtern, part of the hemiſphere, in the month of *March*, the preſent year [c].

The occurrences in the Moſlem *empire during the year of the* Hejra 143.

[b] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. RASES, ANDREAS RESENDIUS, apud Joan. Vaſæum, in Hiſpan. chron. Vide etiam Hiſpan. illuſtrat. p. 703. Francofurti, 1603. [c] ABU JAAFAR AL-TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 362, 363. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 111. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p. 464.

Al Mansûr *cuts off several of the descendants of* Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb.

THE following year, being the 144th of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 11th, 761, *Hamid Ebn Kahtaba* was ordered by the *Khalif Al Mansûr* to retire from *Egypt*, and succeeded in the government of that fertile and opulent province by *Yezid Ebn Hâtem Ebn Abu Safra Al Mohallebi*. The same year, *Al Mansûr* got into his hands *Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Taleb*, and some others of the sons of *Hasan*; as he also did *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Othmân Ebn Affân*, surnamed *Al Dibâj Al Mothhab*, whom he likewise found means to decoy. Being informed, that *Mohammed* and *Ibrahim*, the sons of *Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan*, had formed a design to dethrone him, he sent out several parties in quest of them; and, in order to discover the place of their retreat, he took with him *Abd'allah*, their father, and all his domestics, loaded with irons, into *Irâk*, examined them there, and afterwards commanded them all to be closely confined. He also treated *Mohammed*, surnamed *Al Dibaj Al Mothhab* in the same manner, and ordered him to be scourged with so much severity that he died in prison. After his death, his head was cut off, and exposed in all the principal towns of *Khorasân*; the populace there being at the same time given to understand, that this was the head of *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah*; which step was judged requisite, in order to make them believe that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Hasan* was destroyed, and thereby cut off all hopes from this prince's faction, which was then very powerful in that country. *Theophanes* seems to intimate, that the *Rawandians* occasioned this year some commotions in *Syria*. *Dionysius Telmarensis* relates, that *Al Mansûr* sent *Ebn Wahab* with a formidable army, attended by a proper number of workmen, to rebuild the city of *Melitene* in *Cappadocia*, in the 144th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 761, after it had lain in ruins about eight years; tho' that city was rebuilt, or rather refortified, by *Abd'al Wahab Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed*, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, four years before, as has been already observed. The latter of these historians likewise informs us, that the *Khalif* carried twelve of the sons of *Hosein* (*Hasan* it must have undoubtedly been in the original, all the remaining copies of that author being corrupted here) with him from *Medina* to *Cufa*; where he incarcerated them in so strait a room, that they could none of them sit down. The little air, therefore, they were allowed to breathe, soon becoming tainted by the excrements of these unhappy men, with which they were obliged daily to conspurcate and contaminate one another, they in a short time expired. It does not appear either from the *Spanish* or *Arabic* writers, that any thing material happened this year in *Spain* [d]. IN

[d] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 101, 102. THEO-

In the 145th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Manſûr* laid the foundations of *Baghdâd*, the capital of the *Babylonian*, or *Chaldæan*, *Irâk*, as has been already remarked. To this he was excited by the affront offered him, or rather the aſſaſſination intended him, by the *Rawandians*, in the city of *Al Haſhemiyah*; where they rebelled againſt him, and beſieged him in his palace. Another reaſon aſſigned by *Abu'l-Faraj* for the erection of this metropolis, was, becauſe the place pitched upon for its ſituation was at a greater diſtance from *Cúfa*; the inhabitants of which city had never been faithful to him, but always debauched his army, and promoted to the utmoſt of their power a deſertion amongſt his troops. Beſides, the people of *Irâk*, who had perſiſted in their fidelity to him, repreſented, that, by building his capital on a ſpot of ground near the confluence of the *Sorat*, or *Shat Al Arab*, the *Euphrates*, and the *Tigris*, it would be in a great meaſure ſecured from the inſults and attacks of thoſe who ſhould ever have an intention to diſpute the *Khalifat* with him; and that, by being ſituated, as it were, in the middle of the tract comprehending the diſtricts of *Baſra*, *Cúfa*, *Wâſet*, *Mawſel*, or *Moſul*, and *Sawâda*, and at no great diſtance from thoſe cities, it would be plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions from thence, by means of the aforeſaid rivers. Having, therefore, choſen, for the ſite of his new city, a delightful plain on the weſtern bank of the *Tigris*, and the horoſcope of a lucky day and moment, by the unanimous conſent of his aſtrologers, he ordered the workmen, aſſembled on this occaſion, and drawn from all the politeſt parts of the *Moſlem* empire, to begin to dig for the foundations of *Baghdâd*. The *Perſian* geographer places this metropolis in his third climate, and informs us, that *Khoſrú*, named *Anuſhirwân*, gave the plain on which it ſtands to one of his wives. This princeſs, who kept great numbers of ſheep there, erected on the very ſpot where *Baghdâd* was afterwards built, a chapel, or oratory, which ſhe dedicated to her principal and favourite idol, called *Bagh*; and, according to the laſt-mentioned author, from this event, gave to all the open country forming that particular diſtrict the name of *Baghdâd*, i. e. in the *Perſian* tongue, *the gift*, or *preſent*, *of* Bagh. In proceſs of time, continues the *Perſian* writer, this chapel came to ſerve for an oratory and retreat to an hermit of uncommon ſanctity and auſterity of life; who accidentally met with one of the *Khalif*'s officers, that, whilſt his maſter was riding on the banks of the *Tigris*, full of his new ſcheme, had ſtrayed a little from

The Khalif Al Manſûr *lays the foundations of* Baghdâd.

Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 363. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 111, 112. ut et ipſe Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 218.

the rest of that prince's attendants, and approached the antient structure raised by the princess above-mentioned in honour of *Bagh*. This officer soon discovered to the hermit *Al Mansûr*'s design; upon which, the holy man told him, that, according to a tradition which had long prevailed in the circumjacent territory, a city was to be built there by a person named *Moclas*; but that he could not perceive any affinity between this name and those by which the *Khalif* was called. However, the officer, rejoining his companions, communicated to *Al Mansûr* what he had learned of the hermit, in relation to the erection of a city upon the spot he had chosen; and the *Khalif* thereupon alighted from his horse, prostrated himself on the earth, and returned GOD thanks for being pleased to destine him to be the author of so grand a work. All the *Moslems* then present being vastly surprized at this action, as not being able to discover any similitude or resemblance between the names, or rather surnames, of *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Mansûr*, applied to the *Khalif*, and that of *Moclas*, mentioned by the hermit; *Al Mansûr*, in order to put them out of their pain, immediately told them, that having in his younger years taken one of his nurse's bracelets, to buy with it some provisions for himself and his brothers, who were all then in very necessitous circumstances, she ever after called him *Moclas*, which was the name of a famous thief, or highwayman, very well known in *Khorasân*. To this he thought fit to add, that, as GOD had been pleased to appoint him by this name to carry into execution the design he had formed, he would not chuse any other situation for his new city than the spot he at present found himself upon [t].

A farther account of the foundation of Baghdâd.

But, notwithstanding the authority of the *Persian* geographer, the *Arab* writers give a very different account of this matter. The spot on which *Baghdâd* at this time stands was a fine verdant plain, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and had nothing, before the foundation of that city, upon it, but the cell of a *Christian* monk, called *Baghdâd*. From him, therefore, if this author and *Eutychius* may be credited, the new city received the name of *Baghdâd*. Others, however, inform us, that this monk, whom they call *Dâd*, possessed a beautiful garden, adjacent to his cell, of a very considerable extent; and that the town, whose foundations occupied this, was from thence denominated *Baghdâd*, or *the garden of Dâd*. The first city that went by this name was erected by *Al Mansûr* on the western bank of the *Tigris*; from whence

[t] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 217——219. Geograph. Pers. apud D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Bagdad*, p. 167, 168. ut et ipse D'HERBEL. ibid. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup p. 9, 10. See also SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim. disc. &c.

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he detached a body of the *Moſlem* troops, under the command of his ſon *Al Mohdi*, to the oppoſite bank. Here the young prince took poſt, and fortified the place on which he had incamped with a wall, in order to cover his troops, as well as the workmen employed by his father on the other ſide of the river from the incurſions of the *Perſians*, who ſeemed to have taken umbrage at the erection of a new metropolis ſo near their frontiers. Hence it came to paſs, that the city, or rather that part of the city, ſoon after built upon the eaſtern bank of the *Tigris*, received the name of *the camp*, or *fortreſs*, *of* Al Mohdi; and, in conjunction with the other, on the oppoſite bank, formed the city of *Baghdâd*. The former of theſe, as having its ſtreets paved with ſtones, was alſo denominated *Ruſâfa*; a name that was likewiſe applied to other places of note in *Jezîra* and *Irâk*. The *Khalîf* had a ſuperb and magnificent palace both in the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the town, which went under the appellation of *the houſe of the Khalîfat*, or *the imperial palace*; tho' the former, which, by way of eminence, was ſtiled *the gariſon*, or *the royal incloſure*, was much more grand and ſtately than the latter. The eaſtern palace was ſurrounded on the land-ſide by a ſemicircular wall, that had ſix gates; the principal of which ſeems to have been that called *the gate of the prefects*, whoſe entrance was generally kiſſed by the princes and embaſſadors that came to the *Khalîf*'s court. Some writers are greatly miſtaken, when they make *Baghdâd* to have occupied the ſpot on which the antient *Babylon* ſtood; ſince the former ſeems to have been erected upon the foundations of *Seleucia*, and to have been divided by the *Tigris* in the ſame manner that the latter was by the *Euphrates*. Beſides, there is a village, according to the oriental geographers, upon the *Euphrates*, called *Babel*, conſiderably to the north of *Baghdâd*, near which the traces of a very large city, ſuppoſed with greater reaſon to have been *Babylon*, are ſtill to be ſeen; whereas nothing of that kind appears in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*. The deflection of the gates of the interior from thoſe of the exterior city induced the *Arabs*, according to *Abulfeda*, to denominate the place *Zauraa*, that is, *oblique*, *crooked*, &c. tho' others pretend, that the obliquity of the *Kebla* of its principal moſque gave this metropolis that name. For, the city, at leaſt that part of it erected on the weſtern bank of the *Tigris*, was intirely round; the *Khalîf*'s palace being, as it were, in the centre of it, and having annexed to it the great moſque, whoſe *Kebla* was oblique, inſomuch that the *Moſlems* performing their devotions here turned their faces towards the gate of *Baſra*. With reſpect to the eaſtern part of *Baghdad*, we find it intimated by the oriental writers, that it conſiſted of an in-

terior and exterior town; each of which was ſurrounded by a wall; and conſequently, that the eaſtern city, or principal part of *Baghdâd*, had apperta ning to it both an interior and exterior wall. For ſome time, after the foundations were laid, the work went on but ſlowly. For, *Abu Jaafar*, intending to demoliſh *Al Madâyen*, that had formerly been the reſidence of the kings, or *Shahs*, of *Perſia*, ſurnamed *Khoſrû*, and to make uſe of the materials of the buildings in the erection of his new city, upon conſideration, found that he could not advance very briſkly in that demolition; as the ſtones were of ſo wonderful a ſize, and the towers and walls of ſo ſurprizing a height, that it would require much time, as well as a very large expence, to level with the ground all the fabrics there, and tranſport all the materials, of which thoſe noble edifices were compoſed, from thence to *Baghdâd*. Beſides, he conſidered, that it would be no ſmall reproach to him to have it ſaid, that he could not finiſh the metropolis upon which his workmen were then employed, without deſtroying ſuch a pile of buildings as could ſcarce be paralleled in the whole world; and this induced him at laſt intirely to abandon his firſt deſign. To which we may add, that the demolition of *Al Madâyen*, had he finally reſolved upon it, would have been not a little retarded by the commotions that happened in his empire this very year; of which we have been obliged with the following accounts by ſome of the beſt *Arab* hiſtorians [f].

Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan *rebels, and is cut off by the* Khalif's *forces.*

Soon after the *Khalîf Al Manſûr* began to lay the foundations of *Baghdâd*, in the 145th year of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan Ebn Al Hoſein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, whoſe head the partiſans of the houſe of *Al Abbâs* had pretended to expoſe in all the principal places of *Khoraſân*, the preceding year, was proclaimed *Khalîf* at *Medina*, and aſſumed the ſurname of *Al Mohdi*. In order to ſupport his pretenſions to the *Khalîfat*, he aſſembled an army of 100,000 men; but, upon the approach of *Iſa Ebn Mûſa*, whom *Al Manſûr* ſent againſt him, the greateſt part of his forces diſperſed of their own accord, and the reſt retired to the deep *ditch*, or intrenchment, which the prophet himſelf had ordered to be dug round *Medina*, by the advice of *Salmân*, the *Perſian*, for the ſecurity of the city, and which *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan*, on this occaſion, cauſed to be immediately repaired. However, receiving advice, that *Iſa* was marching againſt him, he drew his troops out of the intrenchment, diſmiſſed as many of them

[f] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 102. Greg Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. Eutych. ubi ſup. p 398, 399. Sharif Al Edrisi, p. 204. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 121, 122, 123. Ism. Abulfed. in *Irâk*. Alb. Schult. ind. geograph. in vit. Salad. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup.

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as were unwilling to engage, and with the reſt, amounting to about 300 men, came to a general action with the *Khalif*'s forces; but being overthrown, he was ſo cloſely purſued by *Iſa*, that the latter, at the head of his horſe, entered the town, and, without much difficulty, made himſelf maſter of it. He alſo put *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan* himſelf to the ſword, and cut off his head; which he ſent as a preſent to *Al Manſûr*, who immediately ordered it to be carried in triumph through the principal provinces of the empire. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan*, who pretended to diſpute the *Khalifat* with *Al Manſûr*, is ſaid to have loſt his life at *Medina*, the preſent year, in the month of *Ramadân* [g].

THE ſame year, *Ibrahim Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan Ebn Al Hoſein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* cauſed himſelf to be ſaluted *Khalif* at *Baſra*, and obliged the people of that city to take an oath of fidelity to him. He likewiſe ſeized upon *Perſia* and *Ahwâz*; and, in order to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the provinces that had ſubmitted to him, he alſo took the field with an army of 100,000 men. But the *Khalif*'s nephew, *Iſa Ebn Mûſa*, at laſt, after the defeat of *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan*, coming up with him, engaged him, put his forces to flight, and diſperſed them in ſuch a manner, that they could never afterwards rally, nor make head againſt him. As for *Ibrahim* himſelf, he periſhed in the action; after the end of which, his head was cut off, and ſent by the general to *Al Manſûr*, who received it with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. Thus the *Khalif*, by his prudence and bravery, or rather the valour and conduct of *Iſa*, appeaſed thoſe commotions that threatened deſtruction to his family, in the year of the *Hejra* 145, which enabled him to reſume the great work he had begun on the banks of the *Tigris*, and to give law to all his domeſtic enemies that had for ſome time been meditating a revolt [h].

Ibrahim Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Haſan, *who rebels, is likewiſe defeated and killed by* Iſa.

WE muſt not forget to obſerve, that the great ſucceſs which attended *Al Manſûr*'s arms this glorious campaign, has been mentioned by *Theophanes*; who informs us, that the troops employed by that prince in the reduction of the rebels to his obedience, whom he calls inhabitants of the deſart, amounted to about 80,000 men. He likewiſe relates, that the *Turks*, paſſing the *Caſpian* ſtraits, made an irruption into *Armenia*, killing many of the natives of that country, and taking a conſiderable number of them priſoners, this preſent year [i].

The Turks *make an irruption into* Armenia.

[g] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. de vit. Mohammed. p. 75—77. AL BOKHARI, AL BEIDAWI, D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 168. [h] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 102, 103. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 168.

[i] THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 364.

THE

Events of the year 146.

THE following year, being the 146th of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 21st, 763, there was a profound calm almost throughout the whole *Moslem* empire; which enabled the *Khalif*, through the course of this year, to continue, without interruption, the building of *Baghdâd*. However, if we will believe *Theophanes*, the *Turks*, in the beginning of it, made a second irruption, through the *Caspian* straits and *Iberia*, into the *Moslem* territories; but being met by a body of *Arab* troops, an engagement ensued, in which many on both sides were slain. We are likewise informed by the same writer, that *Isa Ebn Músa*, having been before appointed to succeed the *Khalif*, was, by the following artifice, deprived of his reversional right to the *Khalifat*. *Al Mansúr* bribed his physician to give *Isa* a violent and soporiferous sternutatory medicine, in order to cure him of the megrim and vertigo, with which he was grievously troubled. This, continues our author, produced the desired effect; depriving *Isa*, for three days, of his senses, and rendering him intirely incapable of holding the reins of government; which being observed by the *Moslem* nobles and generals, who had been assembled by *Al Mansúr* for that purpose, they unanimously agreed to call *Al Mohdi*, the *Khalif*'s son, to the succession, after his father's death. However, *Isa*, afterwards coming to himself, and recovering the use of his reason, received a large quantity of gold from the *Khalif*; which he considered as a sort of recompence for the injury that had been offered him. That some particular circumstances mentioned in this story might have really happened, we shall not take upon us absolutely to deny; but that the whole relation is strictly true, we are by no means disposed to believe, since we are assured by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that *Isa* was removed from the succession after the death of *Al Mansúr*, the right to which had before been granted him, and declared the apparent heir to the crown after *Al Mohdi*, the following year, not without much squabbling and altercation. *Dionysius Telmarensis* writes, that there was a dreadful inundation of the *Tigris*, which almost intirely destroyed the city of *Mosul*, and all the neighbouring towns, in the month of *March*, this present year [k].

Abd'allah Ebn Ali destroyed by the Khalif.

THE next year, which was the 147th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mansúr* got *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, his uncle, who had rebelled against him, and been overthrown by *Abu Moslem* near *Nisibis*, in *Mesopotamia*, into his hands, and destroyed him in

[k] D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p 168. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 366, 367. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. ubi sup. p. 112. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

the

the following manner. The *Khalif* invited him to his court, ſwearing at the ſame time that he would not hurt him. This induced *Abd'allah* to leave the city of *Baſra*, whither he had retired, and lived in obſcurity with his brother *Soliman*, and come immediately to *Al Manſûr*'s reſidence. Soon after his arrival, the *Khalif* ordered a houſe to be built for him, whoſe foundations ſhould conſiſt chiefly of ſalt. Which being done, a vaſt quantity of water was, by his order, poured upon them. This occaſioned the fall of that houſe upon *Abd'allah Ebn Ali*, who was thereby cruſhed to pieces ſoon after he had taken poſſeſſion of it [l].

Other contingencies about the ſame time.

THE ſame year, according to *Theophanes*, ſome diſturbances happened in the deſart of *Palmyra*, tho' the particular circumſtances attending theſe troubles he has not handed down to us. The *Khalif* likewiſe, if we will believe this writer, ordered all the croſſes upon the tops of churches to be taken down, would not permit the *Chriſtians* to hold nightly meetings, nor to teach their children to read, and diſcovered a ſtrong diſpoſition to have proceeded to a formal perſecution. About the ſame time, according to *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*, there was a grievous murrain in *Meſopotamia*, that proved fatal to vaſt numbers of cattle there. Soon after the death of *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, *Abu Abd'allah Jaafar Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hoſein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* died at *Medina*. It has been already obſerved, that *Al Manſûr* called his ſon *Al Mohdi*, after him, to the ſucceſſion, in prejudice to his nephew *Iſa*, who had been before declared his immediate ſucceſſor, but was now appointed to mount the throne after *Al Mohdi*, tho' not without ſome difficulty, likewiſe this year [m].

The workmen ſtill employed at Baghdâd.

IN the 148th year of the *Hejra*, the workmen employed in the erection of *Baghdâd* continued their operations; and that with ſo much diligence and ſucceſs, that they had well-nigh put the laſt hand to the new city. This year, ſix ſtars ſeemed to fall from heaven, in the month of the latter *Canun*, according to *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*; who likewiſe informs us, that *Severus*, biſhop of *Amida*, died on the 14th day of the month *Adar*, and was buried in a monaſtery where he had reſided a conſiderable time. We muſt beg leave to obſerve here, that the *Syrian* month called the latter *Canun* anſwers

[l] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 369. [m] THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 103.

to *January*, as does *Adar* to *March*. Nothing remarkable seems to have happened this year either in *Africa* or *Spain* [n].

Baghdâd *finished.* THE following year, being the 149th of the *Hejra*, the famous city of *Baghdâd* upon the *Tigris*, the capital of the *Moslem* empire, was finished. That part of it, situated upon the western bank of the *Tigris*, is said to have cost the *Khalif* 4,000,000.*dinârs*; tho', according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, he actually demolished part of the *White Tower*, or citadel, at *Al Madâyen*, and ordered the materials procured from thence to be carried to the spot he had marked out for the site of his new city. However, finding that the demolition of all the buildings of *Al Madâyen*, and the transportation of the materials belonging to them to *Baghdâd*, would be more expensive than he at first apprehended, he abandoned the design he had formed. The city, when finished, was perfectly round, shut up by a double wall, and flanked with a considerable number of towers. The castle, or citadel, was in the middle of it, and commanded every part of the town. Its gates were disposed in such a manner, that those of the first wall were in a sloping and oblique position in respect of those of the second; which disposition, according to some authors, gave this place the name of *Zaura*, or *Zauraa*, i. e. *oblique*, *crooked*, &c. tho', if others may be credited, it received that name from the obliquity of the *Kebla* in its principal mosque. It seems to be intimated by *Sharif Al Edrisi*, that the eastern city was not built till the *Khalifat* of *Al Mohdi*; tho' we are of opinion, with the celebrated *Golius*, that this town was begun, and even in a manner finished, before the death of *Al Mansûr*. The palace in the western town was called *the palace of* Al Mansûr, as that in the eastern city went under the denomination of *the palace of* Al Mohdi. The *Khalif* stiled his new metropolis *Medinat Al Salam*, *the city of peace*, either by allusion to the name of *Jerusalem*, or because, at the time when it was finished, all the commotions in his empire were appeased, and almost every nation in *Asia* had submitted, or was become tributary, to him [o].

Who the founder of it, accord- THE *Persian* historians pretend, that the city of *Baghdâd*, as well as that of *Babel*, or *Babylon*, was built by the *Persian* kings of the first dynasty, who were no other than the antient

[n] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 168. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. ubi sup. ut & ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. Vide etiam THEOPHAN. ad ann. Constant. Copronym. 23^m. chronograph. p. 366. [o] D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 122. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 219. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR. monarch. Asiatico-Saracenic. stat. p. 8—12. Lipsiæ, 1724. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ubi sup. p. 204.

kings of *Aſſyria*; that *Zohak*, who was the *Nimrod* of the Jews, firſt founded this city; and that *Afraſiâb*, king of *Turk*, or *Turkeſtân*, and conqueror of *Perſia*, aggrandized it, and named it *Baghdâd*, that is to ſay, *the garden of* Dâd, or the idol that he worſhipped. To which they add, that *Kaikaus*, the ſecond king of *Perſia* of the ſecond dynaſty, who could have been no other than *Cuſh*, the ſon of *Nimrod*, according to theſe authors, conſtructed the temples, and the other moſt antient public buildings, of the place [p].

According to the Perſian *hiſtorians.*

We are told by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who has been followed herein by *Eutychius* and *Al Makin*, that this city received its name from that of the monk, or hermit, *Baghdâd*, in whoſe garden, and part of the territory adjoining to it, the foundations were firſt laid; tho' others pretend, that this monk's name was not *Baghdâd*, but *Dâd*. Be this, however, as it will, *Baghdâd* ſeems to have been raiſed out of the ruins of *Cteſiphon*, as well as thoſe of *Seleucia*, and was not only denominated by *Al Manſûr*, after the erection of it, *Medinat Al Salâm*, or *Medinat Aſſalam*, but likewiſe *Dar Al Salam*, or *Dar Aſſalam*; which appellation was plainly of the ſame import with the former. Hence it was frequently called by the *Syrians Medinat Selama*, and by the *Greeks Irenopolis*; both of which are equivalent to the *Medinat Aſſalam* of the *Arabs*. We find two opinions concerning the reaſon of the name *Baghdâd* mentioned by *Abulfeda*. According to the firſt, *Bagh*, in the *Perſic* language, ſignified a garden, and *Dâd* was the proper name of the man on whoſe garden was erected *Al Manſûr*'s new metropolis; of both which words the name *Baghdad* is apparently formed. If we will pay any regard to the ſecond, the ſpot on which this city ſtood was denominated *Baghdâd* by an eunuch, ſent by *Khoſrû* king of *Perſia* thither, from an idol named *Bagh*, worſhipped in thoſe parts of the eaſt, and the preſent made him by that prince of the ground on which his temple ſtood; a *gift*, or *preſent*, in the *Perſic* tongue, being expreſſed by *Dâd*. The ſame author obſerves, that *Al Manſûr* derived the appellation of *Medinat Aſſelam*, which he conferred upon his new capital, from *Vadi Aſſalam*, *the torrent of peace*, a name frequently applied by the orientals to the *Deglata*, or the *Tigris*, on whoſe banks that capital ſtood. The *Neſtorians*, who were in great favour with the *Khalifs*, transferred their patriarch's ſee, fixed before at *Cteſiphon* and *Seleucia*, to *Baghdâd*; and the *Greeks*, likewiſe, according to *Nilus Doxapatrius*, had a patriarch there. But *Abraham*, ſurnamed *Abraza*, the *Neſtorian* patriarch, pre-

Whence it derived its name, according to the Arab *writers.*

[p] Leb Tarikh, Khondemir, ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Baghdad*, p. 167.

vailed

vailed upon the *Khalif* to expel *John*, the *Greek* metropolitan, from thence, in the year of the *Hejra* 300. And *John*, the *Neſtorian* patriarch, prevented *Ignatius Barchichi*, the *Jacobite Mafrián*, from ſettling at *Baghdâd*, about 94 years after; tho' the *Khalif* then permitted a biſhop, ſubject to the *Mafrián*, to reſide there. However, *Bar Hebræus*, the *Jacobite Mafrián*, relates, that he ſpent the ſummer at *Baghdâd*, and ordained four deacons and a biſhop there, in the year of CHRIST 1265; as likewiſe, that *Jacobite* biſhops were before that time permitted to fix their reſidence in this city; and that *Lazarus*, one of them, was depoſed by *Dionyſius*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, whoſe conduct in this particular was approved of by the *Khalif Al Mamûn*, in the year of our LORD 829. This great city was the ſeat of the *Khalifs* of the houſe of *Al Abbás*, excepting only two or three, from its foundation to the year of the *Hejra* 656, when it was taken by the *Tartars*. Of which ſurprizing revolution, and the principal circumſtances attending it, our readers will meet with a full and ample account in the ſequel of this hiſtory q.

Baghdâd poſſeſſed at different times by the Tartars, Turkmans, Perſians, and Turks.

BAGHDAD, the capital of the *Moſlem* empire for near 500 years, remained in the hands of the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, to the year of the *Hejra* 795, or of CHRIST 1392, when *Timur Begh*, or *Tamerlain* the *Great*, took it for the firſt time from *Soltân Ahmed Ebn Awis*, or *Sultan Ahmed Ebn Weis*; who, being incapable of making head againſt the numerous forces brought by *Timur*, after he had ſubjugated *Perſia*, to form the ſiege of this city, found himſelf obliged to ſend all his baggage over the *Tigris*, to croſs that river with all his troops, and, in fine, to abandon his capital to the conqueror. He was, however, hotly purſued by one of the enemy's detachments to the plain of *Kerbela*, where ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, and a conſiderable number of men on both ſides were killed. Notwithſtanding which, he at laſt, by his conduct and bravery, eſcaped the fury of his purſuers, took refuge in the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and afterwards found means to repoſſeſs himſelf of the city of *Baghdâd*. There he remained till the year of the *Hejra* 803, when the city was taken a ſecond time by *Timur*; who, never-

q ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 102. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup p. 167, 168. EBN CASIN, ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. i. p. 10. et diſſertat. de Monophyſit. NILUS DOXIPATRIUS, in notit. patriarchat. Antiochen. GREGORIUS BAR HEBRÆUS, apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. tom. ii. p 251. Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi ſup. tom. ii. p. 441, 444, 251. ECCHELLENS. in not. ad catal. Ebed. p. 135. Cod. Syr. Nitr. iv. fol. 218. GEORG JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. GOLII not. ad Alfrag. ubi ſup.

theleſs,

theleſs, reſtored it to him, and he continued ſovereign of the place, till he was driven from thence by *Miran Shâh*, that prince's ſon. However, afterwards returning, he was chaſed from thence by *Kara Yuſef*, the *Turkman*, in the year of the *Hejra* 815; who likewiſe reduced *Baghdâd* a ſecond time, and finally expelled from thence *Abu Becr*, the ſon of *Miran Shâh*; ſecuring that capital to his family, in which it remained till the time of *Haſan*, or *Haſſan*, ſurnamed *Uzun*, which, in *Turkiſh*, ſignifies *long*, commonly called by the *Europeans Uſun Caſſan*, a *Turkman* prince, who drove the deſcendants of *Kara Yuſef* from thence, in the year of the *Hejra* 875, or of our LORD 1470. The princes of this family maintained themſelves in poſſeſſion of *Baghdâd* till the year of the *Hejra* 914, or of CHRIST 1508, when *Shâh Iſmael*, ſurnamed *Súfi*, or *Sófi*, the firſt prince of the royal family that reigned in *Irân*, or *Perſia*, till the dethroning of the late *Shâh Hoſein*, made himſelf maſter of it. From that time, for above an hundred years, this city continued to be a bone of contention between the *Turks* and the *Perſians*, having been the ſubject of ſeveral bloody wars between thoſe two powerful nations. It was taken by *Solimân* I. ſurnamed *the Magnificent*; and retaken by *Shâh Abbás*, king of *Perſia*; but being at laſt beſieged by *Amurath*, or *Morad* IV. with a formidable army, it was finally obliged to ſurrender to him, in the year of grace 1638, and has remained in the hands of the *Turks* to this very day [r].

Some farther remarkable particulars relating to that city, and the preſent ſtate of it.

IT may not be amiſs farther to obſerve here, that this city, which has always been ſo celebrated amongſt the *Moſlems*, had ſeveral other names beſides thoſe already taken notice of. That part of it erected on the weſtern bank of the *Tigris* was called *Medinat Al Manſúr*, the city of *Al Manſúr*, as owing its origin intirely to the prince whoſe name it bore; whilſt that on the oppoſite bank went amongſt the *Moſlems* under the appellation of *Aſker Al Mohdi*, *the army*, or *camp*, of *Al Mohdi*, for the reaſon above aſſigned. As the *Moſlems* of *Syria* ſometimes denominated it both *Medinat Selama*, and *Medinat Selomo*, *the city of peace*, ſo it received the appellation of *Medinat Slama*, denoting the ſame thing, from the *Syrian* or *Chaldæan Neſtorians*. The weſtern part of *Baghdâd*, which in after-ages was conſidered as a ſort of ſuburb, went alſo

[r] AHMED EBN ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. Beg. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 526—565. PETR. TEXEIR. AL JANNAB. AHMED EBN YUSEF, OLEAR. Aut. AL RAUDAH, DEMETR. CANTEMIR's hiſtory of the Othmân empire, in the life of Amurath, or Morad IV. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Ahmed Ben Avis*, p. 149—151. art. *Bagdad*, p. 168. art. *Timour*, p. 880, 881, et alibi. MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHNAH, Aut. NICHIARIST. &c.

under the denomination of *Karkh*; tho' this name ſeems to have been more particularly applied to that part of the weſtern town to which *Al Manſûr* commanded the market, that had before been kept in the neighbourhood of his palace, in order to remove the rabble to ſome ſpot at a greater diſtance from him, to be transferred. Here he likewiſe had a bridge conſtructed over the *Tigris*, to keep open more effectually a communication between this and *Al Mohdi*'s part of the town. The name of *Karkh* was afterwards rendered famous by the aforeſaid market, which occaſioned the erection of a conſiderable number of buildings there. The *Dar Al Khalîfa*, that is, *the houſe*, or *palace*, *of the* Khalîf, in the weſtern town, called *Kaſr Al Manſûr*, *the palace of* Al Manſûr, as well as the other named *Kaſr Al Mohdi*, *the palace of* Al Mohdi, made a very good figure. There was likewiſe a palace in *Baghdâd* ſufficiently grand, known by the name of *Kaſr Al Haſan Ebn Zohal*, *the palace of* Haſan Ebn Zohal, beſides ſeveral public buildings erected by the *Khalif Al Moſtanſer Billa*, and particularly the famous college founded by that prince, denominated by the *Arabs Al Madraſah Al Moſtanſeriah*, which, for the beauty and elegance of its ſtructure, the number of ſtudents it contained, as well as the learned men it produced, and the ample revenues ſettled upon it, has been repreſented by *Abu'l-Faraj* as excelling, in his time, every other houſe of learning in the then known world. Amongſt other ſtudents here, there were 300, who applied themſelves intirely to the ſtudy of the *Mohammedan* law, according to the deciſions of the authors of the four chief ſects of the *Sonnites*, or orthodox *Moſlems*; every one of which ſects had a profeſſor in this college, who had a monthly ſalary ſettled upon him, for inſtructing 75 young men committed to his care in the principles of the ſect to which he belonged. Every one of thoſe ſtudents had likewiſe a very handſome daily allowance of all kinds of proviſions aſſigned him. There was alſo a bath ſet apart for the uſe of the ſtudents here, and a phyſician maintained at the *Khalif*'s expence, who viſited them every morning, to ſee whether any of them ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance. The college had alſo a kitchen, a cellar, and an apothecary's ſhop, belonging to it, that the prelectors, and the young men educated therein, might be taken proper care of both in ſickneſs and in health. With regard to the four orthodox ſects abovementioned, it may not be improper to remark, that, notwithſtanding ſome differences as to legal concluſions in their interpretation of the *Korân*, and matters of practice, they were generally acknowleged to be orthodox in radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of ſalvation, and had each of them their ſeveral ſtations, or oratories, in the temple of *Mecca*. The founders

founders of theſe ſects are ſtill looked upon as the great maſters of juriſprudence, and are ſaid to have been men of great devotion and ſelf-denial, well verſed in the knowledge of thoſe things which belong to the next life, and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of GOD. This is *Al Ghazâli*'s encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour, that their names ſhould be uſed by thoſe who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themſelves only to attain their ſkill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice. Beſides *Al Moſtanſer Billa*'s college, there was another famous college and gymnaſium at *Baghdâd*, founded by *Moez-addin Abu'lfeta Mâlec Shâh*, the third *Sultan*, or *Soltân*, of the *Seljûks* of *Irân*; and another erected by his prime miniſter, or *Wazîr*, *Nezâm Al Melk*; the firſt of which was called *Al Madraſah*, or *Al Madraſat Al Hanîfiat*, and the other *Al Madraſat Al Nezâmiat*. In the vaſt number of learned men born at *Baghdâd*, may be reckoned the famous *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, the author of the fourth ſect of the *Sonnites*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully hereafter. Amongſt the perſons famed for literature, educated here, may be ranked *Kawam-addin Yuſef Ebn Haſan Al Hoſeini Al Rûmi*, who wrote a treatiſe in *Perſic* concerning the power and prerogatives of princes; *Ahmed Ebn Shamſi Al Hadi*, who wrote in *Turkiſh* the lives of ſeveral oriental poets; *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Hamdûn Al Kâteb*, who obliged his countrymen with a choice collection of hiſtorical narrations, and various elegances, in *Arabic*; *Moaffek-addin*, who publiſhed a commentary upon *Ariſtotle*'s piece *de auditione naturali*, in *Arabic*; *Mohammed Ebn Solimân Fodhûli*, the author of a poem in *Perſic* concerning cordial friendſhip; *Ebn Najjâr Moheb addin Mohammed Ebn Mahmûd Al Baghdâdi*, who compoſed a hiſtory that bore the title of *Tarikh Ebn Najjâr Al Baghdâdi*; *Ebn Haithemah Ebn Zehr Al Neſſai*; *Abu Sahal Haithem Ebn Jemil Abu'l Barakat*, a phyſician of *Baghdâd* ſent for by the *Khân* of *Khowarazm*; *Abu Ferim Sa'id Ebn Al Talmîth*, a *Chriſtian* phyſician of *Baghdâd*, who obtained from the *Khalif Naſer*, or *Naſr*, the title of *Amino'ddawla*; beſides many others, whoſe names we are not permitted to enumerate by the limits preſcribed us here. From what has been ſaid, we may conclude, that, for ſeveral ages, *Baghdâd* muſt have abounded more with *Moſlem* doctors, and other learned men of various kinds, than any other place in the *Mohammedan* dominions, except *Mecca* and *Medina*. It was alſo extremely populous, and contained ſeveral forts, or caſtles, capable of making a tolerable defence, that derived their names from their founders; ſuch were *Tak Al Harani*, *Tak Al Atrif*, *Tak Al Aki*, and others; the principal of which

was *Tak Al Aſma*, ſo called from *Aſma*, the *Khalif Al Manſûr*'s daughter, erected on the eaſtern bank of the *Tigris*, in that part of the city to which was more particularly applied the name of *Ruſâfa*, or *Al Ruſâfa*. One of the gates likewiſe of *Baghdâd*, that was fortified in a peculiar manner, received the appellation of *Tak*, or *Taka*. The language ſpoken here was one of the moſt polite and elegant dialects of the *Arabic*, as there was a greater concourſe of nobility and learned men, that excelled in many branches of literature, for ſeveral ages, in this city, than in almoſt any other of the eaſt. After what has been ſaid of the flouriſhing ſtate of *Baghdâd*, for ſo conſiderable a period of time, it will not appear ſtrange, that there ſhould have been a mint here, in which a vaſt number of *dirhêms* and *dinârs* were ſtruck. At preſent, tho' it groans under the *Turkiſh* yoke, *Baghdâd* is a celebrated empory and frontier of the *Ottoman* empire on the ſide of *Perſia*, to which not only many merchants, but likewiſe an incredible number of paſſengers, travelling from *Natolia*, *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Egypt*, into *Perſia*, continually reſort. It is the ſeat of a *Paſha*, to whom every one of thoſe paſſengers pays a ſort of tribute, or toll, which, in the whole, amounts to a very large annual ſum. The religion profeſſed here is the *Mohammedan*, tho' various ſects of *Chriſtians* are tolerated, of which the *Neſtorians*, who have a church, bear the greateſt ſway. The *Jacobites* and *Armenians* have no place of public worſhip, but go to the convent of the *Capuchins*, who adminiſter the ſacraments to them. There are ſeveral *Jews* likewiſe that reſide conſtantly at *Baghdâd*, but many more who come thither annually, in order to viſit the ſepulchre of the prophet *Ezekiel*, which is ſaid to ſtand about a day and a half's journey from the city. The *Paſha* of *Baghdâd* is generally a *Viſir*. The proper gariſon, about the middle of the laſt century, conſiſted of only 300 *Janiſaries*, commanded by an *Aga*; tho' the *Paſha*, whoſe houſe ſtood then upon the bank of the river, and made a good appearance, had under his command a body of 6 or 700 horſe. There were alſo then about 3 or 400 *Spahi's*, commanded by two *Aga's*, beſides another body of horſe, under two *Aga's*, that went under the denomination of *men of courage*. In fine, the *Ottoman* troops at that time in and about the town amounted to about 3000 men. The city then was 1500 paces long, 7 or 800 broad, and about three miles in circumference. The walls were of brick, and ſtrengthened with towers that reſembled baſtions; upon which the *Paſha* had mounted 60 pieces of cannon; the largeſt of which were not above five or ſix pounders. There were four gates, three on the land-ſide, and one upon the river; over which there was a bridge of thirty-three boats, or rather

rather pieces of timber, brought from *Moſul* and other places, faſtened together on goats ſkins, blown like bladders. The caſtle, or citadel, was in the city, near one of the gates called *Al Maazan*, on the north ſide; ſtanding partly on the river, and ſurrounded by a ſingle wall, adorned with turrets; upon which were planted, tho' without carriages, about 150 pieces of cannon. The *Paſha* was aſſiſted, in the civil government of the place, by a *Kâdi*, who repreſented the *Mufti*, and a *Teſterdar*, who collected the revenues of the *Grand Signor*. There were five moſques, of which two were tolerably well built, and adorned with *Duomo's*, covered with varniſhed tiles of different colours; ten caravanſera's, or inns, two of which were proper enough for the reception of travellers; and ſeveral *Bazars*, or market-places, arched, to enable the merchants to bear the heats, and watered three or four times a day, for the ſame purpoſe. Commerce then flouriſhed to a conſiderable degree here, tho' not ſo much as when the city was in the hands of the king of *Perſia*; *Sultan Amurath* IV. upon his making himſelf maſter of it, having put moſt of the richeſt merchants ſettled there to death. Many of the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, were ſettled there, being ſo ſimple as to believe, that their great *Imâm* lived at *Baghdâd*. The pilgrims that viſit *Mecca* by land are obliged to paſs through *Baghdâd*, and every one of them pays a tribute, or toll, equivalent to four piaſtres, to the *Paſha*; which branch of the revenue brings annually a very conſiderable ſum into the coffers of the *Grand Signor*. *Tavernier* informs us, that the *Raſedi's*, or heretics, here, who ſeem to have been a branch of the *Shiites*, in his time, were ſo rigid and ſtrict, that they would by no means either eat or drink with a *Chriſtian*, and ſcarce with a *Sonnite* himſelf. In his time, the inhabitants of *Baghdâd* conſiſted of about 15,000 ſouls. The latitude of this city was defined by the aſtronomers, who lived in the days of the *Khalif Al Mamûn*, to be 33° 20′; and by ſome of the modern geographers and aſtronomers, 33° 15′. But, for a more particular deſcription of the preſent ſtate of this celebrated city, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the laſt-mentioned author, who, in that point, will give them full and ample ſatisfaction [s].

ABOUT the 149th year of the *Hejra*, as we learn from *Dionyſius Telmarenſis*, the *Manichees*, or *Manichæans*, ſettled at *Harrân* in *Meſopotamia*, having been guilty of moſt execrable Abd'al-rahmân Ebn Moâ-

[s] GOLII not. ad Alfragan. et GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hiſt. dynaſt. p. 463. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ubi ſup. SHARIF AL EDRISI, AL GHAZAL. D'HERBEL. Bibliot. orient. art. *Malekſchah*, ou *Melikſchah*, p. 542, et alib. paſſ. ALB. SCHULT. ind. geographic. ad vit. Salad. ubi ſup. TAVERNIER's Perſian Travels, b. ii. c. 7. p. 84——86. Lond. 1678.

wiyah *begins to erect a moſque in* Spain.

ſuperſtition, were treated with great ſeverity by *Al Abbâs*, the *Khalif*'s governor of that province. The ſame year, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah*, the grandſon of *Heſhâm*, who had ſettled himſelf upon the *Moſlem* throne in *Spain*, and been acknowleged lawful *Khalif* of the weſt by the *Mohammedans* there, began to erect the great moſque at *Cordova*, or *Corduba*; which, after it was finiſhed, during the continuance of this monarchy, was highly revered by all the *Moſlems* in that part of the world. *Al Manſûr*'s arms having been attended with all imaginable ſucceſs, the preceding years, his ſubjects, through the whole courſe of this, enjoyed the ſweets of peace, without the leaſt diſcontinuance or interruption [t].

The famous Abu Hanîfa *dies.*

THE next year, being the 150th of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 6th, 767, the famous *Abu Hanîfa Al Nooman Ebn Thâbet*, the founder of the firſt of the four chief ſects of the *Sonnites*, who was born at *Cûfa* in the 18th year of the *Hejra*, departed this life. He died in priſon at *Baghdâd*, where he had been confined, becauſe he refuſed to be made *Kâdi*, or *judge*; on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his ſuperiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge; *chuſing rather to be puniſhed by them than by* GOD, ſays *Al Ghazâli*; who adds, that when he excuſed himſelf from accepting the office, by alleging that he was unfit for it, being aſked the reaſon, he replied, *If I ſpeak the truth, I am unfit*; *but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge.* It is ſaid, that he read over the *Korân*, in the priſon where he died, no leſs than 7000 times. The doctrine, or tenets, propagated by him, as well as the ſect of which he was the author, went amongſt the *Sonnites* by the name of *Hanifiah*, or *Hannîfiyah*. The *Hanifites* are called by an *Arabian* writer *the followers of reaſon*, and thoſe of the other three orthodox ſects *followers of tradition*; the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their deciſions, and the latter adhering more tenaciouſly to the traditions of *Mohammed*. The ſect of *Abu Hanîfa* heretofore obtained chiefly in *Irâk*, but now generally prevails amongſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*. His doctrine was brought into great credit by *Abu Yûſef*, chief juſtice under the *Khalifs Al Hâdi* and *Harûn Al Raſhid*. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Abd'allah Bathalmiûs* wrote a treatiſe concerning the diviſions, or different ſentiments, of the *Hanifites*; which, amongſt the admirers of that ſect, is held in good repute [u].

ABOUT

[t] DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup p. 112. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. KHONDEMIR, AL MAKIN, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. c. xviii. p. 18. [u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 219. EBN KHALECAN, Poc. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 297.

About the 151st year of the *Hejra*, as should seem from *Abu'l-Faraj*, who makes this event to have happened a little lîf after the *Khalif Al Mansûr* had fixed his residence at *Baghdâd*, who, by the divine assistance, he could cure him. The *Khalif*, charmed with the gracefulness of his person, the politeness of his language, and, above all, the assurances he had given him, ordered a sumptuous and costly vest to be put upon him, assigned him one of the best apartments in his palace, and commanded his chamberlain *Rabî* to treat him with the highest marks of respect. *George* having in a short time effected a cure upon him, *Al Mansûr* one day asked him whether he was married? To which the physician replied, that he had for his wife an old woman, who was extremely infirm, and not able to rise from her seat. Upon this, the *Khalif* ordered *Salem*, one of his eunuchs, to take with him three beautiful *Greek* girls, and a present of 3000 *dinârs*, to *George*'s apartment; who, not finding him at home, left them with *Isa Ebn Shahlâtha*, his scholar, there. But *George*, upon his return, after reprimanding *Isa* for receiving them, returned them to the *Khalif*; who sending for him, and asking him, with great surprize, the reason of so strange and unparalleled a conduct, the physician told him, without any scruple or hesitation, that it was not lawful for a *Christian* to have more than one wife at a time. This increasing *Al Mansûr*'s astonishment, he dismissed him with uncommon expressions of esteem, and afterwards heaped his favours with greater profusion upon him. About the same time, the *Khalif* sent three bodies of his troops, under the command of his brother *Al Abbâs*, governor of *Mesopotamia*, *Hasan Ebn Kahtaba*, and *Ebn Asad*, to penetrate into the imperial territories. These forces were composed of *Sindians*, *Alans*, *Khozars*, *Khazars*, or *Khazarites*, *Medes*, *Persians*, *Akulites*, *Arabs*, *Khosanites*, *Turks*, and others; but did not meet with great success in their expeditions. The *Khalif* himself, at the head of a powerful army, consisting of 80,000 men, moved

cured after the *Khalif Al Mansûr* had fixed his residence at *Baghdâd*, *of a dangerous illness by a Christian physician.*

297, 298. Al Ghazali, Al Shahrestan. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou Hanifah*, p. 21, 22. & art. *Hanifiah*, p. 429. Abd'allah Bathalmious, apud D'Herbel. ibid.

from *Amida*, *Amid*, or *Edessa*, *Tur-Abdin*, and *Tela-Kom*, in the beginning of the campaign; and made an irruption into the northern parts of the *Roman* empire. He advanced to a fortress called *Kamach*, or *Kamakh*, upon which he continued his attacks the whole summer; but without effect: so that he found himself at last obliged, after he had lost an incredible number of men, shamefully to abandon the siege [w].

Some other events of the year 154.

THE same year, a complaint being brought before *Al Mansûr* against the patriarch *George*, by the bishops who had been deprived by him of their authority at the synod of *Sarug*, and he being by them accused of exercising tyranny upon the *Syrian* clergy, the *Khalîf* ordered him to be put in irons, and gave his accusers leave to substitute another patriarch in his room. Upon which, by their unanimous suffrages, they advanced to that high dignity *David* bishop of *Dara*; whose lenity and moderation might justly have intituled him to the profoundest respect and veneration of all the *Mesopotamian* clergy, over whom he presided; tho' none of them, except those by whom he had been elected, paid any regard to his orders and decisions; he having been not a little blamed for being so active against his predecessor. Hence a schism arose amongst the *Jacobites*; some of whom considered *David* as their patriarch, others *George*, and others acknowledged no patriarch at all. With regard to *Tur-Abdin*, mentioned above, it may not be improper to remark, that the natives call it simply *Tur*, which in their language signifies a *mountain*; and that it is a considerable tract in the neighbourhood of the *Tigris*, which formerly contained a pretty large number of towns and monasteries, all under the jurisdiction of a bishop, called the bishop of *Tur-Abdin*. His diocese was, in process of time, split into several others, *viz. Salacha*, or *Salakh*, *Beth-Manaëm*, &c. and especially after *Saba* was translated from the see of *Salacha* to the patriarchate of *Tur-Abdin*, and set up in opposition to *Ignatius* VI. the lawful patriarch of the *Jacobites*; which produced a schism that continued from the year of CHRIST 1364 to the year 1494. We must also beg leave to observe, that the *Nestorian* convent on the *Curd*, or *Gordyæan*, mountains was reduced to ashes, together with all the people therein, as they were celebrating their annual festival on the spot where *Noah*'s ark had rested, in the usual manner, by lightning, the preceding year [x].

THE

[w] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 221——223. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman ubi sup. p. 113. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 374. THEOPH. SIGEFR. BAYER. histor. Osrhoen. p. 282. Petrop. 1734.

[x] DIONYS. TELMAR. ubi sup. Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. in dissertat. de

THE following year, being the 152d year of the *Hejra*, the celebrated *Christian* physician, *George Ebn Bakhtîshua Al Jondisâbûri*, who had been so serviceable to the *Khalîf Al Mansûr* in the recovery of his health, was himself taken extremely ill, and his life thought to be in no small danger. Upon which, he asked the *Khalîf*'s leave to return home, in order to see his son and family, and to be buried with his brothers, in case it should please GOD to put a period to his days. *Al Mansûr* desired him first, by way of reply to his petition, to embrace *Mohammedism*; and, in that case, promised him a certain admission into paradise, after his death: to which *George* made answer, "O emperor of the faithful, "I am determined to go to the place where my ancestors re- "side in the other world, whether that be paradise or hell." This excited the *Khalîf*'s laughter, who thereupon returned, "But since you have been with me, I have been free from "the maladies with which I was before afflicted; how, there- "fore, can I part with you?" To this the physician replied, that he should leave behind him his scholar *Isa*, who was a very skilful professor of physic, and would take all possible care of his majesty's health. The *Khalîf* then dismissed *George*, with a present of 10,000 *dinârs*, and sent an eunuch with him, to conduct him to his friends and relations, with orders to have his body conveyed to them, in case he should die upon the road. However, he arrived at home safe, under the eunuch's conduct. After his departure, *Al Mansûr* sent for *Isa*, whom, upon conversing with him, he found to be a person of profound erudition, and therefore substituted him in his master's place. *Isa*, after his advancement, began to grow contentious, and to behave in a very insolent manner, particularly to the *Christian* bishops and metropolitans, of whom he would have exacted large sums of money. Attending the *Khalîf* once to *Nisibis*, or *Nisibîn*, he had the assurance to write to the metropolitan of that city to send him the most valuable part of his consecrated vessels, or church-plate; threatening him with his resentment, in case of refusal; and, in his letter, making use of the following remarkable words: "Are you ignorant "of my interest with the *Khalîf*? Do not you know that on "me his health intirely depends, so that I can make him "sick or well as I please?" This letter *Cyprian*, the metropolitan of *Nisibîn*, found an opportunity of reading first to *Al Rabi*, *Al Mansûr*'s chamberlain, and afterwards to the *Khalîf* himself. *Al Mansûr*, after he had received this intelligence, finding how he was abused, first deprived *Isa* of all

The Khalif *takes a new physician, and rebuilds a fortress, in the year* 152.

de Monophys. et ubi sup. p. 113. et alib. pass. NAIRON. euopl. par. i. p. 45.

the valuable presents he had made him, and then, after a proper castigation, discharged him his service. The same year, that is, the 152d year of the *Hejra*, died *Yezid Ebn Hatem*, who had been made by *Al Mansûr* governor of *Egypt*. He was succeeded in his post by *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Hadij*. About the same time, likewise died *Maan Ebn Zâyada*, an *Arab* of so brave and generous a disposition, that, amongst his countrymen, it passed into a proverb. The *Khalif* first appointed him his lieutenant of *Yaman*, afterwards of *Aderbijân*, and lastly of *Khoraſân*. *Al Mansûr* is also said by *Dionysius Telmarensis* to have erected a new fortress, called by that author *Arsamosata*, upon the river *Arsanias*, either this or the preceding year. But *Dionysius*, in what he advances here, must undoubtedly be mistaken. For this town, which likewise went under the name of *Armosata* and *Arsamote*, has been taken notice of by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Tacitus*, and *Polybius*, as well as by a coin of *M. Aurelius*, in the *Medicean* collection at *Florence*, struck several hundred years before the *Khalifat* of *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*, which has been published by the learned *Lucas Holstenius*. The *Arabs*, therefore, did not found, but rebuild, or rather repair, the place at present under consideration. However, it may be fairly inferred from *Dionysius*, that *Cellarius* is guilty of a mistake, when he places *Armosata*, or *Arsamosata*, at a great distance from the *Arsanias*. The *Khalif*'s workmen, soon after they begun their operations, were struck with terror at the sight of a body of the imperial troops incamped on the other side the river, and immediately abandoned their work; which gave the enemy an opportunity of demolishing what they had done. However, the *Arabs* soon returned, resumed their work, and finished the fortress in such a manner as to put it out of danger of any future insult. *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moawiyah* still maintained himself, notwithstanding the power of *Al Mansûr*, and the success that had attended his arms in the east, upon the *Mosiem* throne in *Spain* [y].

The Christian territories invaded.

In the 153d year of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 3d, 770, one *Banaka*, or *Ebn Aka*, a *Moslem* general, according to *Theophanes*, undertook an expedition against the *Christians*, in order

[y] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 223, 224. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 103. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 113, 114. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Plin. lib. vi. c. 9. Ptol. geogr. Tacit. lib. xv. c. 10. Polyb. apud Christ. Cellar. in geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 11, p 390, 391. Lipsiæ, 1706. ut et ipse Christ. Cellar. ibid. Luc. Holsten. in adnotat. ad Ortel. Rod. Toletan. ubi sup. p. 18.

to

to revenge an irruption which the imperial forces had made into *Armenia* the preceding year. He advanced firſt into *Iſauria*, and from thence marched to a fortreſs called *Syce*, which he ſtraitly beſieged. Advice of this being brought to the emperor, he ſent orders to *Michael, Manes*, and *Bardanes*, three of his commanders, to move with a body of *Bucellarians* and *Armenians*, and other troops drawn out of ſome of the eaſtern provinces, againſt the *Arabs*, and force them to raiſe the ſiege. The imperial generals, in purſuance of the orders they had received, aſſembled their forces, and, in conjunction with a fleet fitted out by the citizens of *Cibyra*, that had entered the port of *Syce*, immediately advanced to the relief of the place. *Banaka*, being apprized of their approach, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to engage them; which at laſt he did, and gave them a total overthrow, putting a great number of them to the ſword. 'Tis remarkable, that the *Arabs*, in this action, made the firſt onſet with the ſame outcries and howlings that the *Turks* do, in order to intimidate the enemy, when they begin the attack, at this day. After this defeat, *Banaka*, who had made himſelf terrible to the *Chriſtians*, by the depredations he had committed in the imperial territories, and the captives he had carried off from thence, the foregoing year, ravaged all the neighbouring diſtrict in a dreadful manner. However, he could not reduce the fortreſs he had for ſome time ſo ſtraitly beſieged, but was obliged to return home, without having made any conſiderable conqueſt; tho' he acquired ſome valuable ſpoils, and took ſeveral priſoners, in this expedition. About the ſame time, *Al Manſûr* diſmiſſed *Nubakht*, his aſtrologer, who was a *Perſian*, and extremely well verſed in every branch of his art, on account of his ill ſtate of health; filling the poſt become vacant by his diſmiſſion with his ſon *Khorſhadmah Watîmâdah Khoſîr Wâabahaſhâd*, whoſe name the *Khalîf* converted into that of *Abu Sahl*. In the 151ſt year of the *Hejra*, or the 768th of CHRIST, *Dionyſius*, biſhop of *Harrân*, departed this life, and was ſucceeded by a perſon of the ſame name, taken out of the monaſtery of *Zuchenîn*, or *Zokhenîn*; as did likewiſe *Stephen*, biſhop of *Chabura*, or *Al Khabûr*, *Zacharias*, biſhop of *Edeſſa*, and *Jannes*, biſhop of *Tela*, the following year; the two laſt of whom were ſucceeded by *Elias*, a cruel and flagitious perſon belonging to the monaſtery of *Cartamina*, or *Kartamin*, and one *Sabinus*. At this time, *David*, the patriarch, *Serguna*, biſhop of *Marde*, *Abas*, biſhop of *Amida*, or *Amid*, *Conſtantine*, biſhop of *Samoſata*, or *Someiſât*, and *Paul*, biſhop of *Tagrit*, or *Tacrît*, were in great repute. A comet was ſeen in the month of *May*, between the eaſtern and northern parts of the hemiſphere; and ſoon after it rained black ſtones, ſome

vaded by a army, commanded by one Banaka.

of

of which were preserved to the time that *Dionysius Telmarensis* wrote the annals here referred to. *Zeid*, one of the *Khalif*'s generals, is likewise said by that author to have exacted a capitation-tax of the *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, the same year [z].

The transactions of the year 154.

THE next year, being the 154th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* sent one of his commanders, called *Mualabitus*, or *Al Mohallebi*, by *Theophanes*, with a numerous army into *Africa*; but what he did there this campaign, we are not told by that author. *Al Fadl*, surnamed *Barinar*, another of that prince's generals, made an incursion into the *Christian* territories, and carried off with him from thence about 500 prisoners. The people of *Mopsuestia*, or *Al Masîsa*, in *Cilicia*, receiving intelligence of this, detached a body of troops, levied amongst themselves, in order to cut off his retreat; but *Al Fadl* defeated this detachment, and put the *Mopsuestians* to flight, with the loss of a thousand men. The *Khalif* went this year to *Jerusalem*, where he kept the great fast of *Ramadân*; and obliged many *Christians* to retire from thence into the dominions of the *Greek* emperor. Either this or the preceding year, *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, the *Khalif*'s governor of *Mosul*, raised a violent persecution against the *Christians* of the *Jacobite* persuasion there; which, by means of his deputies, or inferior officers, whom he had appointed to preside over several considerable cities of *Mesopotamia*, he extended to other parts of that province. One of these was *Adam Ebn Yezid*, the lieutenant of *Amid*, *Arzan*, *Al Rûm*, and *Mayafarkin*, who, in cruelty and barbarity, seems to have surpassed all the rest. One *Zoaras*, or *Zoara*, a monk belonging to the convent of *St. Matthew* at *Mosul*, having conceived an invincible aversion to, and borne an implacable hatred against, his brethren there, accused them to *Jaafar*, *Al Mansûr*'s son, of having concealed the treasures of *Hesham*, *Merwân*, and other *Khalifs*, besides an immense quantity of gold and silver of their own. Upon which, that prince sent a detachment to plunder the convent, and strip the religious there of every thing valuable belonging to them; which being done, he issued an edict to oblige the *Christians* to transmit him an exact account of all the rich furniture contained in the churches and monasteries of *Mesopotamia*. But *Jaafar* dying soon after, that edict was revoked, and the valuable effects taken out of the convent of *St. Matthew* restored. At this time, a body of 500 slaves, being chiefly *Sindians* and *Khazars*, or *Khazarites*, attempted to seize upon the imperial treasury in *Harrân*; but being repulsed by *Al Abbâs*, the governor, they were soon dispersed, and several of them

[z] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 375. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 224, 225. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. ubi sup. p. 114. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

exe-

executed for being concerned in ſo villainous an attempt. *Al Manſûr* ſent officers likewiſe, this year, to collect the capitation exacted of the *Chriſtians* ſettled in *Armenia*, *Syria*, and *Meſopotamia*, with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity; and to impreſs the mark of ſlavery upon the foreheads, necks, arms, breaſts and ſhoulders, of that unfortunate people; which drove many of them into the imperial territories. Hence probably aroſe the cuſtom of having certain marks and characters painted on the arms and other parts of thoſe who viſited *Jeruſalem*, which in ſome meaſure prevails at this very day. The *Khalif* alſo ordered the walls and fortifications of *Callinicum* to be repaired. The ſame year, a notorious villain, born in a village called *Rama*, in the neighbourhood of *Tacrît*, after he had acted the monk for ſeveral years in the convent of *St. Matthew* at *Moſul*, put off the monaſtic habit, and declared himſelf a convert to *Mohammediſm*. This man, however, afterwards returned to the *Chriſtian* faith, aſſumed the name and character of a prophet in the territory of *Dara*, where he pretended to foretell future events, and to threaten deſtruction to the *Chriſtians* of *Meſopotamia*, unleſs hey ſpeedily repented of their ſins; and had the impudence to place himſelf in the epiſcopal chair belonging to the cathedral church of *Dara*. Here likewiſe, though he was only a deacon, he took upon him to communicate to preſbyters the benediction, to conſecrate oil mixed with ſpittle, and to diſtribute potions of this amongſt the populace, as a remedy that would effectually cure all diſorders; by which he amaſſed vaſt ſums of money. The news of which proceedings being brought to *Cyriacus*, the biſhop, he had the impoſtor carried immediately before *David* the patriarch, who ordered him to be conducted to *Harrân*, and thrown into priſon there. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that, about this very year, flouriſhed *Theophilus Edeſſenus*, by nation a *Maronite*, and by profeſſion an aſtronomer. He wrote a hiſtory, in which he makes 5197 years to have elapſed between the creation of the world and the commencement of the æra of *Seleucus*. He alſo tranſlated the *Iliad* of *Homer* into the *Syriac* language. But, for a farther account of this learned author and his works, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to ſome of the writers cited here; who, on that head, we doubt not, will give them full and ample ſatisfaction [a].

[a] THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p 376. Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. diſſertat. de Monophyſit. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 114, 115. ut et ipſe ASSEMAN. ibid. GREGOR. BAR-HEBRÆUS, apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 311, 313—315. Romæ, 1721. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 32.

THE

The Arabs *seize upon some districts of* Assyria *and* Mesopotamia.

THE following year, being the 155th year of the *Hejra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'alrahmán Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Hadij* died in *Egypt*, over which country he had been appointed to preside by *Al Mansûr*; who sent *Mûsa Ebn Ali Ebn Riyâh Al Lakhmi* thither to succeed him. *Mûsa* continued in that post, which he filled with credit and reputation, till the death of the *Khalif*. There was a great drought this year, according to *Dionysius Telmarensis*, in *Mesopotamia*. The *Arabs* of *Al Thalabiya* and *Maad*, with their flocks, camels, and other beasts of burden, made an irruption into *Assyria* and *Mesopotamia*; possessing themselves of the districts of *Musal*, *Beth-Garme*, or *Bajarma*, *Heza*, *Marga*, *Canisapor*, *Resin*, *Kok*, or *Cocha*, and *Salakh*, or *Salacha*. With regard to *Beth Garme*, or *Bajarma*, we must beg leave to remark, that it was a tract of *Assyria*, containing the cities of *Dakuka*, *Shahar-Kadta*, *Buazicha*, and others that we find enumerated by *Elias Damascenus*, the *Nestorian* bishop, and called *Germa* by *Agathias Scholasticus*. It was a bishop's see, and had one *Constantine* for its bishop in the year of our LORD 969. *Marga* was a town, or pretty large village, in the territory of *Mosul*. *Bar Hadbeshaba*, one of the bishops of *Marga*, has been mentioned by some of the eastern writers. *Kok*, or *Cocha*, may possibly have been the same city with the *Coche* of *Arrian*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Eutropius*, seated upon the *Tigris*, at a small distance from *Ctesiphon* and *Seleucia*, erected on the opposite bank of that river; though *Assemanus* seems to be of a different opinion. *Salakh*, or *Salacha*, was a town of *Tur Abdin*, that stood likewise at no great distance from the *Tigris*, and a bishop's see, as may be inferred from *Gregory Bar-Hebræus*. The convent of *St. James* here was the seat, or residence, of the patriarchs of *Tur-Abdin*, from the year of CHRIST 1364 to the year 1494. The other places taken by the *Arabs* this year have not been so particularly described by the oriental geographers and historians [b].

[b] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. ubi sup. p. 115. ut et ipse Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. RENAUD. tom. ii. Liturg. orient. p. 271. METAPHRAST. apud Lipom. tom. ii. in vita S. Bademi, AGATHIAS, lib. iv. p. 136. ELIAS DAMASCEN. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican tom. ii. p. 459, 344, 115, 382, &c. AMR. in vit. Abrahæ Nestoranior. patriarch. ARRIAN. in Parthic. apud Steph. Byzant. NAZIANZ. orat. iv p. 115. AMMIAN MARCELLIN. lib. xxiv. c. 18, 21. EUTROP. lib. ix. c. 12. NAIRON in Evopl. p. 45. Vide etiam CHRISTOPH CELLAR. geograph. antiq. tom. ii. p. 752, 753, et alib. & Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. de Monophysit. pass.

IN

In the 156th year of the *Hejra*, *Paul*, bishop of *Tagrit*, or *Tacrit*, *Zachæus*, bishop of *Charma*, and *Jonas*, bishop of *Nearda*, departed this life. The same year the *Khalif Al Mansûr* returned from *Jerusalem* to *Baghdâd*, and constituted *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, in the room of *Al Abbâs*, his governor of *Mesopotamia*. He also ordered the inhabitants of *Akula* to repair the walls and fortifications of their city at their own expence. Having by treachery cut off *Patricius*, the lieutenant of the *Greater Armenia*, he seized upon all his immense treasures, and put them into his own coffers. At such a pitch of impiety did the *Arabs*, or *Moslems*, arrive, that they opened a great number of sepulchres in *Mesopotamia*, in order to discover gold and silver there. About the same time, according to *Theophanes*, 280 heads were brought from *Africa* into *Syria*, and exposed to public view, by way of triumphal parade, in several places. The schism amongst the *Christians* of the *Jacobite* persuasion in *Mesopotamia*, some of whom adhered to *David*, as their patriarch, and others to *George*, who had been imprisoned by the *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*, still continued [c].

Al Mansûr returns from Jerusalem to Baghdâd.

The next year, being the 157th of the *Hejra*, a grievous famine made terrible havock in every part of *Mesopotamia*; insomuch that the *Christians* were obliged to live upon flesh in Lent. This was followed by a plague, which swept away the greatest part of the inhabitants of that province. *Mûsa Ebn Mosaab*, the *Khalif*'s governor, treated the *Christians* of all denominations, not excepting the religious of every kind, with the utmost rigour and severity, this year; throwing into prison all who could not pay the enormous tribute he demanded of them. Such treatment as this they had likewise met with from the present *Khalif*, or at least the person he appointed to preside over them, in the beginning of his reign [d].

A famine and plague in Mesopotamia.

The following year, being the 158th of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 11th, 774, *Al Mansûr* set out from *Baghdâd*, in order to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. But he was taken ill upon the road, and found himself so bad at the castle of *Abdawaya*, where he lodged one night, that he sent for his son *Al Mohdi*, who attended him in this pilgrimage, in order to take his final leave of him. As soon as *Al Mohdi* came into his apartment, perceiving his end to approach, he gave him some salutary advice in relation to his future conduct, when settled upon the *Moslem* throne, and laid his last commands upon him; which, according to *Abu'l Faraj*,

Al Mansûr's death and character.

[c] Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Theophan. chronograph. p. 377.

[d] Dionys. Telmarens. et Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi sup. p. 115, 116. Theophan. ubi sup. p. 361.

were

were delivered in the following terms: "I command you," ſaid he, "to treat publicly your relations with the greateſt "marks of diſtinction, ſince this will reflect no ſmall degree "of honour and glory upon yourſelf: but this," added he, "I believe you will not do. Increaſe the number of your "freed-men, and treat them all with kindneſs, as they will "be of great ſervice to you in time of adverſity; but this," continued he, "I am apt to think you will not do. Inlarge "not that part of your capital erected on the eaſtern bank of "the *Tigris*, as you will never be able to finiſh it: but this," ſaid he, "I know you will attempt. Never permit any of "your women to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate, nor to have "too much influence over your councils: but this," ſubjoined he, "I know you will not fail to do. Theſe are my laſt "commands, or, if you pleaſe, my dying advice; and to "GOD I now recommend you." Then he took his leave of him, and they were both drowned in tears. From *Abdawaya* he went to *Câſa*, and then continued his journey, tho' he grew worſe and worſe every ſtation, till he arrived at *Bîr Maimûn*, that is, *the well*, or *fountain*, *of* Maimûn, where he expired, on the 6th of *Dhu'lhajja*, very early in the morning; and was carried from thence to *Mecca*, where, after an hundred graves had been dug, that his ſepulchre might be concealed, he was interred. He lived ſixty-three, and reigned twenty-two lunar years, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Eutychius*, or *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, and *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Ebn Batrik* makes him to have been ſixty-eight years of age at the time of his death. With regard to his perſon, he had a thin long beard, was tall, lean, and of a ſwarthy complexion. He is alſo ſaid to have tinged himſelf with ſomething that gave him a darkiſh hue, and to have changed the colour of his grey hairs every month with two thouſand drachms of muſk. As to his diſpoſition, he was of a moſt ſweet temper in private, and could bear even with the impertinences of boys; but when he appeared in public, arrayed in his royal robes, even all the ſenior part of his ſubjects ſtood in awe of him. He was a prince of vaſt prudence, integrity, and diſcretion, and of a very winning and amiable converſation. He was alſo magnanimous and brave, and extremely well verſed (having improved his natural genius by long experience) in all the arts of government. But theſe good qualities were not a little ſullied by ſome of a contrary nature. For, he was covetous to ſuch a degree, that ſeveral very ridiculous ſtories have been told of him. He was likewiſe, on ſome occaſions, truculent and cruel, of a fierce aſpect, loaded ſome of his ſubjects with irons on bare ſuſpicion, and butchered others of them with greedineſs and pleaſure. He left behind him, in his treaſury,

600,000,000 *dirhêms*, and 24,000,000 *dinârs*. We are told by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that he paid his cook, by aſſigning him the heads and legs of the animals dreſſed in his kitchen for his own uſe; and that he obliged this ſervant to procure all the fuel and veſſels he had occaſion for at his own expence. The following ſtory of him is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence here. Whilſt he remained in a private ſtation, and before he was elevated to the ſovereign dignity of *Khalif*, he ranked amongſt his moſt familiar friends one *Azhar Baheli*, a man of great merit, and conſidered as one of the moſt authentic doctors in all points relating to traditions. This perſon obſerving that *Abu Jaafar*, when ſettled upon the throne, did not vouchſafe to enter into any particular converſation with him, as formerly, he reſolved to preſent himſelf before him at one of his public audiences; which he accordingly did. As ſoon as the *Khalif* perceived him, he demanded of him what he wanted there. *Azhar* anſwered, that he was come to congratulate him, and to rejoice with him, upon his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Abu Jaafar* immediately ordered him a purſe with a thouſand *dinârs* in it, and then diſmiſſed him with the following words: "Don't give yourſelf the "trouble to come here any more." Notwithſtanding which, the following year, *Azhar* preſented himſelf again before him. The *Khalif* looked upon him with a very ſour countenance, and aſked him what brought him thither? *Azhar* replied, "I "was informed that your majeſty was greatly indiſpoſed, and "came hither, as one of your moſt faithful ſlaves, to inquire "after your majeſty's health." Upon which, *Abu Jaafar* ordered him another purſe with the ſame ſum in it; and ſaid to him roughly at parting, "Don't come to teize me here "any more for the future." But this did not hinder *Azhar* from appearing before him again, the following year. The *Khalif*, as ſoon as he ſaw him, ſaid to him, in great wrath, "Will you never ceaſe to importune me?" *Azhar* anſwered, "Formerly I never received any thing but civilities from "your majeſty; I come therefore now to learn what has oc-"caſioned ſuch an alteration in your conduct." To which the *Khalif* anſwered, "As the civilities you mention had no "manner of foundation, ſo they left behind them not the "leaſt impreſſion in my mind; becauſe, by not ſeeing you "as I uſed to do, I have contracted a habit of not ſeeing you "at all." In fine, *Al Mançûr* diſmiſſed him, without giving him any thing. This ſtory has been handed down to us by *Yafii*, who tells us, that the *Khalif*, by the patience and liberality exhibited on this occaſion, deviated from the general courſe and tenor of his conduct; as he was, for the moſt part, both very ſordid and avaricious, and of a haſty and paſſionate temper.

temper. He ordered a tax to be levied upon the people of *Cûfa* of a *dawanek*, or *obole*, a ſmall inconſiderable braſs coin, a head, to defray the expence of digging a ditch, or intrenchment, round the town, for the ſecurity of the place; for which reaſon, he was ſurnamed, by way of contempt, *Abu Dawanek, the father of the* dawanek, *or* obole, by the inhabitants of that city [c].

Some other particulars relating to him.

Some of the eaſtern writers relate, that a dyſentery, or bloody-flux, put a period to this *Khalif*'s days, and that he died at *Mecca*; though the latter notion, however poſitively aſſerted, was undoubtedly a miſtake. *Khondemir* reports, that, a few days before he was attacked by the malady that carried him off, he found four *Arabic* verſes inſcribed upon a wall, which gave him great uneaſineſs; the purport of which was to the following effect: "O *Abu Jaafar*, the time "of your death is come! Your days are determined, and "GOD's irrevocable decree is arrived. Conſult as many au"gurs, ſoothſayers, diviners, and aſtrologers, as you pleaſe; "your time is ſoon to expire, and the thread of your life to "be cut by the diſtemper that is to prove fatal to you." Theſe verſes mentioned aſtrologers, becauſe the *Khalif*, who was himſelf well verſed in the knowledge of the ſtars, had always ſome philoſophers and mathematicians about him. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Al Manſûr* diſcovered, written upon the wall of a caravanſera, or inn, four other verſes in *Perſic*, the ſenſe of which was as follows: "The kingdoms "and riches of this world are not given, but only lent us. "Let no one, therefore, think himſelf ſure of them, or value "himſelf too highly upon account of them. Whoever fixes "his heart upon them, and places his chief confidence in "them, will be covered with ſhame, when he is obliged to "return them to him from whom he received them." Some authors inform us, that this *Khalif*'s governors of *Egypt* exacted ſuch enormous ſums of money, by way of tribute, of the people of that country, not ſparing even the pooreſt artificers and meaneſt mechanics, that they were reduced to the extremeſt poverty, and forced to feed upon dogs and dead bodies. *Al Manſûr* and *Conſtantine Copronymus*, the *Greek* emperor, are both ſaid to have died within the courſe of the ſame year. The former underſtood the *Mohammedan* law better than moſt of his age, having been inſtructed therein by ſome of the moſt celebrated *Moſlem* doctors, whom he greatly ho-

[c] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 219, 220. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 104. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 400, 401. EBN SHOHNAH, YAFEI, DION. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. p. 116. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid.

noured, and did not think it beneath him to be looked upon as their scholar, even after his elevation to the *Khalifat*. Notwithstanding the aversion that reigned between the houses of *Al Abbâs* and *Ommiyah*, *Al Mansûr* frankly owned that the *Khalifs* of the former family had three advantages over him; first, in finding such a general, and governor of a province, as *Al Hejâj*; secondly, in being served by such a secretary as *Abd'al Hamid*; and, thirdly, in meeting with such a *Muedhdhin*, or *crier*, as *Al Baalbeki*. This *Khalif*'s counsellors were *Abu Atiya Al Bâbeli*, *Ayûb Al Marzabâni*, whom he put to death for assuming to himself too much power, and his servant *Rabi*. The captains of his guards were *Abd'al Jabâr Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Azdi*, *Ebn Caab Ebn Mûsa Al Tamini*, and *Al Mosaiyeb Al Zahiri*; his judges *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Safwân*, *Sharîk Ebn Abd'allah*, *Al Hasan Ebn Amâra*, and *Al Hejâj Ebn Artah*; his chamberlains *Rabî*, *Isa*, *Al Hasib*, his servants, *Abu'l Khatib Marzûk*, and *Al Rabî*, his freedmen. His brother's son, *Ibrahim Ebn Yahya Ebn Mohammed*, said the usual prayers at the time of his interment. The first day of his reign was *Monday*, and the last *Saturday*. The most illustrious actions of this prince, according to some of the oriental historians, were the conquests of *Armenia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*; to which others add the erection of the famous city of *Baghdâd*. We are told by *Ebn Shohnah*, that, when he took his final leave of his son *Al Mohdi*, he made use of the following terms: "I "was born," my son, "in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*; I "was proclaimed *Khalif* in the same month; and I am "strongly inclined to believe that I shall die in it; for which "reason, I am now endeavouring to perform my last pil-"grimage, in order to be rendered a proper object of the di-"vine mercy."

SECT. XXIII.

WHEN *Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr* expired at *Bîr Maimûn*, he had only his domestics, and *Rabî*, his freed-man, with him. The latter of these, for some time, kept his death concealed, and pretended to have a conference with him; in which, as he gave out, the *Khalif* commanded him to exact the oath of allegiance to *Al Mohdi*, his son, as his immediate successor, and to *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, his cousin-german, Al Mohdi *mounts the throne, after his father* Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr.

[f] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 220. Khondemir. Nigarist. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 104, 105. Eutych. ubi sup. Theophan. ubi sup. p. 378. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Jos. Sim. Assem. ubi sup. p. 116. ut et ipse Jos. Sim. Asseman. ibid. Ebn Shohnah, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mansor*, p. 552, 553.

as the next apparent heir of the crown, of all then present: which having done, he dismissed them, and, soon after the conclusion of that ceremony, communicated to them the news of *Al Mansûr*'s death. He also dispatched a courier to *Al Mohdi*, with advice of that event, and of the first step that had been taken at *Bir Maimûn* in his favour. Upon the arrival of the courier at *Baghdâd*, then the residence of this prince, he was unanimously proclaimed *Khalif* by the inhabitants of that city. This courier was *Monara*, one of the late *Khalif*'s servants. Some of the eastern writers inform us, that *Omm Mûsa*, *Mohammed Al Mohdi*'s mother, was the daughter of *Al Mansûr Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Sahar Al Hamyari*, or of the tribe of *Hamyar*. *Isa Ebn Mûsa*, as soon as the news of *Al Mansûr*'s death was imparted to him, began to entertain thoughts of setting up for himself at *Cûfa*, where he then resided; and, in order to facilitate the execution of his scheme, fortified himself in that city. But *Al Mohdi*, having been apprized of his intended defection, sent *Abu Horeira*, with a detachment of 1000 horse, to bring him to *Baghdâd*; which being done, *Al Mohdi* not only prevailed upon him to recognize his authority, but likewise persuaded him to relinquish his right to the succession, in favour of his son *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, for the sum of 10,000, or, according to some of the MS. copies of *Abu'l-Faraj*, 10,000,000, *dinârs*. Soon after the new *Khalif*'s accession, one *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim Al Yazam*, declaring against *Al Mohdi*, assembled in *Khorasân* a body of troops, in order to dispute the *Khalifat* with him. This impostor, pretending to act the prophet, seduced a great number of *Al Mohdi*'s subjects at *Busa*, or *Besa*, probably the *Fesâ* of *Abulfeda*, an antient city of *Persia*, about ten parasangs almost east of *Estakr*, or *Istakhra*, where he first set up his standard. The *Khalif*, therefore, sent an army against him, which intirely defeated him, dispersed all his followers, and brought him bound to *Al Mohdi*; by whose order he was publickly crucified at *Baghdad*. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, this *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim Al Yazam* was governor of *Khorasân*; tho', if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, he first set up for a prophet at *Busa*, and was overthrown by *Yezid Ebn Yezid*, one of *Al Mohdi*'s most experienced generals. We must not forget to observe, that *Al Mansûr*'s name at length, with his whole surname annexed to it, was *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbas Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*; though the first part of his name, *Abd'allah*, has been denied him by *Pagius*. It must also be remarked, that *Busa*, *Besa*, or *Fesa*, was in the earlier times a city of a very considerable extent [g].

[g] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 225. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 105. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 402, 403.

In the 159th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* appointed *Mohammed Ebn Soliman*, the *Syrian*, governor of *Egypt*; but preſently removed him from that exalted poſt, and ſubſtituted *Mûſa Ebn Ali* in his room. It appears from *Theophanes*, that a body of *Al Mohdi*'s troops made an incurſion into the imperial territories, and carried off with them ſome *Moſlem* priſoners, that had been confined in a cave called *Cauſis*, the preſent year [h]. *The Arabs make an incurſion into the imperial territories;*

The following year, being the 160th of the *Moſlem* æra, the *Khalif* ſent *Iſa Ebn Lokmân Al Jamjami* to govern in *Egypt*, in the room of *Mûſa Ebn Ali*, diſpatched thither for the ſame purpoſe the preceding year, whom he thought fit to depoſe. The *Arab* forces, under the command of *Othmân Ebn Kaka*, one of the *Moſlem* generals, according to *Theophanes*, made another irruption into the dominions of the *Greek* emperor, plundered in a dreadful manner the country through which they moved, and conducted from thence ſeveral priſoners into the *Moſlem* territories, likewiſe this year [i]. *as likewiſe another, the following year.*

The next year, being the 161ſt of the *Hejra*, the *Chriſtians*, if we will believe *Theophanes*, invaded *Syria* with an army of 100,000 men, and defeated a body of *Arabs* that pretended to oppoſe them; of whom they killed five *Emirs*, or principal officers, and 2000 men, upon the ſpot. At this time, ſeveral *dirhêms* came out of the mint erected at *Baſra*; one of which was found in the neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, on the coaſt of the *Baltick*, in the year 1722; a particular deſcription of which has been given us by the learned *M. Kehr*. This *dirhêm* exhibits on the anterior part the following words, *Bel Baſrata ahdayni waſettina wameaten*; that is, *At* Baſra, *in the* 161ſt *year of the* Hejra; and, on the reverſe, *Mohammedon raſûlo-llahi, ſalla-llaho alayhi waſallama*; Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* God; *may* God *be propitious to him, and make him happy!* After which come the words, *Al Khalifat o-l' Mohdiyyo Mohammed*, *In the* Khalifat *of* Al Mohdi, or *when* Al Mohdi Mohammed *was* Khalif. With regard to *Baſra*, it may not be amiſs to remind our readers, that this city was built by *Atbâ Ebn Arâr*, at the command of the *Khalif Omar*, in the 15th year of the *Hejra*, and conſequently cannot be deemed a place of very high antiquity. It is at preſent a very famous empory of the eaſt, and ſtands upon a thick ſtony ſoil, as the word *Baſra* itſelf denotes, about a day and *The Chriſtians invade Syria.*

403. Jos. Sim. Asseman. ubi ſup. p. 116. Pagius, ad an. Chriſt. 775. Ebn Arraheb, in Chronic. oriental. p. 72. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 114, 115. [h] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 106. Theophan. chronograph. p 378.

[i] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 380.

half's journey from one of the mouths of the *Tigris*, by which that river empties itself into the *Persian* gulph, denominated likewise from this town the bay of *Basra*. It is situated between *Persia* and *Arabia*, in the extremity of the deserts of *Irâk*, a little to the west of the *Tigris*, and was first founded for the sake of carrying on more commodiously an extensive commerce between the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Persians*, and *Indians*. The circumjacent tract is looked upon by the *Arabs* as one of the most delightful spots of *Asia*, and even as one of the most beautiful gardens in the world. However, the hot burning winds, that frequently blow there, are very troublesome to travellers, and sometimes overwhelm them with mountains of sand, driven by the force of these winds out of the neighbouring deserts. The city is inhabited by *Jacobites*, *Nestorians*, *Catholics*, *Jews*, *Mohammedans*, and *Chaldæan Christians*, commonly called *Christians* of *St. John*, who are pretty numerous here. The *Arabs*, according to *Abulfeda*, resorted to a street of *Basra*, denominated *Mirbad Al Basra*, in his days, from all parts, in order to repeat both their prosaic and poetical performances. *Basra* has sent out many persons of profound erudition; some of the principal of which were *Al Hariri*, whose stile in elegance is supposed to excel even that of the *Korân*; *Hasan Al Basri*, who was servant to *Omm Salma*, one of the prophet's wives, who gave him her own breasts to suck, whilst his mother was employed in her service, a famous scholastic divine, that kept a school at *Basra*, and wrote a piece, intitled, *Noble Traditions*; containing all the principal traditionary precepts of the *Mosiem* law; *Abu Ishak Ismael*, who penned a treatise concerning the law and statutes of the *Korân*; *Yacûb Ebn Ibrahim*, chancellor to the *Khalifs Al Hâdi* and *Harûn Al Rashid*, who composed a piece concerning the qualities requisite to form a *Kâdi*, or judge; *Abu Becr Mohammed*, who left behind him a collection of narrations, or antient histories; *Helâl Ebn Yahya*, who published a piece upon the ecclesiastical laws of the *Moslems*, relating to mosques and hospitals, founded for the benefit of travellers and strangers; and *Abu Sa'id Omar*, who composed a treatise upon the *Arab* poetry. There is also at *Basra* a famous college, or academy, founded by *Nezâm Al Molk*, the *Visir*, or *Wazir*, of *Moezaddin Abu'l Fetah Mâlec Shah*, the third *Soltân* of the *Seljûks* of *Irân*, called the college, or academy, of *Nezâm*. At this time, the city we are speaking of is said to be a flourishing seat of literature, tho' inferior in number of academics to *Demashk*, or *Damascus*, and *Kairo*, or *Al Kahirah*; the latter of which places, if we will believe a certain writer, contains no less than 12,000 *Mohammedan* students. *Basra* stands, according to the calculation of the *Arabic* tables, in long. 74° 00′, and lat. 31°

00'. The city of *Baghdâd*, tho' so lately erected, flourished greatly this year. Besides *Ebn Najjár*'s history of *Baghdâd*, intitled *Tarikh Ebn Najjár Al Baghdâdi*, there is also another history of this capital, to which we find prefixed the title of *Tarikh Baghdâd*, that is, *the history*, or *annals*, *of* Baghdâd, consisting of no less than ten volumes. The *Tarikh Al Abbâs* also mentions it in several places, as do in like manner all the *Persian* and *Arabian* geographers. To the learned men produced by this metropolis, already taken notice of, we may add *Ahmed Ebn Ahmed Al Baghdâdi Khattâb Al Hafedh*, *Mamar Ebn Almothâni Al Baghdadi Al Obeidah*, *Al Imâm Mohammed Al Baghdâdi*, and others; an enumeration of whose names our readers will not expect to meet with here [k].

IN the 162d year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Mohdi* removed *Isa Ebn Lokmân Al Jamjami* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Wadih Ebn Al Mansûr* in his room. About the same time, he commanded *Hasan*, one of his generals, to march into *Phrygia*, at the head of a powerful army, to revenge the loss he had sustained, when the imperial forces broke into *Syria* the last year. *Hasan*, in pursuance of his orders, advanced to *Dorylæum* in that country, invested it, and attacked it for seventeen days with incredible fury. But finding himself, at the end of that term, greatly distressed for want of provisions, and all his forage consumed, he was obliged to decamp from thence, and retire to *Amorium*; which town likewise for one whole day he closely besieged. But being informed, that the place was amply furnished with all kinds of provisions and military stores, besides a numerous garison to defend it, he thought fit to raise the siege, and return home. The imperial troops were not strong enough to harass him in his retreat; notwithstanding which, he lost a very considerable number of men, without the least advantage gained, this unfortunate campaign [l].

The Arabs undertake an expedition against the Christians; and another the following year.

THE following year, being the 163d of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* sent his son *Harûn Al Rashîd*, who was afterwards *Khalif*, with a formidable army, to undertake an expedition against the *Greeks*. The *Khalif* attended his son *Harûn* part of the way, and then took his leave of him; appointing *Yakya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, his counsellor, to assist him with his advice. However, he afterwards joined him in the neighbourhood of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*; tho' it does not certainly appear,

[k] THEOPHAN. ubi sup. TARIKH EBN NAJJAR, TARRIK BAGHDAD, TARIKH AL ABBAS, ISM. ABULFED. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. dissert de Monophysit. SHARIF AL EDRISI, Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 119—123. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 8—12, 30—32. Lipsiæ, 1724. [l] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. THEOPHAN. p. 380, 381.

that he was preſent at any of the military operations. On the contrary, we find it intimated by *Theophanes*, that he left the army, and went to *Jeruſalem*, before the opening of the campaign. *Harún*, after he had conferred with his father in the plains of *Dabek*, advanced to *Samalek*, battered that fortreſs with his catapults, and made himſelf maſter of it after 38 days ſiege; tho', when he entered the place, he found it little better than a heap of ruins. After the reduction, or rather deſtruction, of this town, *Harún* returned home; contenting himſelf with the glory he had acquired. We learn from *Theophanes*, that the *Khalif* raiſed a violent perſecution againſt both the *Chriſtians* and *Jews* ſettled at *Hems*, and in other parts of his dominions, this year [m].

Al Mokanna *rebels againſt the* Khalif.

ABOUT the ſame time, there happened another event, that, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, not a little embaraſſed the *Khalif*'s affairs. One *Hakem Ebn Hâſhem*, originally of *Merú*, in *Khoraſán*, who had been an under-ſecretary to *Abu Moſlem*, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned ſoldier, paſſed thence into *Mawará'lnahr*, where he gave himſelf out for a prophet. He is generally named by the *Arab* writers *Al Mokanna*, and ſometimes *Al Borkai*, that is, *the vailed*, becauſe he uſed to cover his face with a vail, or a gilded maſk, to conceal his deformity, having loſt an eye in the wars, and being otherwiſe of a deſpicable appearance; tho' his followers pretended he did it for the ſame reaſon as *Moſes* did, *viz.* leſt the ſplendor of his countenance ſhould dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proſelytes at *Nakhſhab* and *Kaſh*, deluding the people with ſeveral juggling performances, which they ſwallowed for miracles, and particularly by cauſing the appearance of a moon to riſe out of a well for many nights together; whence he was alſo called, in the *Perſian* tongue, *Sázendeh mah*, or *the moon-maker*. This impious impoſtor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated to himſelf divine honours, pretending that the Deity reſided in his perſon: and the doctrine whereon he built this was the ſame with that of the *Gholaïtes*, who affirmed a tranſmigration, or ſucceſſive manifeſtation, of the Divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from *Adam* to theſe latter days (of which opinion was alſo *Abu Moſlem* himſelf;) but the particular doctrine of *Al Mokanna* was, that the perſon in whom the Deity had laſt reſided was the aforeſaid *Abu Moſlem*, and that the ſame had, ſince his death, paſſed into himſelf. The faction of *Al Mokanna*, who had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above-mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the *Khalif* was at length obliged to ſend an army to re-

[m] Idem ibid.

duce

duce him; at the approach whereof *Al Mokanna* retired into one of his ſtrong fortreſſes, which he had well provided for a ſiege, and ſent his emiſſaries abroad to perſuade people that he raiſed the dead to life, and knew future events. But being ſtraitly beſieged by the *Khalif*'s forces, when he found there was no poſſibility for him to eſcape, he gave poiſon in wine to his whole family, and all that were with him in the caſtle, and, when they were dead, he burnt their bodies, together with their cloaths and all the proviſions, and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himſelf into the flames, or, as others ſay, into a tub of *aqua fortis*, or ſome other preparation, which conſumed every part of him, except only his hair: ſo that when the beſiegers entered the place, they found no creature in it ſave one of *Al Mokanna*'s concubines, who, ſuſpecting his deſign, had hid herſelf, and diſcovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impoſtor deſigned amongſt the remaining part of his followers; for he had promiſed them that his ſoul ſhould tranſmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man, riding on a greyiſh beaſt; and that, after ſo many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their poſſeſſion: the expectation of which promiſe kept the ſect in being for ſeveral ages after, under the name of *Mobeyyidites*, or, as the *Perſians* call them, *Sefid jâmehghián*, i. e. *the cloathed in white*, becauſe they wore their garments of that colour, in oppoſition, as is ſuppoſed, to the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbás*, whoſe banners and habits were black. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Al Mohdi* removed *Al Manſúr Ebn Yezid Al Raghbi*, who ſucceeded *Walíd Ebn Al Manſúr* in that poſt, from the government of *Egypt*, and ſubſtituted *Abu Sáleh Ebn Abd'allah Al Jawnani* in his place [n].

THE next year, being the 164th of the *Hejra*, after *Abu Sa'id*, *Al Mohdi*'s general, had reduced *Al Mokanna*'s faction to the obedience of the *Khalif*, *Ibrahim Ebn Sáleh Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbás* was ſent to preſide over *Egypt*. The ſame year, the *Khalif* ordered his ſon *Harún Al Rajhíd* to penetrate into the *Chriſtian* territories, with an army of 95,000 men. *Harún*, having entered the dominions of the empreſs *Irene*, defeated one of her commanders, that had advanced at the head of her forces to oppoſe him; tho', according to *Theophanes*, the *Greeks* gained the advantage in that action. After this overthrow, *Harún* laid ſeveral of the imperial provinces

Harún Al Raſhíd *invades the territories of the empreſs* Irene.

[n] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 226. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, Aut. LEB TARIKH, vel LEBTARIKH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, D'HERBEL. Bibloth. orient. art. *Hákem Ben Haſchem*, p. 412, 413. & art. *Mahadi*, p. 530.

waſte with fire and ſword, ſpread a terror over the reſt, and alarmed even the city of *Conſtantinople* itſelf. This induced the empreſs *Irene* to purchaſe a peace of the *Khalif*, by agreeing to pay him an annual tribute of 70,000 pieces of gold; which, at leaſt for the preſent, delivered her ſubjects from the courſes and depredations of the *Arabs*. After the ſigning of the treaty, *Harûn* returned home, loaded with ſpoils, and covered with glory. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Al Mokanna*, or *Hakem*, of whom we have ſpoken ſo largely above, is denominated *Hakem Ebn Atha* by one of the eaſtern hiſtorians. It has been remarked by ſome of the oriental writers, that, one day in the laſt *Arab* month of this year, the ſun, a little after his riſing, totally loſt his light, in a moment, without being eclipſed; when neither any fog, nor any cloud of duſt, appeared to obſcure him. The frightful darkneſs, occaſioned by this ſurprizing event, continued till noon, to the great aſtoniſhment of the people ſettled in the countries where it happened. The ſame authors likewiſe obſerve, that no account of any prodigy like this has been tranſmitted down to us by any of the hiſtorians of former ages °.

Abu Hanîfa's *ſect.*

In the 165th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Aug.* 26th, 781, the *Hanifites*, or *Haneſites*, of whoſe founder *Abu Hanîfa Al Nooman Ebn Thâbet* we have already given our readers a diſtinct account, made a conſiderable figure in and about the city of *Baghdâd*. To what has already been ſaid of that celebrated *Sonnite* doctor, we ſhall here beg leave to add the following particulars. *Malec Ebn Ans*, the author of the ſecond orthodox ſect of the *Moſlems*, who was born at *Medina*, being once engaged in converſation with *Abu Hanîfa*, who was a native of *Cufa*, told him, that *Ali* had obſerved the *Cufans* to be quarrelſom and ſeditious; to which *Abu Hanîfa* replied, that the people of *Medina* were taxed with hypocriſy by the *Korân*: which little raillery, that paſſed between two ſuch great men, has been taken notice of by one of the more reputeable *Moſlem* writers. Another of them informs us, that, according to the ſentiments of this doctor, thoſe points that have been imparted to us by GOD and his prophet *Mohammed*, are to be received with intire ſubmiſſion; of thoſe that have been handed down to future ages by the COMPANIONS, or cotemporaries, of the prophet, the beſt are to be choſen; but that with regard to the tenets and opinions of the doctors who followed them, men are at liberty either to admit or reject them, as the perſons from whom they come were weak and

° ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 382——385. Aut. LEBTARIKH, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH.

fallible

fallible like ourſelves. *Hoſein Waez*, in his commentary upon the *Korân*, relates, that *Abu Hanîfa*, having once received a box on the ear, ſaid to the perſon who had the temerity to give it him, "I could return you injury for injury; but that I "will not do; I could carry my complaint to the *Khalif*, but "ſuch a part as this I ſhall not act; I could at leaſt repreſent "to GOD in my prayers the outrage you have offered me, but "againſt this I ſhall take care to be upon my guard; laſtly, "at the day of judgment, I could demand vengeance of GOD "for this violence, but far be it from me to purſue ſuch a vin-"dictive conduct: if that great and terrible day ſhould this "moment arrive, and my interceſſion could take place, I "would not enter into paradiſe without you." The principal of his works are the *Meſnad*, that is, *the prop*, or *ſupport*, wherein he eſtabliſhes all the eſſential points of *Iſlamiſm* upon the authority of the *Korân* and the moſt received traditions; a treatiſe, intitled, *Filkelam*, that is to ſay, *ſcholaſtic divinity*; and a ſort of catechiſm, or inſtruction, that bears the title of *Moallem*, or *the maſter*. In the laſt of theſe pieces he maintains, that as long as a *Moſlem* continues in the faith, he cannot become an enemy to GOD, tho' he may fall into enormous ſins; that ſuch ſins cannot deſtroy the validity of faith; and that grace is by no means incompatible with ſin. Theſe and ſuch-like propoſitions induced *Vazai* to attack his notions; which he did in a book, intitled, *Ekhtelaf* ABU HANIFA, or *the contradictions of* ABU HANIFA. The *Sonnite* doctor, of whom we are ſpeaking, is greatly celebrated by *Al Zamakhſhari*, *Korderi*, *Marghinani*, *Dainuri*, *Sohahazmuni*, and others, whoſe authority is of no ſmall weight with the orthodox *Moſlems*. In fine, all the principal eaſtern hiſtorians agree, that *Abu Hanîfa* excelled all the learned *Mohammedans* of his age, not only in the knowledge of their law, but in the practice of all the duties it injoins; that his life was extremely auſtere, and intirely detached from the things of this world, on which account he has always been conſidered by the *Sonnites* as the chief and firſt *Imâm* of the *Moſlem* law; and that his ſentiments have been rejected by none but the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, who are looked upon as ſchiſmatics by the orthodox *Mohammedans*. We ſhall conclude what we have to ſay on this head with obſerving, that *Mâlec Shâh*, third *Soltân* of the *Seljûks* of *Irân*, erected a ſuperb mauſoleum in honour of *Abu Hanîfa* at *Baghdâd*, and joined to it a college for the uſe of the youth educated in the principles of his ſect, in the year of the *Hejra* 485, or of CHRIST 1092 [p].

THE

[p] LAMAI, in *Defter Lathif*, c. i. Aut RABI AL AKHIAR. HOSEIN WAEZ, in comment. ad Al Kor. MOHAM. c. iii. VAZAI, in *Ekhtelaf*

Harûn Al Raſhîd *arrives at* Baghdâd.

THE following year, being the 166th of the *Hejra*, *Harûn Al Raſhîd*, the *Khalîf*'s ſon, arrived from the neighbourhood of *Conſtantinople*, where he had concluded a peace with *Irene* ſword in hand, and impoſed what terms he thought fit upon that princeſs, at *Baghdâd*. One of thoſe terms was, that the *Moſlem* troops ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions, and furniſhed with all proper accommodations, as long as they remained in the empreſs's dominions; as alſo that they ſhould be conducted from thence to the *Khalîf*'s territories by ſome of her ſubjects, who knew the roads, by the beſt way they could ſhew them, and not that narrow defile limited on one ſide by a ſteep mountain, and on the other by the *Sagaris*, or *Sangarius*, a noted river of *Bithynia*, through which the *Arab* army had marched to the coaſt of the *Propontis*, where they had ſtruck a terror into the imperial court. The concluſion of this treaty with *Irene* is placed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, who ſeems in this point to be ſupported by *Theophanes*, in the 165th year of the *Hejra*; tho' that event appears to have been fixed by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* in the preceding year. Had not the empreſs been intirely governed by her fears, ſhe might have cut *Harûn Al Raſhîd* and all his troops to pieces, or ſtarved them to a ſurrender, ſince they were in a very diſtreſſed and calamitous ſituation when the treaty was ſigned, as we find intimated by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Harûn* entered *Baghdâd* in the month of *Al Moharram*, and was attended by a conſiderable number of *Chriſtians*, who had been reſtored to their liberty by virtue of the preceding treaty. The peace concluded between the *Greek* empreſs and the *Khalîf* continued about three years. Soon after *Al Raſhîd*'s arrival at *Baghdâd*, he was declared the next heir to the crown after his elder brother *Mûſa Al Hâdi*. About the ſame time, *Al Mohdi* cauſed diligent ſearch to be made after all his ſubjects who were infected with *Zendiciſm*, and put to death as many of them as fell into his hands. Amongſt the reſt, he ordered *Saleh Ebn Abd'allah* and *Yaſâr Ebn Yarad* to be executed, under the pretext of their having been ſuſpected of favouring thoſe who profeſſed that ſpecies of infidelity. But *Yaſâr Ebn Yarad* is ſuppoſed to have ſuffered the puniſhment inflicted upon him, for publiſhing ſome ſatirical verſes upon *Al Mohdi* and his counſellor *Yakûb Ebn-Dawd*, which have been handed down to us by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [q].

Ekhtelaf Abu Hanîfa. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. KORDER. MARGHINAN. DAINUR. SOBAHAZMUN. AL JANNAB. &c. [q] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 226, 227. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 384, 385. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 1. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 107. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p. 470.

THE

THE next year, being the 167th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* removed from the government of *Egypt Ibrahim Ebn Saleh*, and appointed *Mûsa Ebn Masaab*, or *Moses* the son of *Musaab*, as he is called by *Dionysius Telmarensis*, who had formerly been the *Khalif*'s governor of *Mesopotamia*, to succeed him. Every part of that prince's vast dominions seems to have enjoyed an uninterrupted repose, no military operations having been mentioned as happening during the course of it, in any of the provinces of the *Moslem* empire, by the oriental historians, the present year [r].

Ibrahim Ebn Saleh removed from the government of Egypt.

IN the 168th year of the *Hejra*, *Musa Ebn Masaab* was assassinated in *Egypt*. This tragical event happened in the month of *Shawâl*, and was probably occasioned by a tyrannical and oppressive administration. His deputy *Amer Ebn Omar* took upon him the government of *Egypt*, till the arrival of *Fadl Ebn Saleh Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, who was sent by the *Khalif* from *Baghdâd* to succeed *Mûsa Ebn Masaab* in his lucrative and exalted post [s].

Mûsa Ebn Masaab assassinated in Egypt, and succeeded in the government of that country by Fadl Ebn Saleh.

THE following year, being the 169th year of the *Hejra*, and beginning *July* 14th, 785, *Al Mohdi* sent to his son *Harûn Al Rashîd*, then in the province of *Jorjân*, to repair immediately to court; he having formed a design to secure to him the *Moslem* throne immediately after his death, and intirely to exclude his eldest son, *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, from the succession; but *Harûn*, looking upon this as an iniquitous step, would not comply with his father's order; so that the *Khalif* found himself obliged to undertake a journey into *Jorjân*, in order to have a conference there with his younger son *Al Rashîd*. When he arrived at *Arud*, or *Al Rud*, in the district of *Mâsabdân*, one of his favourite mistresses, whom he had commanded to attend him, gave him a poisoned pear, which had been presented to her by another of the *Khalif*'s concubines, named *Hasana*, who thought she had too great an ascendant over him, and therefore resolved to destroy her; which, appearing very beautiful to him, he could not forbear eating it, not in the least suspecting that any noxious quality was inherent in it. But it had no sooner entered his stomach than he found himself in most exquisite torture, and in a very short time expired; which greatly afflicted *Hasana*, tho' she had no intention to hurt him, when she communicated the poisoned fruit to her hated rival. This tragical accident happened on the twenty-second day of the month *Al Moharram*; and, after it, the

Al Mohdi dies.

[r] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Jos Sim. Assemān. ubi sup. p. 115. ut et ipse JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. [s] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup.

Khalif

Khalif was buried near a walnut-tree, under whose boughs he used sometimes to repose himself. He was near forty-three years of age at the time of his death, and reigned ten years, one month, and fifteen days. His son *Harún Al Rashíd*, who was with him when he expired, said the prayers over him at the time of his interment. Some writers pretend, that, one day, as he was hunting, he pursued a wild beast into an old ruined house; where, being obliged to make a great effort to pass through a low door, his horse carried him with such force against it, that he broke his back; so that, no assistance being at hand, he expired upon the spot. This *Khalíf*, in imitation of his father *Abu Jaafar Al Mansúr*, is said to have performed a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, tho' with more pomp than devotion; as he spent in that journey about 6,000,000 *dinárs*. Amongst other things with which he loaded the camels that attended him, he carried such a prodigious quantity of snow, that it served not only to refresh him and all his retinue in the burning sands of *Arabia*, but likewise to preserve all the delicious fruits he took with him in their natural freshness, and to afford him ice-water to drink, during his abode at *Mecca*, the inhabitants of which place had scarce ever seen any snow before. Whilst he was there, according to some authors, he inlarged the portico of the *Caaba*, and issued orders for demolishing many houses at *Medina*, to give a greater extent to the mosque containing *Mohammed*'s tomb; which was by no means approved of by the superstitious followers of the *Moslem* law. It was at this time also that a *Moslem* brought to him one of the prophet's slippers, and received from him for it a present of 10,000 *dirhems*; after which, turning himself towards some of his principal courtiers, he said, "*Mohammed* "never saw this slipper; but, if I had refused accepting of it, "the people would have believed that it had really belonged "to *Mohammed*, and that I had despised it; for they are na- "turally prejudiced in favour of the weak against the strong." This prince often changed the governors of provinces, and their ministers, lest some of them should usurp too great a degree of power, and even assume to themselves the supreme authority. He likewise restored large sums of money that his father had extorted from his subjects, released a vast number of prisoners, and dispatched most of the affairs of state himself with great diligence and application. He frequently held his bed of justice, in order to punish the violences and oppressions exercised by the grandees upon the lower part of the people, and to make the latter amends for the losses they had sustained. He appointed persons of great gravity and discretion, and such as were extremely well versed in the *Mohammedan* civil law, to assist in the courts of justice, that, by their

presence,

preſence, they might prevent all illegal deciſions. Having one day, by way of reprimand, ſaid to one of his civil officers, *How long will you be guilty of theſe faults?* the other very ſagaciouſly replied, *As long as it ſhall pleaſe* GOD *to preſerve your life for our good, ſo long ſhall we commit faults, and your clemency will pardon them* [t].

His firſt principal counſellor, or prime miniſter, was *Moâwiyah Ebn Aïd'allah Al Aſhari*; but he did not continue long in that exalted ſtation. After his diſmiſſion, he advanced to that ſublime poſt *Yakûb Ebn Dawd Ebn Tahmar*, ſurnamed *Tahamaſh*, a perſon of great wit and a moſt charming converſation, who was in ſuch high favour with the *Khalif*, that he did not only truſt him with the management of all his affairs, but likewiſe permitted him to partake of all his diverſions. This excited the envy of the principal courtiers, who entered into ſeveral cabals againſt him, and at laſt found an opportunity of accuſing him to *Al Mohdi* of favouring the partiſans of the *Alidæ*, or family of *Ali*, and conſequently of being an enemy to the houſe of *Al Abbâs*. This accuſation, tho' it did not gain intire credit with the *Khalif*, made nevertheleſs ſome impreſſion upon him. In order, therefore, to try him, *Al Mohdi* commanded *Yakûb* to put to death one of the deſcendants of *Ali*, whom, he pretended, he could not permit to live any longer; and, to induce him to obey with the greater alacrity this command, he made him a preſent of 100,000 *dirhêms*, and beſtowed upon him in marriage one of the moſt beautiful ladies of his ſeraglio. *Yakûb* having communicated to the perſon deſtined to ſuffer the order he had received, he was addreſſed by him in the following terms: *Give me the life which it is now in your power to take away, and you will by that means avoid the confuſion which you muſt neceſſarily be in at the day of judgment, when you appear before my great anceſtor* Ali, *if you ſpill my blood, which he regards as his own.* Theſe words ſo ſenſibly touched *Yakûb Ebn Dawd*, that he gave the perſon devoted to deſtruction the money he had received from the *Khalif*, and enabled him to make his eſcape. But this having been diſcovered to *Al Mohdi* by *Yakûb's* new wife, ſuch ſtrict ſearch was made after the priſoner, that he was retaken in a ſhort time, and confined in an apartment fitted up for him in the *Khalif's* palace. After which, *Yakûb* was ſummoned to appear, and charged with forwarding his eſcape; which that nobleman denying, and ſwearing by the head and life of the

Who were his principal counſellors, or prime miniſters.

[t] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 227, 228. Khondemir, Abu Jaabar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 107, 108. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 402, 403. Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 385. Ebn Shohnah, Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 117.

Khalif,

Khalif, that he had put the prisoner to death, the *Shiite*, who had been seized, and put under arrest in the palace, was immediately produced before him. *Yakúb*, being confounded at this sight, had nothing to urge in his vindication, and was therefore immediately ordered by the *Khalif*, who was irritated to the last degree at the perjury he had been manifestly guilty of, to prison, where he remained till the sixth year of the *Khalifat* of *Harún Al Rashíd*. But that prince having released him, he retired to *Mecca*, and resided there till his death. After *Al Mohdi* had removed him from the honourable post he for some time filled, he substituted *Kabâd Ebn Saleh*, a person of uncommon abilities, in his room [u].

Theophilus Edessenus *dies a little before the* Khalif.

HASANA, to whom *Al Mohdi*'s death has been ascribed by some of the eastern writers, having been commanded by the *Khalif* to attend him in his journey to *Jorján*, imagined that his intended conference with his son *Harún Al Rashíd* was owing to the advice of *Theophilus* of *Roha*, or *Edessa*, the son of *Thomas Edessenus*, a *Christian*, and his chief astrologer, whom he consulted on all emergent occasions. She, therefore, sent him an insolent message; upbraiding him with his past conduct, and wishing that GOD would soon deliver them from him, by putting a period to his days. To which he replied, that he had never attempted to persuade the *Khalif* to undertake the journey she mentioned; that, with regard to the time of his death, the approach of which she so earnestly desired, he knew it was fixed, and at hand; but that nevertheless this was not owing to her prayers, and that as soón as she should be informed of it, she ought to cover her own head with dust. The meaning of the latter part of this answer she did not understand till twenty days after the astrologer's death, when that of *Al Mohdi* himself likewise happened; but then she easily comprehended the purport of his prediction, which stood in no need of any farther interpretation. To what has been already observed of this *Theophilus Edessenus* we shall here beg leave to add, that the stile of his *Syriac* version of the *Iliad* is reckoned very elegant and polite by some of the *Arab* writers; and that he seems to have translated the *Odysses*, as well as the *Iliad*, into that language, according to *Abu'l-Faraj* [w].

[u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 108, 109. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, NEZAM AL MOLK, in *Wassaia*.

[w] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 228. GREG. BAR-HEBRÆUS, apud Jos. Sim. Assemán. in Biblioth. orient. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 311, 313, 315. Romæ, 1721. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 32.

AL

Al Mohdi had another great favourite beſides his principal aſtrologer, or rather aſtronomer, *Theophilus Edeſſenus*, and that was *Iſa*, his phyſician, ſurnamed *Al Sidalâni*, or *the apothecary*, becauſe he was originally of that profeſſion, and did not pretend to any great ſkill in phyſic. *Al Khizarân*, one of *Al Mohdi*'s beſt-beloved concubines, a native of *Medina*, being indiſpoſed, ſent a maid with ſome of her urine, to a phyſician, in order to learn the cauſe of her diſtemper; giving her a ſtrict charge at the ſame time not to diſcover the perſon from whom ſhe came. The maid went directly to the ſhop of *Abu Koreiſh* (for ſo likewiſe was *Iſa* called) and ſhewed him her lady's urine; telling him, that it belonged to a poor woman, who ſtood in great need of his aſſiſtance. *A poor woman!* ſaid he; *no, this came from an illuſtrious princeſs, who is with child of a king.* The maid immediately reported this to *Al Khizarân*, who afterwards made *Iſa* a preſent of two ſumptuous veſts and 300 *dinârs*, and promiſed to procure him admiſſion into the *Khalif*'s family, if the latter part of what he had told the maid ſhould prove true. This vaſtly aſtoniſhed *Abu Koreiſh*, who publickly declared, that what he had ſaid muſt have proceeded from a divine impulſe, ſince he ſpoke at random, and in reality knew nothing of the grand perſonage by whom the maid had been ſent on this occaſion. However, *Al Khizarân* being brought to bed of a prince, afterwards named *Mûſa Al Hâdi*, who ſucceeded his father in the *Khalifat*, in due time, ſhe communicated the whole affair to the *Khalif*; who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he ſent for *Abu Koreiſh*, made him his phyſician, tho', upon examination, he found him not to underſtand much of phyſic, and heaped many favours upon him. But notwithſtanding his good fortune, *Abu Koreiſh*, or, if we pleaſe, *Iſa Al Sidalâni*, was never honoured with a place amongſt the principal phyſicians by the *Arabs* [x].

Al Mohdi's *phyſician* Iſa *a great favourite.*

As to his perſon, *Al Mohdi* was tall, handſome, though he had a white ſpeck in his right eye, and, like the generality of the *Arabs*, of a ſwarthy complexion. With regard to his diſpoſition, he was liberal and munificent, or, according to others, prodigal and profuſe, as he diſſipated in a very ſhort time the immenſe treaſures left him by his father *Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr*. He was alſo magnanimous and brave, and extremely beloved by his ſubjects, on account of his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and the averſion he always diſcovered to an effuſion of human blood. He has likewiſe been conſidered by ſome of the *Arab* writers as religious and devout; tho' others of them have not been ſo willing to admit

A deſcription of Al Mohdi's *perſon and character.*

[x] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 229, 230.

that

that part of his character. Being once in the mosque at *Cúfa*, and upon the point of beginning the public prayers, one of the rabble said to him, *I have not yet performed the ablution, and yet I would willingly join with you in the public prayers.* Upon which, the *Khalif* stopped in the middle of the mosque, till the *Arab* had washed and purified himself in a proper manner. In his pilgrimage to *Mecca*, he was attended by a person of great sanctity, named *Al Mansûr Al Hajani*, who being with him in the *Caaba*, when he distributed large sums amongst the people there, the *Khalif* said, *Do you*, Al Mansûr, *desire nothing of me?* The other replied, *I am ashamed to desire any thing in the house of* GOD *but* GOD *himself.* *Al Mohdi*, upon his return from the pilgrimage, found himself so touched by the pious sentiments inspired into him by that devout expression, that he threw himself upon the ground, and addressed himself to the Deity in the following terms: *If I, O* LORD, *am to be punished, I shall chearfully undergo whatever chastisement I deserve*; *but, O* LORD, *look upon none of the faithful as thine enemies on my account.* After which, he made *Al Mansûr Al Hajani*, for the reproof he had given him, by suggesting, that he ought never to confound earthly with heavenly things, a present of 10,000 *dinârs*. It has been regarded likewise as an instance of this *Khalif*'s liberality, as well as of his inclination to encourage learned men, that he ordered *Merwân Ebn Abu Hafas*, one of his subjects, for seventy distichs of *Arabic* verses that he had composed, the sum of 70,000 *dirhems*. The following remarkable story, that has been told of him by *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini*, may also be considered in a similar light, and is too entertaining to be omitted here [y].

A pleasant adventure befalls this Khalif.

AL MOHDI, being one day engaged in a hunting-match, strayed from his attendants, and, being pressed with hunger and thirst, was obliged to betake himself to an *Arab*'s tent that he discovered, in order to meet with some refreshment. The poor man immediately brought out his coarse brown bread and a pot of milk to the *Khalif*. *Al Mohdi* asked him if he had nothing else to give him; upon which, the *Arab* went directly to fetch a jug of wine, and presented it to him. After the *Khalif* had drunk a good draught, he demanded of the *Arab* whether he did not know him? The other having answered, that he did not; *I would have you know then*, replied *Al Mohdi*, *that I am one of the principal lords of the* Khalif's *court.* After he had taken another draught, he put

[y] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, p. 107, 108. KHONDEMIR, Aut. RABI AL ABRAR. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 402, 403, 404, 405.

the

the ſame queſtion to the *Arab* as before; who thereupon anſwering, *Have not I already told you that I know you not?* *Al Mohdi* returned, *I am a much greater perſon than I have made you believe.* Then he drank again, and aſked his landlord the third time, whether he did not know him? To which the other replied, that *he might depend upon the truth of the anſwer he had already given him. I am then*, ſaid *Al Mohdi*, *the* Khalif, *before whom all the world proſtrate themſelves.* The *Arab* no ſooner heard thoſe words than he carried off the pitcher, and would not ſuffer his gueſt to drink any more. *Al Mohdi*, being ſurprized at this action, aſked him why he carried off his wine? The *Arab* replied, *Becauſe I am afraid that, if you take a fourth draught, you will tell me you are the prophet* Mohammed; *and if by chance a fifth, that you are* GOD ALMIGHTY *himſelf.* This gentle wipe ſo pleaſed the *Khalif*, that he could not forbear laughing at it; and being ſoon rejoined by his people, he ordered a purſe of ſilver, and a fine veſt, to be given the poor man, who had entertained him in ſo hoſpitable a manner. Upon which, the *Arab*, in a tranſport of joy for the good fortune he had met with, ſaid to the *Khalif*, *I ſhall henceforth take you for what you pretend to be, even though you ſhould make yourſelf two or three times more conſiderable than you have done* [z].

Some other particulars relating to him.

WE have already obſerved from an *Arab* author of good repute, that *Al Mohdi* died in a village called *Al Rud*, in the territory, or diſtrict, of *Maſabdan*; and that he was buried in the ſame place. He alſo affirms this *Khalif* to have been but 39 years of age at the time of his death; which runs counter to what has been advanced on that head by other writers. Another hiſtorian, or rather annaliſt, informs us, that *Madi* (for ſo he calls *Al Mohdi*) had alſo the name of *Mohammed*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Moſes*, or *Mûſa*. The firſt day of his reign was *Sunday*, and the laſt *Wedneſday*. The captain of his guards was *Naſr Ebn Noſair Ebn Mâlec Al Khozâ'i*, and, after him, *Hamzah Ebn Mâlec Ebn Abd'allah*; his judges *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Alaſa* and *Afiya Ebn Yezid*, who exerciſed their function together in the great moſque at *Baghdâd*; and his chamberlains *Salim Abwaſh*, *Fadl Ebn Al Rabîa*, and *Al Hoſein Ebn Râſhed*. Laſtly, the inſcription of his ſeal was, GOD *is my ſufficiency*, or *My ſufficiency is of* GOD [a].

[z] AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiariſt.* [a] EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 402, 403. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 385. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKI, ubi ſup. p. 109.

SECT. XXIV.

Mûſa Al Hâdi *ſucceeds* Al Mohdi *in the* 169*th year of the* Hejra.

HARUN AL RASHID, *Al Mohdi*'s ſecond ſon, being with his father at the time of his death, obliged all the people about him, and particularly thoſe who were members of the houſe of *Hâſhem*, to take the oath of allegiance to his brother *Mûſa Al Hâdi*, and ſent advice of this into all parts of the empire; upon which, he was unanimouſly proclaimed *Khalif* by the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*. *Harûn* likewiſe diſpatched an expreſs to his brother *Al Hâdi*, then in *Jorjân*, with an account of what had happened, and adviſed him to make all poſſible haſte to *Baghdâd*; where, after his arrival, he conſtituted *Al Rabi*, or *Rabia*, his prime miniſter, or *Viſir*. The ſame year, according to *Abu'l Faraj*, he maſſacred great numbers of his ſubjects who had embraced *Zendiciſm*, becauſe they ridiculed the pilgrims who went in proceſſion round the *Caaba*. The *Arabs*, who profeſſed *Zendiciſm*, if we will believe *Ebn Kaſſem*, were a ſort of *Sadducees*, or rather *Manichees*, who maintained the exiſtence of two principles, LIGHT and DARKNESS, and permitted marriage to be contracted between the neareſt relations. At firſt, the *Zendicees* taught, that men ought to preſerve themſelves from ſin, applied their thoughts intirely to the other world, deſpiſed the good things of this, and abſtained from all animal food. But, in proceſs of time, they introduced the worſhip of the two principles above-mentioned, denied that the firſt degrees of conſanguinity prohibited marriage, and deſpiſed all the other religions of the country where they lived. Amongſt others infected with *Zendiciſm*, *Al Hâdi* put to death *Yacûb Ebn Al Fadl Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Abbâs*; whoſe daughter *Fâtema*, after her father's death, confeſſed that ſhe had been got with child by him. It appears from ſome of the eaſtern writers, that *Al Hâdi* undertook an expedition into the provinces of *Jorjân* and *Mazanderân*, or *Tabariſtân*, in his father's life-time; and that he was in the former of thoſe provinces when that prince died. It alſo may be inferred from ſome of thoſe authors, that *Al Mehdi*, a little before his death, ſent him with a body of troops in queſt of the *Zendicees*, in order to bring them to condign puniſhment; which orders he executed with honour, and to the *Khalif*'s entire ſatisfaction. We muſt not omit obſerving here, that M. *D'Herbelot* is guilty of a great miſtake, when he aſſerts *Al Mehdi*, in direct contradiction to all the beſt *Arab* hiſtorians, to have died at *Baghdâd* [b].

THE

[b] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 230. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. EBN KASSEM, EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 404

THE same year, that is, the 169th of the *Hejra*, *Al Hâdi* by his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd*'s influence, was inaugurated, without any opposition, at *Baghdâd*. Here he arrived from *Jorjân* and *Mazanderân*, called sometimes by the *Arabs Tabaristân*, the inhabitants of which provinces he had reduced to the obedience of the *Khalif Al Mohdi*; who, from the measures he intended to have pursued at the time of his death, in favour of *Al Rashîd*, seems to have been jealous of him. Soon after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, *Al Hâdi* removed *Al Fadl Ebn Saleh* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Ali Ebn Solimân Ebn Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs* in his room. The courier dispatched by *Harûn Al Rashîd* to his brother *Al Hadi*, after his father's death, was *Salmat Al Wasif*, *Al Mohdi*'s freed-man. The person who headed the rebels of *Mazanderân*, or *Tabaristân*, was *Madâr*, the lord of *Hormuz*, or *Hormaz*. It has been already observed, that the mother of *Al Hâdi* was called *Khizarân* by *Abu'l-Faraj*. She was the daughter of *Atâ*, one of *Al Mohdi*'s servants, and has been denominated *Hinzarân* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [c]. Al Hâdi *inaugurated at* Baghdâd.

SOON after his accession, *Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Hasan* rebelled against *Al Hâdi*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalif* at *Medina*; the inhabitants of which city declared openly for him. From thence he marched to *Mecca*, and put to the sword all the pilgrims there known to be members of the house of *Al Abbâs*. This revolt, nevertheless, cost the family of *Ali* very dear. For the *Khalif*, having defeated *Hosein*, cut off his head, as well as those of a great number of his adherents, and deprived his family of all the pensions and appointments that they had enjoyed by a particular privilege. *Hosein* had the character of a valiant and very liberal prince. He is said to have distributed 40,000 *dinârs*, which the *Khalif* had one day given him, amongst the citizens of *Baghdâd* and *Cûfa*, and afterwards to have retired to his house at *Medina* in a furred vest only, without so much as a shirt under it. Before he took up arms against the *Khalif*, he ordered a proclamation to be made, whereby he manumitted all the slaves who should desert their masters, and take on in his service. By this means he formed a considerable army, which he flattered himself would enable him to dispute the *Khalifat* with *Al Hâdi*, and even enable him to mount the *Moslem* throne. But he was not a little mistaken in this; for his forces were over- Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Hasan *rebels against him.*

p. 404, 405. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Hadi*, p. 415. [c] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 119. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 227, 229, 230. YAKUT, EUTYCH. ubi sup.

thrown by a handful of disciplined and regular troops sent against them by the *Khalif*. *Theophanes* calls this prince *Moses*; and his father *Mohammed*, as well as *Madi*; but he says not a word of *Hosein*'s defection, nor of the decisive action consequent thereupon [d].

Al Hâdi dies.

THE next year, being the 170th of the *Hejra*, *Mûsa Al Hâdi*, finding himself now settled upon the throne, formed a design to exclude his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd*, notwithstanding the good offices he had done him, from the succession. His view herein was to advance his own son *Jaafar* to the *Khalifat*, who was not yet arrived at the age of puberty. But *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, a person of great reputation for his prudence, and who filled the important post of *Vizir*, endeavoured to dissuade him from carrying such a design into execution, by representing to him, that the *Moslems* would not be satisfied with a *Khalif*, who could not perform divine service in the mosque, conduct them in their pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and march at their head against an enemy. The *Khalif* pretended to be convinced by his reasoning, and to approve of his advice; but he gave *Harthamah*, a person in whom he could intirely confide, private orders to kill his brother *Harûn*, and *Yahya* his *Vizir*. For that purpose, he kept him one night concealed in his palace. But, about midnight, *Harthamah* heard the voice of *Khizarân*, the *Khalif*'s mother, calling him by his name, and bidding him come see *Al Hâdi* dead upon his bed. That prince died suddenly of a cough, which seized him after he had drank a glass of water. He was jealous of his brother *Harûn*, and the more so, as their mother had discovered a greater affection for the latter than the former on several occations. But she prevented his project from taking effect, by giving him a subtle poison that carried him off by coughing and sneezing. *Assadi*, a *Persian* poet, composed a distich upon this tragical event, wherein he says, that *the blood of two brothers is the same, as being formed of the same milk, and that the brother who sheds this is a homicide of his mother as well as of his brother*. We are informed by an *Arab* writer, that when *Yahya* attempted to persuade *Al Hâdi* not to alter the order of succession, he told him, that if he prevailed upon the people to violate their engagements to his brother *Harûn*, this would give them a mean opinion of public faith; but that their veneration for such engagements would be heightened by a contrary conduct; that the nobless, of whom he named a considerable number, would never come into such a scheme; and that consequently this would pave the way to his son *Jaafar*'s exclusion from the *Moslem* throne. Some

[d] KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 385.

of

of the *Arab* historians relate, that he first endeavoured to destroy his mother, by sending her a poisoned goose; but that this not meeting with success, she soon after smothered him with a pillow, as she attended him in a fit of sickness. Be that as it will, he died at *Baghdâd*, or rather *Isabâd*, a place a little without the city, on *Friday* the 14th day of the latter *Rabî*, after he had reigned one year, two months, and twenty-two days. He was buried near the spot where he died, and his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd* performed the funeral service over him. He is said by some authors to have been, at the time of his death, twenty-four, by others twenty-five, and, lastly, by others, twenty-six years of age [c].

Al Hâdi's *mother, according to some of the* Arab *writers, accessory to his death.*

When *Al Hâdi* commanded *Harthamah* to assassinate his brother *Harûn Al Rashîd*, and *Yahya* his *Visir*, he assigned the following reason for that order, *viz.* because the latter was his declared enemy, and had, by his seditious discourses, attempted to alienate the affections of his subjects from him, as well as used his utmost endeavours to engage them in favour of the former. He also commanded him, after that double execution, to put to the sword all the descendants of *Ali* that could be found in any part of his dominions, and then, with a body of his troops, to surprize the city of *Cûfa*; to which, after he had drawn from thence all the partizans of the house of *Al Abbâs*, he was to set fire, and reduce it intirely to ashes. *Harthamah* would have excused himself from being concerned in so bloody a scheme, by alledging, that he had not a number of troops sufficient to execute such a grand design. But the *Khalif* threatened him with death if he did not comply with his orders, left him abruptly, and retired into the private apartments of his palace; from whence a few moments after arrived the news of his expiring suddenly in the manner already related. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Khiazarân*, who governed with an arbitrary sway, having one day pressed *Al Hâdi*, with an unusual warmth, to grant her a favour she had promised to obtain for one of her dependents, which he refused to do, she went off in a heat; declaring she would never for the future put up any petition to him. Upon which, he said to her, in an angry tone, "Keep within your doors, "and mind your own business; if I should hereafter be informed, that any of my officers apply to you for favours, I "will order his head to be cut off. How comes it about, "that my courtiers attend your levee, from morning till "evening, in such crouds? What is the meaning of this?

[c] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 110. Khondemir, Assad. poet. Pers. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 231. Eutych. ubi sup.

" Have you not a wheel and a diſtaff wherewith to employ " yourſelf, or a book to put you in mind of your duty, or, " laſtly, a houſe to reſide in?" This inraging her to the laſt degree, ſhe inſtantly vowed revenge; and accordingly ordered the maids ſhe ſent to attend him, in a fit of ſickneſs that ſoon enſued, to ſuffocate him, as related above. As ſoon as he was dead, ſhe commanded *Harthamah* to apprize her younger ſon *Harûn* of what had happened, that he might have an opportunity of immediately aſſerting his right to the *Moſlem* throne. Hence it appears, that different accounts of this prince's death, as well as the true cauſe of it, have been handed down to us by the beſt oriental hiſtorians [f].

A deſcription of his perſon, and character.

WITH regard to his perſon, *Al Hâdi* had a large mouth, contracted his upper lip, was tall, corpulent, and of a fair complexion. He was likewiſe extremely robuſt, and an excellent horſeman. As to his diſpoſition, he was magnanimous and brave, as well as liberal on ſome occaſions; tho' he has not been repreſented by any of the *Arab* writers as very profuſe of his favours. He one day repeated an *Arabic* verſe, and deſired *Yuſef Al Sokail*, a pretty noted poet, to produce ſome others of the ſame ſort; which he did, and received for a reward no more than ten *dirhêms*. However, we are told by another author, that *Merwân Ebn Abu Hâfedh*, a very celebrated *Arab* poet, having once preſented ſome of his pieces to him, this prince, who was a good judge of ſuch performances, as evidently appears from ſome of his poems ſtill extant, diſcovered ſuch beauties in them, that he was extremely pleaſed, and ſaid to him, *Chuſe for your trouble, by way of recompence, either to receive immediately* 30,000 dirhêms, *or* 100,000, *after you have gone through all the delays and formalities of the exchequer.* The poet anſwered pleaſantly, *Give me* 30,000 *now, and* 100,000 *hereafter.* Which repartee was ſo well taken by *Al Hâdi*, that he ordered the intire ſum of 130,000 *dirhêms* to be immediately paid him. The captain of his guards was *Abd'allah Ebn Hazem Ebn Hozaimah Al Tamimi*, and, after his abdication of that poſt, *Abd'allah Ebn Mâlec Al Khezâ'i*; his counſellors *Rabî Ebn Yûnas* and *Omar Ebn Al Rabî*; his judges *Abu Yuſef Yakûb Ebn Ibrahim*, a perſon intimately acquainted with *Abu Hanîfa*, who went, as we may term it, the weſtern circuit, and *Sa'id Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, who went the eaſtern; and his chamberlains *Al Rabî* and *Al Fadl*, his ſon. In the firſt year of his *Khalifat*, *Abuna Yahya* was elected patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, and continued

[f] AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiariſt.* GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 231. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup.

in

in that poſt thirteen years. He is ſaid to have been born, elected patriarch, and died, on the ſame day of the month. The church at *Alexandria* enjoyed an uninterrupted repoſe during the time he preſided over it. He was very charitable, and diſtributed amongſt the poor of that city a vaſt quantity of corn, when a grievous famine raged there. At *Antioch* died, in *Al Hâdi*'s reign, *Dawd*, or *David*, biſhop of *Dara*, who had by violence intruded into the patriarchate there; which enabled *George*, the lawful patriarch, who had been incarcerated at *Baghdâd* many years, to exerciſe his patriarchal function at *Antioch*, in the ſame manner as before the commencement of the aforeſaid ſchiſm. *George* was ſucceeded by a perſon named *Syriacus*, or *Cyriacus*, a man of uncommon ſanctity and auſterity of life. The firſt day of *Al Hâdi*'s reign was *Thurſday*, and the laſt *Friday*; and the inſcription of his ſeal, GOD *is my* LORD. It has been already remarked, that the followers of *Abu Hanîfa* acquired a great degree of reputation, by being taken under the protection of *Abu Yuſef*, his chief juſtice, in the *Khalîfat* of this prince g.

SECT. XXV.

AL HADI's death was no ſooner known than *Harûn Al Raſhîd* was ſaluted emperor of the faithful, in the night between the 14th and 15th of the latter, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, or, if we will believe *Eutychius* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, the former *Rabî*, by the inhabitants of *Baghdâd*; and thoſe of the provinces ſoon followed their example. *Al Raſhîd* was at this time about twenty-two years of age, and a great favourite of his mother *Khizarân*, who not a little contributed to his acceſſion. One of the firſt things he did was, to order ſome divers to ſearch for a ring given him by his father, worth 100,000 *dinârs*, that, to prevent its falling into his brother's hands, he had thrown into the *Tigris*; which being found, without much difficulty, he was highly pleaſed. The night that *Al Hâdi* died, *Khozaima Ebn Hazem* ruſhed into his ſon *Jaafar*'s bed-chamber, dragged him out of bed, and threatened immediately to cut off his head, if he did not inſtantly acknowledge *Harûn Al Raſhîd* for his ſovereign; which, to ſave his life, he was glad to do. As *Jaafar*'s recognition of the new *Khalîf*'s authority was atteſted by ſome *Moſlems* of diſtinction,

Al Hâdi *is ſucceeded by his brother* Harûn Al Raſhîd.

g ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 111, 112. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 404——407. DIONYS. TELMARENS. apud Joſ. Sim. Aſſeman. ubi ſup. ut et ipſe Jos. SIM. ASSEMAN. ibid. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou-Hanifah*, p. 21, 22.

that *Khozaima* had brought with him for this purpoſe; the ſervice done *Harûn Al Raſhid*, on this occaſion, proved extremely acceptable to that prince. *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, being informed of *Al Hâdi*'s death, came to *Al Raſhid* to acquaint him with the news, ſoon after his brother expired; and, before his departure, another of the new *Khalif*'s friends arrived, to congratulate him upon the birth of a ſon, called firſt *Abd'allah*, and afterwards *Al Mamûn*, who, after his brother *Al Amîn*, aſcended the *Môſlem* throne. So that the ſame night was famous for the death of one *Khalif*, the acceſſion of another, and the birth of a third. *Al Raſhid* had likewiſe another ſon, named *Mohammed*, and afterwards *Al Amîn*, born in the month of *Shawâl* this year; who, tho' he was younger than *Al Maimûn*, ſucceeded his father in the *Khalifat*. This young prince's mother was *Zebeida*, the daughter of *Jaafar*, the ſon of the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr*. *Al Raſhid* called *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* his father, and, for his cloſe and faithful attachment to him, conſtituted him his prime miniſter, or *Viſir* [h].

The new Khalif *appoints* Mûſa Ebn Iſa *to preſide over* Egypt.

In the 171ſt year of the *Mohammedan* æra, beginning *June* 22d, 787, *Al Raſhid* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Mûſa Ebn Iſa Ebn Mûſa Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Hâſhemi*, as a perſon every way qualified for ſo important a poſt. The ſurname *Al Raſhid* denotes *the righteous*, *the director*, or *the juſt*. We are told by ſome of the eaſtern writers, that when *Harûn* was apprized of his brother's death, and conſequently of his own exaltation to the *Khalifat*, he gave himſelf up intirely for ſome time to the reading of the *Korân*. As the night of *Al Hâdi*'s death was ſo remarkable for the relation it bore to three *Khalifs*, it has been denominated by ſome of the *Arabs*, *the night*, or rather *the day*, *of the family of* Hâſhem. It appears from *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Al Raſhid*, being extremely troubled with the head-ach, commanded *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, his *Viſir*, to ſend for *Bakhtiſhua*, the ſon of *George* above-mentioned, from *Naiſabûr*; whom, after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, he preſented with a ſumptuous veſt, beſides many other things of great value, and made him the chief of his phyſicians, the preſent year [i].

[h] Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 231. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 112. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 406, 407. Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 389 [i] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. in art. *Haroun Al Raſchid*. p. 431. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 235. Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi ſup. p. 23.

The

THE following year, being the 172d of the *Hejra*, commencing *June* 11th, 788, the *Khalif Al Raſhid* appointed his younger ſon, *Al Amîn*, his ſucceſſor in the empire; and, after him, ſettled the right of ſucceſſion upon his elder ſon, *Al Mamûn*. He alſo made the latter of thoſe young princes the prefect of *Khoraſân*, and all the adjacent regions, extending as far as *Hamadân*; and committed to *Jaafar Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* the care of his education. About the ſame time, the daughter of the king of the *Khozars*, or *Khazarites*, known likewiſe by the name of the *Khâkân*, being brought to *Fadl Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, died at *Barthaa*; and her attendants returned to her father's court, where they gave out that ſhe was poiſoned. This induced that prince to make preparations for a war with the *Khalif*. Soon after, a body of the *Moſlem* forces made an irruption into the imperial territories, and penetrated as far as *Epheſus*. *Al Raſhîd* alſo removed *Mûſa Ebn Iſa*, during the time of this irruption, from the government of *Egypt*, and ſubſtituted *Moſlema Ebn Yahya* in his room; appointing *Amru Ebn Mahrân* collector of the tribute there. But he ſoon depoſed *Moſlema*, and ſent *Mohammed Ebn Zahar* to ſucceed him. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moâwiyah Ebn Heſhâm Ebn Abd'almâlec Ebn Merwân*, the weſtern *Khalîf* of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, died this, and not the preceding, year, as we find aſſerted by *Roderic* of *Toledo*, after he had reigned about thirty-three years, in *Spain* [k]. *The weſtern Khalif dies.*

THE next year, being the 173d of the *Moſlem* æra, the *Khalif* deprived *Mohammed Ebn Zahar* of the government of *Egypt*, and conferred upon *Yezid Ebn Hâtem* that honourable and lucrative poſt. In the month of *September*, this year, the *Arabs* made another irruption into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, and defeated a *Chriſtian* army ſent by that prince to oppoſe them. *Diogenes*, an imperial officer of great merit and bravery, together with ſeveral other commanders, and a vaſt number of ſoldiers, periſhed in the action. About this time, a civil war broke out between *Heſhâm*, *Abd'alrahmân*'s eldeſt ſon, who ſucceeded him in the weſtern *Khalifat*, and his brother *Solimân*, who preſided over the principality of *Toledo*, in *Spain*. The armies commanded by thoſe two princes came to a general action near a fortreſs called *Eulche*; where, after a ſharp engagement, *Solimân* was overthrown, with very great *A civil war in Spain.*

[k] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 232. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 390. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 113. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hiſt. Arab. c. xviii. p. 18. KHONDEMIR. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abdalrahman*, &c. p. 9.

ſlaughter,

ſlaughter, and *Toledo* obliged to open its gates to the victor, after it had ſuſtained a pretty vigorous ſiege. The battle of *Bulche*, according to *Roderic* of *Toledo*, ſo often cited here, ſeems to have been fought towards the cloſe of the preſent year [l].

The Arabs *defeat the imperial fleet.*

In the 174th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Raſhid* ſent a powerful navy, with a ſtrong body of land-forces on board, to invade the iſland of *Cyprus*; which was met and attacked by the *Chriſtian* fleet, under the conduct of *Theophilus*, duke or prince of *Cibyra*, off the *Chelidonian* promontory. The *Chriſtians*, after a vigorous action, were intirely defeated, and *Theophilus* himſelf taken priſoner. Being brought before the *Khalif Harun Al Raſhid*, called *Aaron* by *Theophanes*, and refuſing to embrace *Mohammediſm*, he was put to death, by that prince's order, according to this author; which, we muſt own, to us appears by no means probable, as being directly repugnant to one of the principal *Moſlem* inſtitutions. *Solimân*, after the blow he had received at *Bulche*, fled to *Murcia*, where he reſided the greateſt part of this year. He alſo ſold to his brother *Heſhâm* his pretenſions to the principality of which he had been deprived, for 70,000 *dinârs*; after which, he croſſed the ſea, retired into *Barbary*, and was not ſeen for ſome years afterwards in *Spain* [m].

Some good phyſicians attend the Khalif's *court.*

The following year, being the 175th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* ſent *Mûſa Ebn Iſa Ebn Mûſa Al Hâſhemi* into *Egypt*, to take upon himſelf the government there. About the ſame time, *Jaafar Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* being taken extremely ill, the *Khalif* ſent his own phyſician *Bakhtiſhua* to attend him; who having cured him, *Jaafar* choſe the doctor's ſon *Gabriel* for his phyſician, and made him many very valuable preſents. *Gabriel* ſoon after cured *Jaafar* of another diſorder, by which he acquired no ſmall degree of reputation. One of *Al Raſhid*'s concubines ſtretching out her hand, in yawning, it immediately grew ſtiff, and remained extended in ſuch a manner that ſhe could not draw it back. Nor could the application of all ſorts of liniments and unguents to it, as preſcribed by the moſt able phyſicians of the court, relieve her. *Gabriel*, therefore, being recommended by *Jaafar* to her, he waited firſt upon the *Khalif*, and deſired him to command her to appear publickly at his levee; which being done, he immediately approached her, and began, before the whole circle of courtiers, to undreſs her. This threw her into ſuch

[l] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 391. Roderic. Toletan. ubi ſup. [m] Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 392. Roderic. Toletan ubi ſup. Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 144.

con

confuſion, that ſhe made a violent effort with her whole body to prevent him; and, in the hurry and ſurprize this occaſioned, ſeized upon the garment he ſeemed to be going to take off with the part affected: upon which, turning to the *Khalif*, he immediately cried out, "O emperor of the faithful, ſhe is "cured." Then ſhe was ordered to move her hand upwards and downwards, backwards and forwards, and in all directions, ſeveral times; after which, ſhe found the uſe of it perfectly reſtored. This not a little pleaſed *Al Raſhîd*, who thereupon made *Gabriel* a preſent of 500,000 pieces of money. He alſo deſired to know what might be the cauſe of ſo ſtrange and unaccountable a diſorder. To which *Gabriel* replied, that, during the time of coition, a thin humour, being agitated by the motion and extenſion of heat, attending this, had diffuſed itſelf over all parts of her body, and, upon the ſudden ceſſation of that motion, was congealed in the interior part of the nerves; which had obliged him to make uſe of the foregoing artifice, in order to dilate the heat, diſſolve the humour that was congealed, and reſtore a perfect ſoundneſs to the limb whoſe uſe had been loſt. This anſwer wonderfully pleaſed the *Khalif*, and procured the doctor that prince's perpetual eſteem. At this time, *Al Raſhîd* had likewiſe for his phyſician *Yohana*, or *Yahya Ebn Maſawiyah*, a *Syrian*, of the *Chriſtian* religion, who, at the *Khalif*'s requeſt, interpreted, or explained, the writings of the antient phyſicians, and ſerved him and his ſucceſſors in the ſame capacity till the reign of *Al Motawakkel*. He was greatly honoured at *Baghdâd*, and compoſed ſeveral phyſical treatiſes in a very elegant ſtile. He likewiſe founded a ſort of ſchool, or gymnaſium, there, wherein he inſtructed his ſcholars, or young ſtudents, who were very numerous, in every branch of literature, but eſpecially phyſic. He was a perſon of conſiderable humour, and ſeveral of his facetious ſayings have been preſerved by *Abu'l-Faraj*. Cotemporary with this *Yahya* was *Saleh Ebn Nahala*, an *Indian*, who performed ſeveral remarkable cures, and made no mean figure at *Al Raſhîd*'s court. But for a farther account of this phyſician, as well as of *Gabriel*, *Bakhtiſhua*'s ſon, our readers may have recourſe to the author laſt-mentioned, who, in that point, will give them full and ample ſatisfaction [n].

Al Amin *declared the* Khalif's *immediate ſucceſſor.*

THE ſame year, that is, the 175th of the *Hejra*, *Al Raſhîd* declared *Mohammed Al Amîn* his immediate ſucceſſor, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; tho' that event ſeems to have been placed three years higher by *Abu'l-Faraj*. The poet *Salem Al Hâſher* made ſome verſes on this occaſion,

[n] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 235—240.

which

which highly pleased *Al Amin*'s mother *Zebeida*, the granddaughter of the *Khalif Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*; who thereupon ordered him many valuable presents. We are told likewise, that *Zebeida* founded this very year the city of *Tauris*, in the province of *Aderbijân*, as her husband had before done another, from him named *Harûnia*, on the confines of *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Armenia*. About the same time, some disputes, that had arisen between *Heshâm*, the western *Khalif*, and his brother *Abd'allah*, were terminated, by the retreat of the latter, who passed over the sea into *Africa*; which restored peace and tranquillity to the *Moslem* provinces in *Spain* °.

A rebellion extinguished.

The next year, being the 176th of the *Mohammedan* æra, beginning *April* 29th, 792, *Yahya Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hasan Ebn Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* set up for himself, in opposition to the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd*, in the province of *Deylam*, and raised a powerful army to support him in his defection. To extinguish this rebellion, *Harûn* sent an army of 50,000 men, under the command of *Fadl Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, whom he had appointed to preside over *Ray*, or *Raya*, *Jorjân*, *Al Jebâl*, in the *Persian Irâk*, and *Tabaristân*. *Fadl*, being arrived in *Khorasân*, wrote a kind letter to *Yahya*, and persuaded him to submit to the *Khalif*; who, upon *Fadl*'s application to him, promised to take him into his protection. Upon which, *Yahya* disbanded his troops, and went with *Fadl* to *Baghdâd*; where he at first met with a gracious reception from *Al Rashîd*, but was afterwards put in irons, and closely confined. The same year, the *Khalif* removed *Mûsa Ebn Isa Ebn Mûsa* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Ibrahim Ebn Saleh Ebn Ali Al Hâshemi* to succeed him in that post. It may be proper to inform our readers here, that *Deylam* was bounded on the E. by the region of *Tabaristân* and the district of *Ray*; on the S. by the districts of *Ray*, and *Kazwin*, and the province of *Aderbijân*; on the W. by *Aderbijân*; and on the N. by the *Hyrcanian* sea. It is divided into two parts, one of which is mountainous, going properly under the name of *Deylam*, and the other almost one continued plain, known at this time by the name of *Ghilân*. The inhabitants of this province are called *Dolomites* by *Procopius*, and *Dilimnites* by *Cedrenus*. But, for a more copious description of it, our curious and learned readers may consult the authors here referred to P.

° Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 232. Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi sup. p. 23. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. P Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 113, 114. Ism. Abulfed. in geogr. Georg. Cedren. apud Gol. in not. ad Alfragan. p 205. Agathias, Procop. hist. Goth. lib. iv. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 204——210.

In

In the 177th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* made *Amru Ebn Mahrân* governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Ibrahim Ebn Saleh*, whom he thought fit to depoſe; but, in a month's time, reſtored him to his former poſt. However, *Ibrahim* ſeems to have been not a little affected with his diſgrace, the reaſon of which has not been handed down to us, as he died ſoon after. *Abd'allah Ebn Zahar Ebn Almuit*, who came after him, was ſoon removed, and ſucceeded by *Iſhak Ebn Solimân Al Hâſhemi*, whom *Al Raſhîd* ſent to preſide over *Egypt*. In the month of *September* this year, a body of the imperial forces advanced to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, with an intent to invade the *Moſlem* territories; but were obliged to retire from thence the following month, without accompliſhing their deſign. *Abd'almâlec*, one of *Heſhâm*'s generals in *Spain*, likewiſe marched at the head of a formidable army as far as the cities of *Narbone*, or *Narbonna*, and *Girona*, made himſelf maſter of them, as well as of all the other places of ſtrength ſituated between them and the *Moſlem* frontiers, and acquired ſuch a large quantity of plunder in this expedition, that the fifth part of it, which fell to *Heſhâm*'s ſhare, amounted to the value of 45,000 *dinârs*. With this that prince finiſhed the great moſque at *Corduba*, which had been founded by his father; and obliged the *Chriſtian* inhabitants of the country he had conquered, and many others of their brethren ſettled in the neighbouring provinces, to whom he was grown extremely terrible, to carry materials for that purpoſe to *Corduba*, where he then reſided. *Heſhâm* alſo erected ſeveral new moſques, and repaired ſome old ones that were falling to ruin, in other places. He likewiſe built the famous bridge at *Corduba*, that remained as a monument of his magnificence for ſeveral ages. This prince conſulting a ſkilful aſtrologer, in order to know the length and fortune of his reign, he was told by the artiſt, that he ſhould not preſide over the *Moſlems* of *Spain* eight complete years; but that his *Khalifat* there ſhould be proſperous, and he always prove ſuperior to his enemies. This prediction at firſt greatly affected *Heſhâm*, who remained ſilent for ſome time after it was delivered, though he amply rewarded the aſtrologer for the trouble he had given him. He afterwards alſo applied himſelf to the exerciſe of all political virtues, adminiſtered juſtice to the poor with ſo much impartiality, and treated the people in general, both *Moſlems* and *Chriſtians*, that he governed, with ſuch affability and beneficence, that he was almoſt adored by the whole body of his ſubjects. He firſt invaded *Galicia* in the 175th year of the *Hejra*, where he then committed dreadful devaſtations; but, on his return home, was met and attacked by *Veremund*, or *Bermudo*, though with what ſucceſs we are not told by any good author. Some of the *Spaniſh* writers, however,

The weſtern Khalif Heſhâm's exploits in the year 177.

ever, inform us, that, after the reduction of *Narbone*, *Girona*, and the other places above-mentioned, he made an irruption into *Biscay* and *Asturias*, laying waste all the country through which he moved; but that at last he received a signal overthrow from the forces commanded by *Alphonsus*, or *Alonzo*, II. who drove him from thence with the slaughter of 70,000 men. It must nevertheless be owned, that this last article has not been so much as mentioned by any of the most authentic *Arab* historians [q].

Some commotions in Armenia, *and* Camach *betrayed to the* Arabs, *in the year* 178.

THE following year, being the 178th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashîd* ordered *Ishak Ebn Solimân Al Hâshemi* to retire from *Egypt*, and made *Hazima Ebn Ayan* his lieutenant there. But *Hazima* did not long remain in possession of that honourable post; being soon after banished by the *Khalif* into *Africa*. He was succeeded by *Abd'almâlec Ebn Saleh Ebn Ali Al Hâshemi*, who appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mosabbib* to collect the tribute imposed on those who refused to profess *Islâm*, and the customs there, and on some occasions to officiate for him in the mosque. We must not forget to remark, that when *Mûsa Ebn Isa Ebn Mûsa Al Hâshemi* was governor of *Egypt*, he repaired and inlarged the great mosque at *Mesr*, and put it into the form wherein it remained to the time of *Eutychius*. It appears from *Theophanes*, that some commotions happened in *Armenia*; and that the people of that country delivered the fortress of *Camach*, or *Kamakh*, into the hands of the *Arabs*, the present year [r].

Al Rashîd *performs a pilgrimage to* Mecca *on foot.*

THE next year, being the 179th of the *Hejra*, *Al Rashîd* consulted all the principal doctors of the law at *Baghdâd*, to know whether he was obliged to undertake a journey on foot to *Mecca*, in consequence of a vow he had formerly made. That prince being in great perplexity and distress, and even almost overwhelmed with the afflictions he found himself obliged to sustain in the *Khalifat* of his brother *Al Hâdi*, vowed to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca* on foot, if it should please GOD ever to deliver him out of those troubles. However, after his elevation to the *Khalifat*, many of his courtiers remonstrated to him, that he was under no obligation to visit the *Caaba* in the manner he had proposed. Upon which, he thought fit to apply to the aforesaid doctors for their

[q] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 114. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 394. GEORG. CEDREN. historiar. compend. p. 472. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xviii, xix, xx. p. 18. 19. JOAN. VAS. Hispan. chronic. Vide etiam Hispan. illustrat. tom. i. p. 705, 706. Francofurti, 1603. [r] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 406, 407. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 395, 396.

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deciſion in ſo momentous a point; and they being unanimouſly of opinion, that his former vow was obligatory, he ſet out from *Baghdâd* for *Mecca*, went on pilgrimage thither, and returned to his capital on foot, this preſent year; which was never afterwards performed by any future *Khalif*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. We are likewiſe told, that the roads through which he paſſed were covered with rich carpets, and a variety of ſtuffs of very conſiderable price. About the ſame time, *Al Raſhîd* alſo appointed his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi*, after the diſmiſſion of *Abd'almâlec Ebn Saleh*, to preſide over *Egypt*; but, in a ſhort time, he removed him from that poſt, and ſubſtituted *Mûſa Ebn Iſa Al Hâſhemi* in his room [s].

THE ſame year, that is, the 179th of the *Moſlem* æra, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, tho' others are of a different opinion, died *Abu Abd'allah Mâlec Ebn Ans Al Aſbehi Al Medini*, the founder of the ſecond orthodox ſect, who is ſaid to have paid great regard to the traditions of *Mohammed*. He went amongſt the *Arabs* by the name of the *Imâm of the city of the flight*, as he was a native of *Medina*. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 90, 93, 94, or 95, (for ſo much do the *Moſlem* writers differ about the year of his birth) and conſequently attained to a very old age. Some of thoſe writers pretend, that he was three whole years in his mother's womb. In his laſt illneſs, a friend going to viſit him, found him in tears, and aſking him the reaſon of it, he anſwered, "How "ſhould I not weep; and who has more reaſon to weep than "I? Would to GOD that for every queſtion decided by me, "according to my own opinion, I had received ſo many "ſtripes! then would my accounts be eaſier. Would to "GOD I had never given any deciſion of my own!" *Al Ghazâli* thinks it a ſufficient proof of *Mâlec*'s directing his knowledge to the glory of GOD, that, being once aſked his opinion as to forty-eight queſtions, his anſwer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know; it being no eaſy matter for one who has any other view than GOD's glory, to make ſo frank a confeſſion of his ignorance. A certain perſon having once demanded of him whether it was lawful to uſe a porpoiſe, or ſea-hog, for food, he anſwered in the negative; and, in ſupport of his deciſion, obſerved, that tho' it was really a fiſh, yet the name it bore made it paſs for a hog, which every *Moſlem* was abſolutely forbidden to eat. Nor is this to be wondered at; the impoſition of names being, according to a tra-

Mâlec Ebn Ans dies.

[s] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 431. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 114. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 406, 407.

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dition that prevails amongſt the *Mohammedans*, of divine original. It may not be improper to obſerve, that the doctrine of *Mâlec* is chiefly followed in *Barbary* and other parts of *Africa*. The *Moſlems* of the weſt are ſaid to have waged war with *Alonſo* II. in *Galicia*, this year, with very bad ſucceſs; the forces of that prince having ſallied out upon them from the mountains, intirely defeated them, cut many of them to pieces, taken a conſiderable number priſoners, and driven all the reſt out of the province. Soon after which event, *Heſhâm* departed this life, in conformity to the foregoing prediction, before he had completed the eighth year of his reign. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hakem*, who ſat twenty ſix years, ten months, and twenty days, upon the *Moſlem* throne in *Spain* [t].

Al Raſhîd invades the territories of the Greeks.

In the 180th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 16th, 796, *Al Raſhîd* removed *Mûſa Ebn Iſa Al Hâſhemi* from the government of *Egypt*, and made his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi* the lieutenant of that country a ſecond time. He alſo entered the dominions of the *Greek* emperor either this or the following year, with a formidable army, took the city of *Thebaſa* in *Lycaonia*, called *Al Safsâf* by ſome of the *Arab* writers, ravaged the neighbouring territory, in a dreadful manner, and then returned home with an immenſe quantity of plunder, and without having ſuſtained any conſiderable loſs. This year alſo, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, died *Heſhâm Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hakem Ebn Heſhâm* in the kingdom, or *Khalifat*, erected by the *Moſlems* in *Spain*. *Hakem*, or *Al Hakem*, was a prince of great prudence and reſolution, and attended in moſt of his enterprizes with good ſucceſs. His guards *du corps*, or life-guards, conſiſted of 5000 men, 3000 of which, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, were renegado's, and 2000 of them eunuchs. Part of them were deſtined for the defence of his perſon, and the other part he placed as a gariſon in his capital city. He cauſed juſtice to be impartially adminiſtered to the pooreſt of his ſubjects, brought even the greateſt to condign puniſhment for their crimes, and was extremely charitable, liberal, and munificent. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the *Khalif Harân Al Raſhid* exceſſively regretted the death of *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, for whom he always entertained the moſt perfect eſteem. That prince one day deſiring *Mâlec* to come to the palace, in order

[t] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. Al Bokhari, Ism. Abulfed. Ebn Khalecan, Poc. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 294——296. Al Ghazali, apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. ut et ipſe Pocock. ibid. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 539, 540. Lamai, Roderic. Toletan. ubi ſup. c. xx, xxi. p. 19.

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to inſtruct his ſons, the *Moſlem* doctor anſwered, "Knowledge will not wait upon any perſon, but is itſelf to be "waited upon." "You are in the right of it," ſaid *Harûn*; "and therefore they ſhall attend you in the place to which "other children reſort for the benefit of your inſtruction." And he was as good as his word; for he ſent them conſtantly to the public moſque, where many of his ſubjects children met for the ſame purpoſe, to receive the documents of this celebrated ſage. *Mâlec* is reported to have ſaid, that all the maſters, whoſe ſcholar he had been in his younger years, came to learn of him before their death. The funeral ſervice was performed over him, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, by one of his diſciples, or followers, named *Ebn Abu Dawib* [u].

THE following year, being the 181ſt of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 5th, 797, the *Khalîf* recalled his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi* from *Egypt*, and ſent *Iſmael Ebn Saleh* thither to take the government of that country upon him. About this time, *dirhêms* were ſtruck in the mint that had been ſet up at *Saurai*, *Sarai*, or *Sarîyah*, a very conſiderable city of *Tabariſtân*, or *Tabreſtân*; one of them coined there the preceding year having been diſcovered on the coaſt of the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*, in the year 1722. On one ſide are ſeen the following words, *In the city of* Saurai, *one hundred and eighty*; i. e. *Coined in that city, in the* 180*th year of the* Hejra; which anſwers to part of the years of CHRIST 796, and 797. The reverſe exhibits the following inſcription, MOHAMMED *is the apoſtle of* GOD, *may* GOD *be propitious to him, and make him happy! In the* Khalîfat *of* AL RASHID JAAFAR. Hence we learn (which not a little enhances the value of this *dirhêm*) that the *Khalîf Harûn Al Raſhîd* was ſurnamed *Jaafar*, as well as *Abu Jaafar* and *Al Raſhîd*; which cannot be inferred from any of the *Arab* hiſtorians, nor even any of the oriental writers that have ſupplied M. *D'Herbelot* with materials for his very valuable work. M. *Kehr* imagines, that a great number of thoſe pieces were ſtruck in the 180th year of the *Hejra* by *Al Raſhîd*, before he ſet out from *Baghdâd* on his expedition againſt the *Greeks*, and put into the military cheſt, in order to animate the ſoldiery, and induce them to diſtinguiſh themſelves in an extraordinary manner; in which, perhaps, he may not be very remote from truth. According to *Theophanes*, the *Arabs* received a notable overthrow this year from the *Greeks*, at no great diſtance from *Epheſus*; but the *Arab* hiſtorians have not taken the leaſt notice of this action, of which even the *Greek* author himſelf has handed down to

The occurrences of the year 181.

[u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 396. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. c. xxi. p. 19. AL GHAZALI, Poc. not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 295.

us very few particulars. *Solimân* and *Abd'allah*, who had been driven by their brother *Heſhâm* into *Africa*, having been apprized of that prince's death, and of his ſon *Al Hakem*'s acceſſion to the crown, aſſembled about this time a body of troops, to diſpute the weſtern *Khalifat* with the latter, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for returning into *Spain* [w].

and of the year 182. THE next year, being the 182d of the *Hejra*, *Al Raſhîd* appointed *Al Leit Ebn Al Fadl*, one of his ſervants, to preſide over *Egypt*. Not long after, the *Khalîf* ſent an embaſſador, with magnificent preſents, to the court of *Charlemagne*, or *Charles the Great*, king of *France*, and emperor of the weſt, who was admitted to an audience at a place between *Verceil*, or *Vercelli*, and *Ivrea*, the *Vercellæ* and *Eporedia* of the antients, and received with great marks of diſtinction by that prince. It ſeems to appear from *Theophanes*, that the *Arabs* made an impreſſion, about this time, upon the imperial territories, and penetrated as far as *Amorium* in *Phrygia* with a very conſiderable force; but they were ſoon obliged to retire from thence, if we will believe this author, with ſome priſoners they had taken, and without having effected any thing of note. We are told by *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that *Solimân* and *Abd'allah* landed with a body of troops in *Spain*, and fixed their head-quarters at *Valencia*, in order to drive their nephew *Al Hakem* from thence, about the preſent year. The *Moſlem* empire conſiſted now of the extenſive provinces of *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *Armenia*, *Natolia*, *Media*, or *Adherbijân*, *Babylonia*, *Aſſyria*, *Sindia*, *Sijiſtân*, *Khoraſân*, *Tabreſtân*, *Jorjân*, *Zableſtan*, or *Sableſtân*, *Mawarâ'lnahr*, or *Great Bukhâria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Mauritania*, and others, that rendered it the moſt formidable and puiſſant ſtate in the world. The *Moſlems* were likewiſe now in poſſeſſion of moſt of the provinces of *Spain*, together with ſome part of *France*; tho' the prince that preſided over them there ſeems to have been independent on *Al Raſhîd*, who might, at this juncture, with great propriety, have been ſtiled the *Khalîf* of the eaſt [x].

The Khâkân *makes an irrup-* IN the 183d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 12th, 799, the *Khâkân* ſent a numerous army through the *Caſpian* ſtraits, called by the *Arabs Bâbalabwâb*, or *the gate of gates*,

[w] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 21—23. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 396. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. JOAN. VAS. Hiſpan. Chronic. Vide etiam Hiſpan. illuſtrat. tom. i. p. 707.

[x] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 115. Scriptor. rer. Germanicar. à Carolo M. uſque ad Fridericum III. p. 58 ad fin. vit. Carol. M. Argentorati, 1702. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 397, et alib. GEORG JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p 22. RODERIC. TOLETAN ubi ſup. c. xi. p. 19.

to

to make an irruption into the *Moſlem* territories. Theſe hoſtilities were committed againſt the *Khalîf* by the *Khâkân*, in order to revenge his daughter's death; who, having been betrothed to *Fadl Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and coming to *Bartha'a*, to be married to him, died there a natural death: upon which, the retinue that attended her returned home, and gave out, tho' without the leaſt appearance of truth, that ſhe was privately deſtroyed. This greatly incenſing the *Khâkân*, that prince's forces, by his order, entered *Mawarâ'l-nahr*, put a vaſt number of the *Khalîf*'s ſubjects in that province to the ſword, and carried off above 100,000 of them priſoners. Either this or the following year, one of *Al Raſhîd*'s generals, called *Abimelec* by *Theophanes*, with a body of troops ravaged the provinces of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*: upon which, a negotiation was ſet on foot between the *Khalîf* and the empreſs *Irene*, for an accommodation between the two powers; but without effect. Towards the cloſe of the preſent year, *Mûſa Ebn Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Hoſein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, who had been impriſoned at *Baghdâd*, was put to death in the priſon where he had been confined, by *Al Raſhîd*'s order. He left eighteen ſons and twenty-three daughters behind him, and was buried in the weſtern, or old, city of *Baghdâd*. About this time, *Solimân* and *Abd'allah* aſſembled their forces at *Valencia*, and had ſeveral briſk rencounters with ſome parties and detachments of *Al Hakem*'s troops; tho' nothing deciſive happened, during the courſe of it, in *Spain* [y].

tion into the Khalif's *territories.*

In the 184th, or 185th, year of the *Mohammedan* æra, *Abimelech* made another irruption with a body of light-armed troops into the imperial territories, and penetrated to *Mangana*. From thence he ſent a detachment to the ſtables of *Stauracius*, which carried off the horſes there, and one in particular that the empreſs *Irene* herſelf ſometimes uſed. Another body of the *Arabs* fell into *Lydia*, where they committed terrible depredations, and returned home loaded with booty. A third body of troops of the ſame nation attacked the imperial forces commanded by *Peter*, a patrician, put them to flight, and made themſelves maſters of all their baggage, proviſions, and military ſtores. The *Chriſtians* ſuffered extremely in the action; *Theophanes* ſeeming to intimate, that a vaſt number of their men, and amongſt them many officers of note, were killed upon the ſpot. In the 184th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalîf Harûn Al Raſhîd*, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, likewiſe ſent *Ibrahim Ebn Aglab* into the weſtern part of *Africa*, to take upon him the government of a tract of very conſiderable ex-

The Chriſtians *defeated by the* Arabs, *and* Al Hakem *obtains a complete victory in* Spain.

[y] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 232. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 399. Roderic. Toletan. ubi ſup.

tent there. About the ſame time, *Al Hakem* gave his uncles battle, and overthrew them with incredible ſlaughter. *Soliman*, one of them, was killed upon the ſpot; and *Abd'allah*, the other, with great difficulty made his eſcape to *Valencia*, where he was ſhut up by the victor's troops. This memorable battle, fought in the 184th year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe *Roderic*, ſo often cited here, determined the fate of *Spain*[z].

An account of Samarkand, *where ſome* dirhêms *were ſtruck in* 801.

THE next year, being the 185th of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 21ſt, 801, ſome *dirhêms* were ſtruck in the mint erected at *Samarkand*; one of which was found not far from *Dantzick*, in the year 1722. *Samarkand*, the capital of *Mawara'lnahr*, ſeems to be the *Maracanda* of the antients, ſaid by *Arrian* to be the metropolis of the *Sogdians*, and is placed by *Ebn Hawkel*, or *Ebn Hawkal*, on the ſouthern bank of the river *Sogd*. It has always been eſteemed as one of the moſt renowned cities of *Aſia*, being ſituated in a moſt delightful tract, denominated the *Sogd* of *Samarkand*, on a conſiderable river, that runs through the town, and twelve paraſangs in circumference; at leaſt its walls were of that extent in the time of *Soltân Mohammed Khowarazm Shâh*, before it was reduced by *Jenghîz Khân*. From the charming plain, conſidered by the orientals as one of the four *Tempe's* of *Aſia*, in the ſouthern part of which this city is ſituated, and going under the name of the *Sogd*, i. e. *the plain*, or *valley*, *of* Samarkand, the province in which it ſtands was called *Sogdiana* by the antients. The people of the country have a tradition, that this capital was founded by one of the princes of the tribe of *Hamyar*, ſettled in *Yaman*, that had the general title of *Tobba*, or *ſucceſſor*, tho' they do not take upon them to determine with any preciſion the time of its foundation; and, in ſupport of this tradition, they pretend, that an inſcription, written in the old *Hamyaritic* character, was dug up near one of the gates of *Samarkand*. If this be admitted by the learned, they muſt likewiſe allow, that the kingdom of the *Hamyarites* was formed of ſeveral very extenſive provinces; the city of *Samarkand* being, according to *Al Berjendi*, the geographer, about 1000 paraſangs diſtant from that of *Sanaa*, the metropolis of *Yaman*. *Khondemir* and the author of the *Leb Tarikh*, or *Lobb Al Tawârikh*, write, that the caſtle of *Samarkand* was built by *Kiſhtaſb*, the ſon of *Loraſp*, *Lohrâſp*, or *Lohoraſb*, king of *Perſia*, of the ſecond dynaſty, called the dynaſty of *Kay*, or the *Kaianians*; who likewiſe erected a wall 120 paraſangs long, that incloſed the diſtrict of *Samarkand*, and defended it from the courſes of the people of *Túrân*,

[z] THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 400. EBN SHOHNAH, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. JOAN. VAS. Hiſpan. chronic. Vide etiam Hiſpan. illuſtrat. p. 707. Francofurti, 1603.

or *Turkeſtân*. But, notwithſtanding this, there is ſome reaſon to believe that this city was founded by *Alexander the Great*; at leaſt if we will pay any regard to the authority of *Yakût Ebn Abd'allah*, the *Syrian* geographer. Some authors relate, that the *Moſlems* firſt made themſelves maſters of *Samarkand*, under the conduct of *Katiba Ebn Moſlem*, in the 88th year of the *Hejra*, and not the 85th, as we find aſſerted by M. *D'Herbelot*; but others believe, that they firſt reduced that place in the 93d year of the *Mohammedan* æra, the very year in which *Tarif* begun his conqueſts in *Spain*. It fell afterwards into the hands of the *Soltâns*, or *Khâns*, of *Khowarazm*, and was taken and pillaged by *Jenghîz Khân* in the year of the *Hejra* 617. But *Timûr Beg*, or *Timûr Bek*, the *Tamerlan* of the *Europeans*, reſtored it, rendered it more flouriſhing than ever, and made it the ſeat of his empire in the year of the *Hejra* 771. After which, it continued to be the reſidence of his deſcendants, till they were driven from thence by the *Uzbeks*, who have remained in poſſeſſion of it to this day. If *Samarkand* anſwers to the *Maracanda* of the antients, as the affinity between thoſe two names may render ſomething probable, it could not well have been founded by *Alexander the Great*; ſince *Maracanda* was demoliſhed by that prince, as we learn from *Strabo*. Adjacent to this city, denominated *Samaul Han*, *Sa-ma-han*, and ſometimes *Han*, by the *Chineſe*, is the little hill *Cubac*, that ſupplies the inhabitants with large quantities of ſtones, out of its bowels, with which the ſtreets of *Samarkand* are paved. The plain, or valley, in the language of this country *Sogd*, is, according to ſome modern travellers, about eight days journey in length, and ſtretches itſelf out from the diſtrict of *Bokhâra* to the confines of *Al Botom*; beginning above twenty paraſangs above *Samarkand*. It is compoſed intirely of moſt beautiful gardens and verdant meads; the former of which the neighbouring rivers perpetually refreſh with their ſalutary irrigations. The walls of this city, being twelve paraſangs in circumference, had formerly twelve iron-gates, a paraſang diſtant from each other, and between every two of them a centry was poſted. The tops of theſe walls were adorned with galleries and towers, which rendered the place likewiſe more capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege. The inner or interior city had four gates only, contained the citadel and other public buildings, and was watered by a river, carried through leaden pipes into the foſs or ditch, that entered the town near the gate of *Kaſh*. In the days of *Ramuſio*, it was as big as *Cairo*, or *Al Kahirah*, the metropolis of *Egypt*, and could at that time ſend into the field a body of 60,000 horſe. The religions formerly tolerated here were the *Chriſtian*, as profeſſed by the *Neſtorians*,

the *Mohammedan*, the *Magian*, and the *Sabian*; the two laſt of which have been abſurdly confounded by M. *Kebr*. It ſtands about ſeven days journey north of the city of *Bokhâra*, and falls ſhort at preſent of being ſo ſplendid as in times paſt; though it is ſtill very large and populous. 'Tis fortified with ſtrong bulwarks of earth, and its buildings are in much the ſame condition as thoſe of the city of *Bokhâra*, excepting that more of its houſes conſiſt of ſtone, which is brought from ſome quarries about the town. The beautiful ſilk paper made at *Samarkand* is looked upon to be the beſt in *Aſia*, and is much eſteemed all over the eaſt. The academy of ſciences, that flouriſhes here, is at preſent one of the moſt famous ſeats of literature amongſt the *Mohammedans*. Amongſt the learned men produced by this city may be ranked the following: *Shams-addin Mohammed Ebn Aſhraf Al Hoſeini*, who wrote ſome obſervations concerning the method to be uſed in diſputations, as alſo concerning figures and the elements of geometry, in *Arabic*, together with a recenſion of the commentaries upon the *Korân*; *Abu Ahmed Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Al Omari*, who penned a treatiſe in *Arabic* upon the art of diſputing; *Abu'l Kaſem*, who compoſed a book upon the deliverance of the mind from error; *Mohammed Ebn Mahmûd Ebn Mohammed*, who publiſhed a treatiſe in *Arabic* upon the various readings of the *Korân*; a MS. copy of which work is ſaid to have been brought out of the eaſt by *Signore Pietro Della Valle*, a *Roman* nobleman, and to be ſtill extant at *Rome*, by Father *Marracci*; *Abu'l Leiths Naſr Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim*, who wrote a commentary upon the *Korân*, a piece, intitled, *Singular caſes and allegations of law*, *Theſaurus Juriſprudentiæ*, a beautiful copy of which is preſerved in the duke of *Sax-Gotha*'s magnificent library, *The inſtruction of the ignorant*, a collection of moral hiſtories, and a treatiſe bearing the title of *Inſtruction preparatory to prayer*; all which were compoſed and written in *Arabic*; *Rocn-addin Mohammed*, a famous lawyer and civilian, as well as the author laſt-mentioned, who publiſhed an *Indian* philoſophical and magical book in *Arabic*, at *Kanuti*, or *Kanuthi*, a city of *India*, where *Soltân Ali Mirza*, of the line of *Tamerlan*, reigned. To this piece he prefixed the title of *The ciſtern of life*. *Nâjib-addin Mohammed Ebn Ali*, who penned a book, intitled, *Synopſis medicinæ practicæ*, treating of the cauſes, ſymptoms, and cure, of all diſeaſes; *Imâm Dawlat Shâh Ebn Alâo'ddawla Bakhti Shâh Al Ghaſi*, who wrote the lives of twenty *Arabic* and ſix *Perſian* poets. The famous poet *Al Naſſafi*, who compoſed 2660 diſtichs upon all the chapters of the *Sonna*, likewiſe died at *Samarkand*. The celebrated lawyer *Abu Al d'allah Mohammed Ebn Iſmael*, born at *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, the capi-

capital of the proper *Bukhâria*, and from thence surnamed *Al Bokhâri*, who collected the oral traditions of *Mohammed*, that had been propagated by his followers, and reduced them to a sort of system, fled also from the fury of his enemy into the castle of *Khertenk* at *Samarkand*. This piece has always been intitled by the orientals *Al Sahih Al Bokhâri*. A most antient, elegant, and rare, MS. copy of it may be seen in the public library at *Leipsick*, said to have been written in the year of our LORD 1398. The language spoken at *Samarkand* is a dialect of the *Persic*, tho' the *Arabic* and *Mongalico-Tartarian* tongues are likewise there very well understood. The *Tartars* of *Bukhâria*, or the *Uzbeks*, now in possession of *Samarkand*, which was taken from the descendants of *Tamerlan* by their ancestors, under the conduct of *Shaibek Khân*, in the year of our LORD 1517, are very fond of learned men, especially those that come amongst them from foreign parts, and greatly admire the calligraphy of the *Persians*. This M. *Kehr* learned from M. *Justus Samuel Scharschmid*, who had been chaplain to a regiment at *Terki*, and frequently conversed with the *Tartars* of *Bukhâria*. The *Uzbeks* inhabiting this tract are said to be extremely handsome; for which reason, *Arabshah*, in his history of *Timûr*, calls the men moons, and the women suns. They are vastly clean and neat in their attire; and their turbants are looked upon by the people of *Aleppo* as the finest and most elegant of any in the east. The *Bukhârian* merchants resort in great numbers to the marts of *Syria*, and import into that country very considerable quantities of most excellent silk, gold, and other valuable commodities; taking in return cloth, iron, and *English* tin. The district of *Samarkand* also supplies *Persia*, and the territories of the *Great Mogul* with pears, apples, raisins, and melons, which it produces in surprizing plenty, of a most exquisite and delicious taste. As the province of *Mawarâ'lnahr* has no particular *Khân*, the castle of *Samarkand* falls insensibly to ruin. When the *Khân* of *Great Bukhâria* comes in the summer to pass some months at *Samarkand*, he usually incamps in the meadows near the town. The river here, which falls into the *Amû* about the 92° of longitude, would be of prodigious service to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring countries, if the inhabitants had but the industry to make it navigable. *Samarkand* stands about seven days journey of *Khojandah*, a city of *Mawarâ'lnahr*, situated upon the *Sihûn*, or the *Jaxartes*, in a northern direction, and five east of *Osrushanah*, one of the principal cities of *Mawarâ'lnahr*. Hence it came to pass, that *Arabshah* placed it between two rivers, that is to say, the *Jihûn* and the *Sihûn*, or the *Oxus* and the *Jaxartes*. Its latitude has been determined by *Ulugh*

Beigh, or *Olugh Bek*, to be 39° 37′ 23″, tho' with more preciſion, by later aſtronomers, 41° 20′, and its longitude 95° 00′ [a].

A deſcription of one of thoſe dirhêms.

THE *dirhêm* above-mentioned, on the anterior part, exhibits the words, *Be Samerkanda chamſen wathſamanina wameaten*; that is, *In* Samarkand, *the* 185*th year*; and on the reverſe, *Mohammedon resûlo'llahi wakhelfatoho'l Emirol' Amîno Mohammedon Ebno'l Emiri l'mo'menina Jaafara*, i. e. Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* GOD, *and the* Emir Al Amîn Mohammed, *the ſon of* Jaafar, *prince of the faithful, is his ſucceſſor*. This *dirhêm*, therefore, ſeems to have been ſtruck by the citizens of *Samarkand* in honour of *Al Amîn*, who had before been declared his father's immediate ſucceſſor, and was this very year acknowledged to have arrived at his majority, according to the cuſtom of the orientals, when he was fifteen years old, and of age to govern the empire; as may very naturally, and without the leaſt torture or violence, be inferred from the inſcription preſerved on this remarkable coin. As the inſcription is written in the *Cûfic* character, the *dirhêm* under conſideration may not improbably have been one of the ſame ſort with thoſe that had *Cûfic* letters inſcribed upon them, and were found, according to *Arabſhah*, in the ruins of old *Samarkand*. Be that as it will, this *dirhêm* apparently takes notice of a fact that has not been clearly and explicitly mentioned by any of the *Moſlem* hiſtorians [b].

The Khalif *divides the government of his dominions*

IN the 186th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 10th, 802, the *Khalif Harûn Al Raſhid* performed another pilgrimage to *Mecca*; which proved very expenſive to him. After the performance of all the preſcribed ceremonies at *Mecca*, he went to *Medina*, and diſtributed large ſums of money in alms amongſt the poorer inhabitants of both thoſe cities. He alſo

[a] GEORG. JAC. KEHR, monarch. Aſiatico-Saracenic. ſtat. &c. p. 26—29. Lipſiæ, 1724. EBN HAWKEL, apud Iſm. Abulfed. in geogr. ut et ipſe ISM. ABULFED. ibid. ARRIAN. lib. iii. ſub fin. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. YAKUT, STRAB. lib. xi. AHMED EBN WADHEH, HASAN EBN AL MONDHSER. M. GIO. BATTISTA RAMUSIO, in vol. i. lib. Italic. *Delle Navigationi & Viaggi*, &c. ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. paſſ. PAUL. VENET. de regionib. oriental. lib. i. cap. 39. p. 33. JUSTUS SAMUEL SCHARSCHMID, apud Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi ſup. p. 28. AL BIRUNI, AL BERJENDI, KHONDEMIR, Aut. LEB TARIKH, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 171—175, & alib. paſſ. Vide etiam Chorafmiæ, &c. deſcript. ex tabulis Abulfed. &c. & bin. tabul. geographic. NASSIR EDDIN. Perſ. & ULUGH BEIGH. Tatar. op. & ſtud. Joannis Gravii, Oxon. 1711. [b] GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 26, 29. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 232. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 113. ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim.

called

called his ſon *Al Kaſem* to the ſucceſſion, after *Al Mamûn*, and ſurnamed him *Al Mutaman*. After this, he is ſaid, by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Khondemir*, to have divided the government of his extenſive dominions amongſt his three ſons in the following manner: To *Al Amîn*, the eldeſt of them, he aſſigned the lieutenancy of the provinces of *Syria*, *Irâk*, the three *Arabia's*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Paleſtine*, *Egypt*, and all that part of *Africa* conquered by his predeceſſors, extending from the confines of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* to the ſtraights of *Gibraltar*, with the dignity of *Khalif*; to *Al Mamûn*, the ſecond, that of *Perſia*, *Kermân*, the *Indies*, *Khoraſân*, *Tabreſtân*, *Cableſtân*, and *Zableſtân*, or *Sableſtân*, together with the vaſt province of *Mawarâ'lnahr*; and to his third ſon *Al Kaſem*, *Armenia*, *Natolia*, *Jorjân*, *Georgia*, *Circaſſia*, or *Tcherkaſſia*, and all the *Moſlem* territories bordering upon the *Euxine* ſea. With regard to the order of ſucceſſion, it has been already obſerved, that *Al Amîn* was to mount the throne after his father, *Al Mamûn* after him, and then *Al Kaſem Al Mutaman*. About this time, *Al Hakem* forgave his only ſurviving uncle *Abd'allah*, permitted him to reſide in the city of *Valencia*, ſettled upon him a penſion of 1000 *dinârs* a month, engaged to make him an annual preſent of 5000 more, graciouſly received his ſons, and gave one of them his own ſiſter in marriage; by which means, peace and tranquillity were intirely reſtored to the *Moſlem* conqueſts in *Spain* [c]. *among ſt his three ſons.*

THE following year, being the 187th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 30th, 802, *Al Raſhid* put his favourite *Jaafar Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac* to death; for which different reaſons have been aſſigned by different authors. Some pretend, that when the *Khalif* was determined to incarcerate *Yahya Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Haſan Ebn Hoſein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâlib*, he committed him to the care of *Jaafar*, who ſuffered him to make his eſcape by night, and even ſent a perſon with him to conduct him to *Fâmia*; which being reſented by *Al Raſhid*, tho' he at firſt ſeemed to approve of what *Jaafar* had done, it was the principal cauſe of his deſtruction. Others ſay, that the *Khalif* being ſo vaſtly fond both of *Jaafar* and his own ſiſter *Abbâſa*, that he could not long be abſent from either of them, in order to enjoy their company and converſation together with the leſs inconvenience to them, he gave her in marriage to him; permitting him to look upon her as much as he pleaſed, but in- *The houſe of* Barmak *diſgraced.*

[c] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 115, 116. KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. p. 19, 20.

joining

joining him never to touch her. Notwithſtanding which injunction, *Jaafar*, being once drunk, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, or rather both of them being young, as is obſerved by *Abu'l-Faraj*, lay with her, and got her with child. After the expiration of the uſual term, ſhe was brought to bed of twins; which *Jaafar* ſent to *Mecca*, in order to avoid the fury and reſentment of *Al Raſhid*. But the *Khalif* being ſoon acquainted with what had happened, ordered *Jaafar*'s head to be cut off, ſent his brother *Al Fadl*, and his father *Yahya*, to priſon at *Al Rakka*, where they remained till the day of their death, and commanded his ſiſter *Abbâſa*, who had likewiſe been confined, together with her two children, to be thrown alive into a well, which was afterwards filled up; tho' he is ſaid to have ſhed tears a little before this command was carried into execution. Others relate, that the *Khalif* ordered *Jaafar* to be beheaded, becauſe he had built a houſe that coſt him 20,000 *dinârs*; which his maſter conſidered as an evident proof of his having embezzled the public money; and, laſtly, others affirm, that *Al Raſhid* having taken a diſlike to the houſe of *Barmac*, and being afraid of *Jaafar* and his father *Yahya*, as having imparted to them all his ſecrets, he found himſelf obliged to treat them in the foregoing manner. But whatever was the motive to this ſurprizing conduct, *Jaafar* was executed in the palace by *Maſrûr* on *Saturday*, in the month of *Al Moharram*, by the *Khalif*'s order, when he had ſcarce completed the 37th year of his age. Nor could his mother, tho' ſhe had been *Al Raſhid*'s nurſe, prevail upon the *Khalif* to releaſe her huſband *Yahya*, and her other ſon *Al Fadl*, who had been *Harûn*'s counſellors during the ſpace of ſeventeen years, from their confinement; he perſiſting inflexibly in his intention to depreſs that once favourite family, which was now become the object of his averſion, and having written to all the governors of provinces to confiſcate the effects belonging to every member of it, that ſhould be found in any part of his dominions. It may not be improper to inform our readers here, that the *Barmacidæ*, or *Barmecidæ*, called by the *Arabs Baramaca*, or *Baramcca*, were one of the moſt illuſtrious families of the eaſt, being originally deſcended, according to ſome authors, from the antient kings of *Perſia*; tho', if we will pay any regard to the ſentiments of *Al Zamakhſhari*, they deduced their origin from the city of *Balkh*. This writer relates, that the firſt of this family erected the ſtately and magnificent moſque at *Balkh*, called *Neu Bahar*; which name, in *Perſic*, ſignifies *new ſpring*, or *new garden*; and that they conſtructed this noble edifice upon the model of the temple at *Mecca*. The outſide of it, in imitation of what was done to the exterior part of the *Caaba*, they covered

with rich damaſk, and ſurrounded the whole with 360 chapels, into which the pilgrims, of whom there was a vaſt concourſe here, uſually retired, in order to perform their devotions. As the founders were the proper intendants, or keepers, of this temple, and conſidered that poſt as inſeparably connected, by the right of patronage, with their family, they aſſumed from thence the name of *Barmac*, or *Barmec*, and ever afterwards retained both the title and the name. A certain author, however, of conſiderable note in the eaſt, has not ſcrupled to deduce the appellation of *Barmac* from a different ſource [d].

That family highly eſteemed in after-ages;

THE firſt who gave a very remarkable luſtre to this family, which moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed it from many others that had before made a much more conſiderable figure, was the aforeſaid *Yahya Ebn Khâled*, named at length *Abu Ali Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, a perſon endued with all civil and military virtues, and choſen by the *Khalif Al Mohdi* for governor to his ſon *Harûn Al Raſhîd*. He had four ſons, *Fadl*, *Jaafar*, *Mohammed*, and *Mûſa*, who by no means degenerated from their father's virtues, but raiſed the glory and reputation of their houſe to the higheſt pitch. It may not be amiſs to remark, that, after this illuſtrious family had been abandoned by fortune, and fallen under the *Khalif*'s diſpleaſure, the people had a more lively ſenſe than ever of the important ſervices the members of it had done them. The exalted merit and excellent qualities of thoſe great men then appeared in a ſtronger light than even when they were in the zenith of their power; inſomuch that, in after-ages, they found almoſt as many hiſtorians to celebrate their virtues, and write their lives, as did the greateſt conquerors and moſt powerful princes of the eaſt [e].

and by their contemporaries.

THE elevated ſentiments their cotemporaries entertained of their rare and uncommon merit, in ſome meaſure appears from the following remarkable ſtory, which has been handed down to us by a *Perſian* hiſtorian. The *Khalif Harûn Al Raſhîd*, after he had diſgraced the houſe of *Barmac*, forbad his ſubjects ever to mention that family, upon pain of death, on any occaſion. But, notwithſtanding this, an old man, named *Mondir*, placed himſelf one day upon an eminence, that ſerved him for a ſort of pulpit, oppoſite to one of their houſes, then deſerted, where he entertained all that paſſed by

[d] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 116, 117, 118. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 232, 233. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 406, 407. AL ZAMAKHSHAR. in *Rabi Al Abrâr*. Aut. MAGMA AL TAWARIKH. [e] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, &c.

with

with a detail of the fineſt and moſt amiable actions of thoſe great men; making upon them a panegyric in form. The *Khalîf*, being apprized of his boldneſs, ordered the man to be brought before him, and condemned him to die for treating with ſuch contempt his prohibition. *Mondir* received his ſentence with pleaſure, and only deſired leave to ſpeak two words to the *Khalîf* before his execution. This being granted, the two words he mentioned were drawn out into a long diſcourſe; in which he inſiſted upon the obligations he was under to the family of *Barmac* with ſuch force, that the *Khalîf* heard him without impatience, was touched with his words, and did not only give him his life, but likewiſe made him a preſent of a very rich gold plate, that he himſelf uſed. But the moſt ſurprizing part of the old man's conduct is ſtill behind. Having received this valuable preſent from the *Khalîf*'s own hand, and being, according to the eaſtern cuſtom, proſtrate on the ground, he ſaid, by way of acknowledgment, to his munificent benefactor, *See here a new favour that I have received from the houſe of* Barmac! Which words were ſo remarkable, that they afterwards paſſed into a proverb, current in every part of *Aſia*, according to the report of the ſame hiſtorian [f].

Mohammed Ebn Yahya, *one of the members of this family, eſcapes.*

THO' almoſt all the members of the family, of which we have been giving our readers here ſome account, as well as their domeſtics, and other dependents, were involved in the common deſtruction, yet *Mohammed Ebn Yahya* did not meet with the leaſt moleſtation, nor receive even the ſlighteſt injury in the minuteſt particular. From whence it appears, that his conduct gave no manner of umbrage to the *Khalîf*, and conſequently that he was not affected by the cauſe, whatever it might have been, that produced the foregoing alteration in that prince's diſpoſition towards the race of *Barmac*. With regard to *Yahya* himſelf, he is ſaid by ſome authors, to have died in priſon at *Al Rakka*, in the year of the *Hejra* 196, and, by others, in the 193d year of that æra. As for *Jaafar*, his ſon, after *Maſrûr* had ſtruck off his head, his body was cut in pieces, and a part of it fixed upon every one of the gates of *Baghdâd*. The head alſo, by the *Khalîf*'s order, was expoſed to public view on the bridge over the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of that city [g].

Al Raſhîd *forces* Nicephorus *to accept*

THE ſame year, that is, the 187th of the *Hejra*, *Al Raſhîd* received a letter from *Nicephorus*, ſoon after he had been advanced to the imperial dignity, commanding him to return all the money he had extorted from *Irene*, though this had

[f] AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiariſt*. [g] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 117.

been

been ſecured to him by the laſt treaty concluded with that princeſs, or to expect ſoon to ſee an imperial army in the heart of his dominions. This inſolent letter ſo incenſed the *Khalif*, that he immediately aſſembled his forces, and advanced to *Heraclea*; laying the country through which he moved waſte with fire and ſword. For ſome time, alſo, he kept that city ſtraitly beſieged; which ſo terrified the *Greek* emperor, who was afraid leſt the *Arabs* ſhould over-run all the imperial provinces in *Aſia*, that he ſubmitted to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif*. Upon this, *Harûn* granted him a peace, and returned with his army to *Al Rakka*. But a hard froſt ſoon after happening in thoſe parts, *Nicephorus* took for granted that the ſeverity of the ſeaſon would prevent *Harûn* from making him another viſit, and therefore broke the preceding treaty. Of which the *Khalif* receiving advice, he inſtantly put himſelf again in motion, reſumed the military operations, and, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the weather, forced the emperor to accept of the terms preſcribed him, and to pay the tribute that had formerly been impoſed upon him. After which, he retired out of the *Chriſtian* territories, and ſent *Ahmed Ebn Iſmael Al Hâſhemi* as his lieutenant into *Egypt*. It appears from a *Perſian* hiſtorian, that *Nicephorus*, before hoſtilities commenced, made *Harûn* a preſent of ſeveral excellent ſwords, all which the *Khalif* cut in two with his famous ſword *Samſamah*, as if they had been ſo many radiſhes, in the preſence of the *Greek* embaſſador, who brought them. This *Samſamah* was a ſword that had fallen into *Al Raſhîd*'s hands amongſt the ſpoils of *Ebn Dakikân*, one of the laſt *Hamyaritic* princes of *Yaman*; but is ſaid to have belonged originally to a valiant *Arab*, named *Amru Ebn Maadi Carb*, under whoſe name it generally went amongſt the *Moſlems*. By the preſent of the above-mentioned ſwords, *Nicephorus* gave *Harûn* plainly to underſtand, that he was more diſpoſed to come to blows with him, than to pay him the tribute that had been exacted of *Irene*, whom he ſucceeded in the empire. Some of the eaſtern writers inform us, that the *Khalif*, upon this provocation, immediately entered the enemy's frontiers, advanced to *Heraclea*, took that city, and even flew like an eagle to the very gates of *Conſtantinople* itſelf. The famous ſword above-mentioned has been taken notice of by *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef* and *Al Jannâbi*, in their hiſtory of the *Hamyarites*, as well as by other authors. There did not appear the leaſt flaw in the blade, after the proof *Harûn* had made of it; which clearly evinced the ſtrength of his arm, as well as the goodneſs of the ſword. It is ſaid, that *Amru Ebn Maadi Carb* once gave this ſword to a certain prince, who complained that it did not produce the deſired effect; upon which, that brave

of a peace upon his own terms.

brave man took the liberty to tell him, that he had not sent him his arm with his sword [h].

Nicephorus *defeated by the* Khalif *'s forces.*

THE next year, being the 188th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* sent an army to invade some of the imperial provinces, which penetrated as far as *Sassâf*. *Nicephorus*, being informed of this irruption, advanced at the head of his forces against the *Arabs*, and attacked them with incredible fury; but was overthrown with the loss of 40,000 men, and received himself three wounds in the action. After which, the *Moslems* ravaged all the adjacent territory in a dreadful manner, and then returned home laden with the spoils acquired in this successful expedition [i].

An historical account of the city of Balkh, *where some* dirhêms *were struck this year.*

THE same year, as appears from one of them found on the coast of the *Baltick* in the year 1722, several *dirhêms* were struck at *Balch*, *Balkhe*, or *Balkh*, a city of *Khorasân*, or rather of *Great Bukhâriâ*, situated in the extremity of that province, at no very great distance from the source of the *Jihûn*, the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*, upon a fine river, sometimes denominated by the orientals the river of *Balkh*. The *Persian* historians attribute the foundation of this city to *Kay-umarraz*, the first king of *Persia*, and say that he gave it the name of *Balkh*, because he met his brother upon the spot where it stood, after he had been lost a long time; *balkhiden*, or *balghiden*, in the *Persian* language, signifying *to receive and embrace a friend*. The first kings of *Persia*, who resided in the province of *Media*, or *Adherbijân*, considered this city, which was in *Bactria*, as one of their principal frontiers on the side of *Scythia*; and *Lohoraſb*, *Loraſp*, or *Lohrâſp*, having resigned his crown to his son *Kishtaſb*, or *Hydaspes*, made it the place of his retreat, and was afterwards killed by *Afrasiab*, the king of *Turkestân*. Hence it came to pass, that *Yâkût Ebn Abd'allah*, of *Hamath* in *Syria*, asserted *Balkh* to have been founded by this *Lohrâsp* about the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* destroyed *Jerusalem*; though there seems to be no foundation for such a notion. Some of the oriental writers make those two princes to have been the same person; and others pretend, that *Lohrâsp* conferred the government of *Chaldea* upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom they therefore consider as his viceroy, or lieutenant, there. The latter take *Lohrâsp* and *Beloch*, or *Balokh*, in the catalogue of *Assyrian* kings, to have been in reality the same prince, and suppose the last name to have

[h] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 233. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 118. EUTYCH. ubi sup. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in *Nighiarist*. AHMED EBN YUSEF, AL JANNAB. Vide etiam THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 402. [i] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 118, 119.

been

been applied to him, becauſe he fixed his reſidence at *Balkh*. Both the name and ſituation of this place clearly evince it to have been the *Bactra* of the antients. For, the city of *Bactra*, called likewiſe *Zariaſpa* by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, was ſituated under mount *Paropamiſus*, a part of mount *Taurus*, or *Caucaſus*, on this ſide the *Oxus*, according to the old geographers. And that the city of *Balkh* is ſeated in a plain about four paraſangs from a mountain, and has its ſuburbs waſhed by the river *Dehâſh*, the *Bactrus* of *Curtius*, *Pliny*, *Polyænus*, and *Strabo*, which, after it has irrigated the gardens and fields in the neighbourhood of this place, diſcharges itſelf into the *Amû*, or the *Oxus*, about twelve paraſangs from *Balkh*, we learn from *Ebn Hawkal*, who had himſelf very attentively viewed the ſituation of this city. Nor can any thing be more common amongſt the orientals than the promiſcuous uſe and permutation of the letters *L* and *R*; from whence it will ſufficiently appear, that *Bactra* and *Balkh*, *Balkhe*, or *Balch*, are words extremely ſimilar, if not altogether the ſame name. The notion here advanced may alſo be rendered ſtill more probable by ſeveral additional conſiderations, with which we are ſupplied by *Sharîf Al Edriſi*, or the *Nubian* geographer, *Abulfeda*, and other eaſtern writers. We ſay nothing here of the reduction of *Bactra* by *Semiramis*, 600 years before the death of *Loraſp*, or *Lohrâſp*, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*; as this hiſtorical article intirely depends upon the authority of *Cteſias*, whom we have elſewhere demonſtrated to be a fabulous writer. The fertility of the ſoil in the territory of *Balkh*, which, according to *Abulfeda*, was the metropolis of *Khoraſân*, bleſſed with great plenty of water, and producing large quantities of ſugar-canes, likewiſe very well anſwers to the ſurprizing fruitfulneſs of *Bactria*, in conformity to the deſcription of that country handed down to us by the antients. The diſtrict of *Balkh* is moreover ſaid to produce hyacinths and rubies, very beautiful to behold, ſeveral of which have found their way into *Europe* at different times. Some of the eaſtern authors relate, that *Lohrâſp*'s general *Raham* was no other than *Nebuchadnezzar*, who ſubjugated *Paleſtine* in the days of the prophet *Jeremiah*. We are told, that *Kiſhtâſh*, or *Hydaſpes*, was crowned at *Balkh* in the days of the famous *Zoroaſtres*, or *Zerduſht*, at whoſe inſtigation he became a convert to *Magiſm*, and erected many fire-temples in his kingdom. We are likewiſe informed, that this monarch afterwards removed from *Balkh*, and fixed his reſidence at *Eſtakhr*, or *Iſtakhra*, the antient *Perſepolis*, in the province of *Fars*, or *Farſiſtân*, that is, *Perſia* properly ſo called; and that he reigned not only over *Perſia* and *Turkeſtân*, or the regions ſituated beyond the *Caſpian* ſea and the *Oxus*, but likewiſe the whole kingdom of *Habaſha*, *Habeſſinia*, or *Ethiopia*.

He

Be that as it will, after a ſeries of long and bloody wars between the oriental *Turks* and the *Perſians*, the latter, under their princes of the ſecond dynaſty, are ſaid to have made *Balkh* the capital of their empire, as its ſituation enabled them to diſpute more eaſily with the former the paſſage of the *Oxus*. The latter kings, however, of the ſecond dynaſty, and thoſe of the third, reſided conſtantly at *Eſtakhr*, or *Iſtakhr*, in the province of *Fars*, and *Tuſter*, or *Suſa*, in that of *Khûzeſtân*, the *Suſiana* of the antients. Thoſe of the fourth dynaſty choſe to ſettle in *Irâk*, where they built the city of *Al Madâyen*, upon the eaſtern bank of the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of *Cteſiphon* and *Seleucia*. But, notwithſtanding this, *Balkh* always remained the capital of *Khoraſân*, and was actually ſo, when it was taken by *Abd'allah Ebn Amer*, in the 27th year of the *Hejra*, or of CHRIST 647, and not by *Ahnaf Ebn Al Kais*, as we find aſſerted by M. *D'Herbelot*, in the *Khalifat* of *Othmân*. Some of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Al Abbâs*, as well as the *Seljûkian* princes, and thoſe of the race of the *Samani*, having reſided in other cities of *Khoraſân*, as *Niſabûr* and *Merû*; the *Mogul* and *Tartar* princes alſo, deſcended from *Jenghîz Khân* and *Tamerlan*, having choſen *Herât* for their capital; *Balkh*, *Niſabûr*, *Merû*, and *Herât* were reputed royal cities, and aſſumed every one of them the title of capital of *Khoraſân*. Nevertheleſs, *Balkh* enjoyed the peculiar privilege of being ſtiled *Kobbat Al Iſlâm*, *the metropolis of* Iſlamiſm, and extended its juriſdiction over the territories of *Badakhſhân*, or *Balakhſhân*, *Khotlan*, and *Tokhareſtân*; which undoubtedly rendered it, in ſome reſpects, the moſt opulent, famous, and conſpicuous city of the vaſt province in which it ſtood. The eſtabliſhed religion here is *Mohammediſm*, tho' there may poſſibly be even at preſent ſome few *Magians*, whoſe ſacred rites are performed in the old *Perſic* language, are termed *Pehlawi*, or *Peh'lewân*, amongſt the *Uzbeks*. That the *Chriſtian* religion was not intirely unknown at *Balkh*, in the 8th century after CHRIST, appears likewiſe from an antient monument of ſtone, dug up at *Si-ngan-fu*, the capital of the province of *Shen-ſi* in *China*, in the year of our LORD 1625, with an inſcription in *Chineſe*, and another in *Syriac*, upon it; a copy of which is preſerved in the *Vatican* library, amongſt the *Chineſe* books preſented by Father *Couplet* to *Innocent* XI. The *Chineſe* inſcription contains the names of ſeventy miſſionaries ſent out of *Aſſyria*, or *Chaldea*, and not *Paleſtine*, as the *Latin* tranſlator has falſely remarked, into the empire of *China*; amongſt which we find an hiſtorical memoir in the *Syriac* language, and *Eſtrangelo*, or round *Chaldean*, character, to the following effect: "In the days of the father of fathers "*Mar Ananjeſu*, the catholic patriarch, *Adam*, the preſbyter, "ſuffragan, and pope, of the *Chineſe*, in the year of the "*Greeks*

" *Greeks* 1092 (of CHRIST 781) and *Mar Jazedbuzid*, the " presbyter and suffragan of the royal city of *Chumdan*, or " *Khumdân*, the son of the blessed *Millesius*, presbyter, born " at *Balach*, or *Balakh*, a city of *Adatchuristân*, or *Adatkhû-* " *ristân*, erected this monument of stone, upon which is in- " scribed the dispensation of our Saviour, and the predica- " tion of our fathers to the emperor of *China*." Hence it appears, that several *Christian* missionaries visited *China* even in the eighth century, in order to convert the *Chinese*; and that the city of *Balkh* was then called *Balach*, or *Balakh*. To which we may add, that *Abulfeda* is intirely in the right, when he asserts that *Balch*, or *Balkh*, is an *Arabic* contraction of *Balah*, *Balach*, or *Balakh*, as may be very naturally inferred from this inscription; and consequently, that Dr. *Hyde* is absolutely in the wrong, when he finds fault with the *Arab* historian for that assertion, and affirms, that the metropolis of *Khorasân* was never called *Balach*, or *Balakh*. This capital had likewise the name of *Bilahj* given it by *Al Firauzabadi*, or *Al Firûzabâdi*, and that of the *city of* Abraham by the *Persians*, probably, as is insinuated by Dr. *Hyde*, because they pretended to be of the *Abrahamic* religion, and frequently performed a solemn pilgrimage to *Balkh*, which was considered by them as sacred on that account. Dr. *Hyde* thinks, that the words *Bactra* and *Bactria* were derived from *Bokhâra*, and not from *Balkh*, by the antients; but, for the reasons above assigned, we are by no means disposed to come into his opinion. This author informs us, that *Lohorâsb*, *Lorâsp*, or *Lohrâsp*, erected a most magnificent fire-temple at *Balkh*, denominated by him, from the name of his son, *Adur-Kishtâsb*, or *Adur-Gushtâsp*, in which he deposited all the immense treasures he was master of. The same author likewise imagines, that, from its founder, or rather restorer, *Lohrâsp*, or *Lahrâsp*, this city received the name of *Laraspe*, or *Laraspa*, supposed by him to have been corrupted by the *Greek* copists, or transcribers, into *Zariaspe*, or *Zariaspa*; in which, perhaps, he may not be very remote from truth. We must beg leave here farther to observe, that *Adam*, the deacon, the son of *Jazedbuzid*, the suffragan, *Mar Sergius*, the presbyter and suffragan, *Sabarjesu*, the presbyter, *Gabriel*, the presbyter and archdeacon, as likewise the ecclesiarch of the cities of *Chumdan*, or *Khumdân*, and *Sarag*, or *Sarug*, and the emperor of *China* himself, whose name was written in *Chinese* characters, are all mentioned in the aforesaid *Syriac* inscription. But, for a more particular account of this, our readers must have recourse to Sig. *Assemani*'s notes upon *Gregorius Bar-Hebræus*, who, in that point, will give them full and ample satisfaction [k].

[k] GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 13——15. KHONDEMIR,

Some farther particulars relating to Balkh.

THE language spoken at *Balkh* is that most elegant dialect of the *Persic* called *Deri*, which signifies *aulic*, or *belonging to the court*; it being the dialect chiefly used by the king and nobility of *Persia*, and that which principally obtains at the *Persian* court. The word *Der*, from whence *Deri* is derived, denotes a *gate*, or *port*, as well as *the court*; from which ambiguity proceeds the expression of the *Ottoman Port*, so common in *Christendom*, equivalent to that of *the* Ottoman *court*, *the court of the* Grand Signor, or *the court of the* Othmân Soltân. The language stiled by the *Persians Deri*, or *aulic*, which, according to *Ebn Fakhr-addin Audshu*, the *Indo-Persian*, who lived above 200 years ago, in the preface to his work, intitled, *Farhângh Jihânghiri*, written in *Persic*, was spoken here in the days of the *Persian* kings of the second dynasty, some of whom resided at *Balkh*. 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that this most elegant dialect should be called the language of *Balkh*, the language of *Bâmiyân*, a very antient city, which is supposed to have stood upon the spot occupied afterwards by *Balkh*, or at a small distance from it, and the language of *Merû-Shahjân* and *Bokhâra*. The *Mohammedans* believe, that either the *Arabic* or the *Persian Deri* will be the tongue spoken in paradise. They also pretend, that, when GOD speaks gently and mildly to the *Cherubim* about his throne, he uses the latter, but when in a rougher and more authoritative manner, the former of those languages. Amongst the learned men produced by the city of *Balkh* may be ranked the following: *Jamasb*, a *Persian* philosopher, cotemporary with the famous *Zerdusht*, who wrote a treatise

Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, ISM. ABULFED. in Chorasm. descript. YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, STRAB. lib. xi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 15. CURT. lib. vii. c. 4 POLYÆN. strateg. lib. vii. c. 11. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. 7. EBN HAWKEL, five EBN HAWKAL, apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. ut et ipse ISM. ABULFED. ibid. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 175, 176. THEOPH. SIG. BAYER. hist. regn. Græcor. Bactrian. p. 15—19. Petropoli, 1738. BOCHART. Phal. lib. iii. c. 12. Chan. lib. i. c. 33, & alib. SHARIF AL EDRISI, ABULFED. ubi sup. DIOD. SIC. lib. ii. p. 90—95. Univer. Hist. vol. iv. p. 272—297. vol. xx. p. 84, et alib. KHONDEMIR, ubi sup. Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 113, 216, et alib. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 181, 182, et alib. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 32. JOS. SIM. ASSEMAN. not. ad Gregor. Bar-Hebræum, in Biblioth. oriental. Clementino-Vatican. tom. ii. p. 255——257. HYD. relig. veter. Persar. hist. append. p. 493——495, et alib. MOHAMMED AL FIRAUZABAD. RUSTEMI epitomat. ASSEMAN. ubi sup. An account of the present state of North. Asia, p. 466. Vide etiam GREG. BAR-HEBRÆUM, in Chronic. par. iii. fol. 370, et THOM. MARAGENS. Episc. in histor. monastic. Chaldæor. par. iv. c. 2. et par. v. c. 4, 7, 10, 14.

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in *Persic* upon the most remarkable conjunctions of the planets, and their most noted effects; which *Lali* translated into *Arabic* in *Egypt*, about the year of our LORD 1280. *Ali Ebn Yûnes*, a person of uncommon learning and piety, who decided all points of right, and all cases of conscience, for some time, amongst the citizens of *Balkh*; but desisted from that practice, after he had been reproached by *Mohammed*, in a dream, for his resolution of a difficulty to his daughter, with which the prophet was by no means pleased; *Sheikh Al Imâm Omar Al Bashhâmi*, a person of profound erudition, who lived at *Balkh*, and *Sheikh Al Imâm Asis-addîn*, the *Mufti* of the same place, who have both been taken notice of by *Rashîd-addîn Al Wat'wât*, as writers in the sixth century of the *Hejra*, and appertaining to that city; *Abu'l Kassem Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah*, the author of a book, intituled, *Adab Al Jadal*, that is to say, *the laws or conditions to be observed in a dispute*, who had the surname of *Al Balkhi*, and died in the year of the *Hejra* 319. The author of a geographical treatise, that bore the title of *Takwîm Al Belâd*, who is always cited by *Ebn Al Wardi*, and other oriental geographers, under the name of *Al Balkhi*. *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khoând Shâh*, or rather *Khowând Shâh*, commonly called by the *European* writers *Mirkhond*, who composed a great historical work, intituled, *Rawdhat Al Safa*, was likewise surnamed *Al Balkhi* by the eastern historians. *Mohammed Ebn Okail*, a celebrated compiler of history, and another learned man famous for his skill in geography, called *Al Balkhi*, were both originally of this city. *Abu Ma'shar*, an astrologer; *Abu Khâtem*, the translator of the *Indian* author *Shanak* upon fishes; *Rashîd*, a celebrated poet; *Anwari*, a famous poet and astronomer; besides many other learned men, that we cannot enumerate here, are said to have been natives of *Balkh*. With regard to the fate this place has at different times met with, our readers will not be displeased to find the following particulars. *Balkh*, with the whole province of *Khorasân*, fell under the dominion of *Ismael Al Samâi*, or *Ismael Al Sammâni*, said by some to be descended from the famous *Bahrâm Chubin*, the first prince of the *Sammânian* family, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, towards the close of the third century of the *Moslem* æra. In the year of the *Hejra* 432, or of CHRIST 1041, *Togrol Beg*, or *Togrol Bek*, a *Turkish* prince of the *Seljûkian* dynasty, conquered the whole province of *Khorasân*, and possessed himself of the city of *Balkh*. In the 618th year of the *Moslem* æra, answering to the year of our LORD 1221, this city was taken by the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, under the command of *Jenghîz Khân*, who caused all the inhabitants to be conducted without the walls, and massacred without

pity. In the 771ſt year of the *Hejra*, or of our LORD 1369, *Tamerlan* beſieged *Sultan Hoſein*, the laſt prince of the family of *Jenghîz Khan*, in *Balkh*, and obliged him to ſurrender the place; which his ſucceſſors kept in their hands, till they were driven from thence by the *Uzbeks*, under the command of *Shaibek Khân*, in the ninth century of the *Hejra*, and the fifteenth of the *Chriſtian* æra. It was afterwards redeemed by *Shâh Iſmael Sûfi Shâh*, but finally wreſted out of the hands of the *Perſians* by the *Uzbeks*, who remained maſters of it almoſt to this day. We are told, that it was lately the ſubject of almoſt perpetual wars between the *Perſians* and the *Uzbeks*, in the ſame manner as *Baghdâd* was between the former of thoſe nations and the *Turks*, and the city of *Kandahar* between the *Shâh* of *Perſia* and the *Great Mogul*. It was not long ſince the reſidence of a *Khân* of the *Uzbeks*, who poſſeſs the ſouthern part of *Great Bukhâria*. Its diſtrict muſt be allowed to be but ſmall, in reſpect of the territories of the *Khân* of *Bukhâria*; but as this produces very conſiderable quantities of ſilk, of which the inhabitants make ſtuffs, and is extremely fertile, and well cultivated, the *Khân* drew lately a very fair revenue from thence. His ſubjects were the moſt civilized of the *Mohammedan Tartars* of *Great Bukhâria*, to which the advantageous trade carried on between them, the *Perſians*, and the ſubjects of the *Great Mogul*, not a little contributed. The town of *Balkh*, at preſent the moſt conſiderable of any poſſeſſed in thoſe parts by the *Mohammedan Tartars*, is large, fair, and populous; and its buildings are for the moſt part of ſtone or brick. The fortifications conſiſt of bulwarks of earth, fenced without with a ſtrong wall, high enough to cover thoſe employed in the defence of thoſe fortifications. As this place is the reſort of all the buſineſs tranſacted between the *Indies* and *Great Bukhâria*, has a fine river paſſing from the S. S. E. through its ſuburbs, which is of vaſt ſervice to the town, and, in time of peace, all foreign merchants, and other travellers, have free liberty and permiſſion to manage their affairs in it, trade flouriſhes extremely at *Balkh*. The aforeſaid river falls into the *Amû* about the 38° 30′ north latitude, upon the confines of *Great Bukhâria* and *Khowarazm*. The *Khân*'s palace, or caſtle, is a large edifice, built after the oriental manner, and conſiſts almoſt intirely of marble, of which there are very fine quarries in the neighbouring mountains. The jealouſy that has long ſubſiſted between the neighbouring powers preſerved, till very lately, the *Khân* of *Balkh* in a ſtate of independency, and not a little forwarded the extenſion of the trade carried on by his ſubjects. But he was at laſt obliged to ſubmit to the *Perſian* forces, under the command of *Riza Kouli Mirza*, detached by his father *Nadir Shâh*

Shâh againſt the *Uzbeks*, in the year of our LORD 1737, and finally to *Nadir Shâh* himſelf, in the year 1739, upon his return from his *Indian* expedition. We ſhall conclude our account of this city with obſerving, that the longitude of *Balkh* has been determined by *Ulugh Beigh*, or *Olugh Bek*, to be 101° 00′, and its latitude 36° 41′; though, according to the more accurate determination of the later aſtronomers, it ſtands in longitude 92° 20′, and latitude 37° 10′ [l].

THE anterior part of this *dirhêm* exhibits the words *Be-Balkha thſamânen wathſamânîna wamcâten*; that is, *In* Balkh, 188, or *ſtruck at* Balkh *in the* 188*th year of the* Hejra, or of CHRIST 804. The reverſe has preſerved the following inſcription originally impreſſed upon it: *Mohammedon raſûlo ... llâhi wamâla namiyyétehi ... l'Emîro l'Mamûno Abd'allâhi ... bno Emîri l'Mómenîna oleya walioyy'amadi l'Moſlemîna Yahya*; i. e. Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* GOD, *and the plenitude of all his creatures: The prince* Al Mamûn Abd'allah, *the ſon of the prince of the faithful, is the high ſupporter of the pillars of the* Moſlems: Yahya, *or* John. Hence we learn, that *dirhêms* were coined this year at *Balkh*, in honour of *Al Mamûn*, who had been called to the ſucceſſion after *Al Amîn*, by one *Yahya*, who ſeems to have been at leaſt the governor of that city, if not of the whole province of *Khoraſân*. The title of *the plenitude*, or *nobility*, *of all creatures*, here implies, that *Mohammed* was the moſt noble and excellent of all created beings; and that this was one of his ſingular properties, and a prerogative peculiar to him, who was believed by his followers to have created *Adam* and all other creatures, to have been the firſt prophet in the order of creation, and the laſt in the order of miſſion, to have been the prince and lord of all the ſons of *Adam*, to have had the angels *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Izrafil*, or *Iſrafil*, and *Azraïl*, for his *Viſirs*, we are informed by ſome of the moſt celebrated *Moſlem* authors [m]. *Deſcription of the coin.*

THE ſame year, that is, the 188th of the *Hejra*, ſome *dirhêms* were likewiſe coined at *Baghdâd*; one of which is *Other dirhêms*

[l] GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 14, 15. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. ubi ſup. EBN AL WARDI, KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, ABU'L KASSEM AHMED EBN ABD'ALLAH, in *Adab Al Jadâl*, ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. AL JANNAB. EBN YUSEF, EBN SHOHNAH, An account of the preſent ſtate of *Northern Aſia*, &c. p. 466, 467. Lond. 1729. HANWAY's hiſtorical account of the Britiſh trade over the Caſpian ſea, with the revolutions of Perſia, vol. iv. p. 148, 205. Lond. 1753. ULUGHI BEIGHI tab. geographic. op. et ſtud. Johan. Gravii, p. 143. Oxon. 1711. Vide etiam THEOPH. SIGEFRID. BAYER. hiſtor. regn. Græcorum Bactrian. p. 15——19. Petropoli, 1738.

[m] GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 16. AL JANNAB. p. 223. GAGN. la vie de Mahom. tom. ii. c. 10 p. 365, 370.

struck at Baghdâd *this year.*

said to have been discovered in 1722, on the coast of the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*. The following words, at the time of its discovery, were visible upon it: *Bésmi .., llahi dhóreba lasa . . . ddirhemo bemedînati . . Sfalami, senata thsamánen wathsamanina wameáten*; that is, *In the name of* God, *this* dirhêm *was struck in the city of peace* (or *Baghdâd*) *in the* 188*th year*, i. e. *of the* Hejra. The inscription visible on the reverse consists of these words, *Mohammedon rasûlo . . llâhi arsalaho bel'hóda wadîni . . l'hakki leyodh'shéraho ala . . ddini kóllehi wâlau kâreha . . l'móshrekûna*; that is, *Mohammed is the apostle of* God, *who sent him with direction*, or *the right way*, *and the true religion*, *that he might render this superior to*, *and more conspicuous than*, *all other religions*, *tho' the associators may abhor it.* Of which inscription we have already given a particular account and explication in a preceding part of this work. M. *Kehr* seems to think, that the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd* caused a great number of such silver pieces to be now struck at *Baghdâd*, in order to distribute them amongst his troops, during the expedition he thought fit at this time to undertake against the *Greeks*. For a farther account of that expedition, we must beg leave to refer our readers to what has been already observed on this head from *Al Makin* and *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [n].

Harûn *invades* Phrygia *the following year.*

THE following year, being the 189th year of the *Hejra*, *Harûn Al Rashîd* removed *Ahmed Ebn Ismael Al Hâshemi* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted in his room *Ebn Zeneiba*; whom he soon after deposed, and conferred the post become vacant by his amotion on *Hasan Ebn Jamîl Al Azdi*. About the same time, a body of the *Khalif*'s forces penetrated into *Phrygia*, overthrew an imperial army sent to oppose them, and retired into the *Moslem* territories without having sustained any considerable loss. It appears from a *dirhém* found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, that the mint set up at *Balkh* sent out some more of those pieces this year, or at least in the year of the *Hejra* 187. This coin seems to have been struck in honour either of *Al Amîn* or *Al Mamûn*, one of the *Khalif*'s sons, or rather of the latter of those princes, whose name it exhibits, according to M. *Kehr*. On the first side are observable these words, *Be-Balkha*, *tes'en wathsamánina wameáten*, *At* Balkh, *in the year* 189; or *Be-Balkha*, *sœ'ben wathsamánina wameáten*, *At* Balkh, *in the year* 187. After the words, Mohammed *is the apostle of* God, on the reverse, another name of the *Moslem* prophet, *wa'alakeyatoho*, *and his attendant*, occurs; which implies, that he was united with the

[n] Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi sup. p. 8——12. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 118, 119.

Deity

Deity in ſuch a manner, that the divine and human natures in him were inſeparable. The other part of the inſcription is the ſame with that preſerved on the reverſe of the *dirhém* coined at *Balkh* the preceding year; tho' the *Cúfic* letters, of which thoſe inſcriptions are compoſed, as to their forms, admit of ſome variation °.

The Khalif undertakes an expedition againſt the Greek emperor with an army of 135,000 men.

In the 190th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 27th, 805, *Harún Al Raſhíd* marched into the imperial provinces with an army of 135,000 men, beſides a great number of volunteers, and others who were not inrolled amongſt his troops. He firſt laid ſiege to *Heraclea*, took it, and reduced it to aſhes; after which, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral other towns. He is ſaid to have carried with him from *Heraclea* no leſs than 16,000 priſoners; and, after the concluſion of this expedition, to have made a deſcent on the iſland of *Cyprus*, the people of which country he pillaged and plundered in a dreadful manner. This ſucceſs ſo intimidated *Nicephorus*, the *Greek* emperor, that he immediately ſent the tribute due to *Harún*, and concluded a peace with the *Khalif* upon the terms he thought fit to preſcribe; one of which was, that the city of *Heraclea* ſhould never be rebuilt. About the ſame time, or rather whilſt *Harun* was employed in the aforeſaid expedition, *Raſe' Ebn Al Leith* revolted againſt the *Khalif* at *Samarkand*, and aſſembled a conſiderable force to ſupport him in his defection; which probably induced the latter to grant the *Greek* emperor ſo ſpeedy a peace; tho' that prince's troops were by no means in a condition at this time to make head againſt him. It ſeems likely, from one of them found near *Dantzick* in 1722, with the words *tes'ina wameáten*, i. e. 190, upon it, that the *Khalif* cauſed a large number of *dirhéms* to be now ſtruck, in order to defray the expence of a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, which he performed the following year. The citizens of *Toledo*, at this time, rebelled againſt the weſtern *Khalif*, *Al Hakem*, in *Spain*. But that prince ſent his ſon *Abd'alrahmân*, then only fourteen years of age, with an army againſt their city; who, by the aſſiſtance of one *Ambroz*, governor of *Saragoſa* and *Hueſca*, who betrayed them, after they had admitted him into the town, found means to enter the place, without the trouble and fatigue of a ſiege, put 5000 of them to the ſword, after he had decoyed them to an entertainment, and intirely extinguiſhed the rebellion that had begun to ſhake *Al Hakem*'s throne. We are told by *Theophanes*, that the greateſt part of a body of light-armed troops, ſent by the *Greek* emperor into *Syria*, to act againſt the *Khalif*

° Abu Jaafar Al Tabar Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 406. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 119. Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi ſup. p. 18, 19.

there, perished, without effecting any thing, this campaign [p].

Rafe' Ebn Al Leith *makes a great progress in the conquest of* Khorasân.

THE next year, being the 191st year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* removed *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâhân* from the government of *Khorasân*, probably because he was not sufficiently attentive to the motions of *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith*, and appointed *Hazima Ebn Ayan* to succeed him in that post. The new lieutenant had no sooner entered upon the government of the province assigned him, than he sent his predecessor, who had exercised unheard-of tyranny upon the people of *Khorasân*, in chains to *Harûn Al Rashîd*. The *Khalif* also deprived of his office *Khasîb*, whom he had constituted collector of the revenues of *Egypt*, the preceding year. It must be here observed, that *Theophanes* places the last-mentioned irruption of the *Arabs* into the imperial territories in the present year. He informs us, that *Harûn* advanced to *Tyana* in *Cappadocia* at the head of an army, raised in *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Libya*, of 300,000 men, seized upon that city, and erected a mosque there; that he also made himself master of *Heraclea*, *Thebasa*, called *Safsâf* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Malacopæa*, *Sideropalus*, and *Andrasus*, the *Androsia* of *Ptolemy*, and detached a body of 60,000 men to ravage all the neighbouring districts. Afterwards he penetrated to *Ancyra*, took a narrow view of that fortress, and then returned home; having laid waste the circumjacent territory with fire and sword. This rapid progress of the *Arabs* obliged the emperor *Nicephorus* to send embassadors to *Harûn* to treat of a peace; which was at last granted by the *Khalif*, upon condition that he should pay an annual tribute of 30,000 pieces of gold, with his own effigies upon them, and 3000 more with that of his son; as also that the fortresses ruined by the *Moslems* should never be refortified or repaired. But the *Arabs* were scarce got out of the imperial dominions, when *Nicephorus* ordered those towns to be rebuilt, and strengthened with new fortifications; of which the *Khalif* being apprized, he immediately returned with a powerful army, repossessed himself of *Thebasa*, made a descent upon the island of *Cyprus*, being assisted therein by a strong fleet, which forwarded the operations of the land-forces, demolished many churches there, and carried off a vast number of *Christians* with him into captivity. Such repeated success could not but intimidate *Nicephorus*, who thereupon was glad to conclude a fresh treaty with the *Khalif*,

[p] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 234. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 12. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. c. xxii, xxiii. p. 20, 21. THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 406.

upon the same terms with that he had violated before. Soon after, *Harûn* undertook a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, with his three sons, and distributed vast sums of money amongst the poor of that city, as well as *Medina*, before his return to *Baghdâd*. We must not forget to remark, that the rebel *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith* made a formidable progress in the conquest of *Khorasân* the present year 9.

THE following year, being the 192d of the *Hejra*, beginning *November* 6th, 807, *Harûn* marched against *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith*, who pretended to dispute the *Khalifat* with him. The general rendezvous of his forces was in the plains of *Rakka*, from whence he advanced at the head of them to *Baghdâd*. Having supplied the troops with every thing necessary at that place, he continued his march to the frontiers of *Jorjân*, where he was seized with an illness which grew more violent after he had entered that province. Finding himself, therefore, not able to pursue his route, he resigned the command of the army to his son *Al Mamûn*, appointed many experienced officers to serve under him, ordered him to march directly to *Merû* in quest of the rebels, and retired himself to *Tûs* in *Khorasân*, twelve parasangs of *Nisabûr*, not *Tuster* in *Khûzistân*, the antient *Susa*, as we find falsely asserted by M. *Kehr*. Before the *Khalif* assembled his forces at *Rakka*, he deprived *Hasan Ebn Jamîl* of the government of *Egypt*, and sent *Mâlec Ebn Dahâm* to *Mesr* to succeed him in that post. We are told by *Khondemir*, that the *Khalif* saw in a dream at *Rakka*, before he departed from that place, a hand over his head, full of red earth, and at the same time heard the voice of a person pronouncing these words, *See the earth in which* Harûn *is to be interred.* Upon which, he demanded where he was to be buried? and was instantly answered by the same voice, *At* Tûs. This greatly discomposing him, he communicated the dream to his chief physician *Gabriel*, the son of *Bakhtishua*, a *Christian*, who told him, that this ought to give him no manner of concern, as dreams were only phantoms produced by the fumes which the humours of the body sent into the brain; and that the expedition to *Khorasân*, in order to extinguish the rebellion of *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith* there, he was upon the point of undertaking, had given place to this imagination. To which the doctor added, that no better remedy could be thought of to dissipate his chagrin, than to pursue some favourite diversion that might

The Khalif *sends his son* Al Mamûn *against him.*

[9] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 119. THEOPHAN. ubi sup. p. 407, 408. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 476—478 GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 12. EUTYCH. annal. tom. ii. p. 412, 413.

draw

draw his attention another way. The *Khalif*, therefore, by his physician's advice, prepared a magnificent regale for his principal courtiers, which continued several days. After this, he put himself at the head of his troops, and advanced to the confines of *Jorjân*, where he was attacked by the distemper that proved fatal to him. This increasing, he found himself obliged to leave the army, and retire to *Tûs*; where the prediction communicated to him in his dream was fulfilled, as will soon more clearly appear. In the month of *September* this year, according to *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, the *Arabs* made a descent upon the island of *Rhodes*, committed dreadful depredations there, and at last retired into their own dominions with an immense quantity of spoil. About the same time, as may be inferred from the date preserved on one of them found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, some *dirhems* were struck at *Mohammedia*, a city of *Kermân*, famous for the great number of learned men it has produced. The words that determine the place where, and the time when, this piece was coined, are, *Bel-Mohammediyyata ethsnatayni watæs'ina wameâten*, i. e. *In* Mohammedia, or *struck at* Mohammedia, *in the year of the* Hejra 192, of CHRIST 807, or rather 808. As *Mohammedia* was not at a vast distance from *Tûs*, and our *dirhem* exhibits the name *Al Amîn*, it seems to have been coined in honour of that prince, a little before his father's decease. As *Al Amîn* was likewise at this time carrying on his military preparations, in order to attack his brother *Al Mamûn*, then commander in chief of the *Khalif*'s forces in *Khorasân*, these pieces might have been struck to enable *Al Amîn* to undertake the projected expedition, immediately after *Al Harûn*'s death; or they might have been coined by the inhabitants of *Mohammedia*, not only as an instance of their homage and loyalty to *Al Amîn*, but likewise with a view of making a considerable present to that prince. At least this is the opinion of M. *Kehr*. The language spoke at *Mohammedia* is the *Persic*; which is not to be wondered at, as this city is almost situated in the very heart of *Persia*. Other *dirhems* were likewise coined this year at *Baghdâd*, as appears from two of them discovered with the former in 1722. We must not forget to observe, that M. *Kehr* is inconsistent with himself, when in one place he affirms *Tûs* to have belonged to *Persia*, and in another to the province of *Khorasân*; and that *Mohammedia* stood in longitude 90° 00′, and lat. 31° 45.

THE

[r] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi sup. KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 120. THEOPHAN. et CEDREN. ubi sup. GEORG. JACOB. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 19, 22. Vide etiam bin. tabul. geographic. NASSIR EDDIN. *Pers.* et

THE 193d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 25th, 808, was famous for the death of the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd*, who departed this life the third of the latter *Jomâda* at *Tûs*; being then, according to *Eutychius*, forty-six, or, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, forty-seven, or, lastly, as others will have it, forty-eight years of age. Upon his arrival at *Tûs*, to which place the violence of his distemper obliged him to retire, he sent for his physician, *Gabriel Ebn Bakhtîshua*, and said to him, "Do you remember, *Gabriel*, my dream at *Rakka?* We are now arrived at *Tûs*, the place, according to what was predicted in that dream, of my interment. Send one of my eunuchs to fetch me a handful of the earth in the neighbourhood of the city." Upon which, one of his favourite eunuchs, named *Masrûr*, was immediately dispatched to bring a little of the soil of the place to the *Khalif*; who soon returned, and brought a handful of red earth, which he presented to *Harûn* with his arm half bare. At the sight of which, the *Khalif* instantly cried out, "In truth, this is the earth, and this the very arm, that I saw in my dream." Whereupon his spirits failing him, and his malady increasing, he died three days after this frightful sight, and was buried in the same place, where a stately monument was afterwards erected in honour of the *Imâm Ali Ebn Musa Ebn Jaafar*, called by the *Persians* the *Imâm Riza*, going under the appellation of *Mashhad Riza*, or the sepulchre of *Riza*, at this day. Some authors relate, that both these princes were interred at *Senabâd*, a village about a parasang distant from *Tûs*; and that *Sawri Ebn Al Motez*, who presided over the districts of *Nisabûr* and *Tûs* in the days of *Mahmûd Gazni*, adorned the spot where *Harûn* and *Riza* lay inhumed with many superb and magnificent buildings. Which place has since been so beautified and inlarged by the later *Persian* kings, that *Tûs*, with which this is now immediately connected, was at least very lately esteemed the metropolis of *Khorasân*. Nor did the territory of *Tûs* make a mean figure 500 years ago, since we are told by *Yâkût Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamathi*, that it then contained about a thousand villages and towns. It appears from *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Bashîr Ebn Al Leith*, *Rafe' Ebn Al Leith*'s brother, was brought to the *Khalif* in chains, when that prince was at the point of death; who, at the sight of him, declared, that if he had had only time enough left him to speak two words, he would say, *Kill him*; and immediately ordered him to be cut to pieces in his presence; which being

Harûn Al Rashîd's *death, and character.*

et ULUGH BEIGH. *Tatar.* op. et stud. Johannis Gravii, Oxon. 1711. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185—188, 216, &c.

done, he ſoon after expired. *Harûn* ſat about three-and-twenty years upon the *Moſlem* throne. As to his perſon, he was tall, corpulent, and of a fair complexion; he had thick buſhy hair, which had begun to grow grey, a handſome face, and a black beard: his head he took care to have ſhaved as often as he performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. With regard to his diſpoſition, he was a perſon of ſuch ſingular humanity, that, in this point, he could ſcarce be paralleled by any of his predeceſſors, of great liberality, eſpecially to poets, being exceſſively fond of the *Arab* poetry, and even capable of writing verſes himſelf, magnanimous and brave, and ſo devout, that he is ſaid to have gone eight or nine times on pilgrimage to *Mecca*, whilſt he was *Khalif*. He ſpent a conſiderable time in prayer every day, except when he was ſick, and, during the performance of his devotions, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, made an hundred incurvations. He alſo diſtributed every day a thouſand *dirhims* amongſt the poor, and carried with him an hundred learned men to *Mecca*; and when he did not go thither himſelf, he took care to furniſh three hundred perſons with proper accommodations for ſuch a journey. None of the preceding *Khalifs* had ſo great a number of counſellors, judges, learned men, and poets, in his palace, as *Harûn Al Raſhîd*. *Al Aſmaghi* relates, that, on a certain day, he found *Al Raſhîd* all in tears, upon diſcovering a paſſage in the poetical works of *Abu'l Abâhia*, that he applied to himſelf, and ſeemed to interpret as a prediction of his death. The diſtemper that attacked him with great fury and violence at *Tûs* is ſaid to have been the bloody flux, which at laſt proved fatal to him. The firſt and laſt day of his reign was *Saturday*. His firſt counſellors were *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and his two ſons *Al Fadl* and *Jaafar*; after whoſe diſmiſſion, he took *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabi*. He is ſaid likewiſe afterwards to have delivered the privy ſeal to *Ali Ebn Baktar*. *Iſmael Ebn Sobîh* alſo ſerved him in the capacity of prime miniſter to the day of his death. His judges were *Nûh Ebn Darâj* and *Hafas Ebn Ayât*, in the eaſtern parts of his dominions; and, in the weſtern, *Al Hoſein Ebn Al Haſan Al Awfi*, and afterwards *Awn Ebn Abd'allah Al Maſûdi*. We are likewiſe told, that *Mohammed Ebn Sama'a*, *Sherik Ebn Abd'allah*, and *Ali Ebn Harmala*, preſided over the courts of judicature during ſome part of his reign. The captains of his guards were *Al Kaſem Ebn Naſr Ebn Mâlec*, *Hamzah Ebn Hazem*, and *Hafed Ebn Omar Ebn Al Shojair*; and his chamberlains, *Raſhar Ebn Maimûn*, his ſervant, *Mohammed Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmac*, and *Fadl Ebn Al Rabi*. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *Greatneſs, and power of* God. From what has been already obſerved, it ſufficiently appears, that this *Khalif* was extremely fond

fond of learned men, and cultivated himſelf at leaſt ſome of the ſciences. He obliged *Mâlec*, the author of the famous book intitled *Mawtha*, to write an explication of that piece; who, when the *Khalîf* would have ſhut the door of the chamber wherein that explication was made, boldly told him, that knowledge was of no manner of ſervice to the great, except they communicated it to thoſe of a lower degree. But, in order to have an adequate idea of the ſtate of learning in the *Moſlem* empire during this *Khalîf*'s reign, and perfectly to underſtand on what foot he ſet the ſciences, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the hiſtory of *Tawadûd Khatûn* and *Harûn*, as well as the works of divers antient authors, that he cauſed to be tranſlated into *Arabic*; a detail of which may be met with in the *Bibliotheque* of M. *D'Herbelot* [s].

Harûn *finds a ring that he had thrown into the* Tigris.

It has been obſerved by ſome of the oriental hiſtorians, that *Al Mohdi* made his ſon *Harûn* a preſent of a moſt beautiful ruby-ring, which he wore himſelf, as an earneſt of the ſucceſſion, to which he was called after his brother *Al Hâdi*; and that the laſt of theſe princes, immediately after his acceſſion, ſent a eunuch to demand it, as of right belonging to him. This unreaſonable demand ſo incenſed *Harûn*, that, in the eunuch's preſence, he pulled it off his finger, and threw it into the *Tigris*, where it remained till *Al Hâdi*'s death. But no ſooner had he taken poſſeſſion of the *Khalîfat*, than he commanded ſome divers to ſearch for it; caſting a lead-ring, in order to direct them, from the ſame part of the bridge where he ſtood before, when the eunuch demanded *Al Mohdi*'s ring of him, into the river. The divers were ſo fortunate on this occaſion as to find the thing ſought for, without any difficulty or toil; which accident was conſidered as a certain prognoſtic of a happy and auſpicious reign. One of theſe authors relates, that the famous *Saladin*, in the year of the *Hejra* 560, loſt a ruby-ring, of almoſt ineſtimable value, which was as luckily found again as this of the *Khalîf Harûn Al Raſhid* [t].

The Khalif *recovers from an apoplectic fit;*

In the 180th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Raſhîd* being ſeized with an apoplectic fit, the phyſicians met at his palace, to conſult about the proper means of relieving him; when *Gabriel*, the ſon of *Bakhtiſhua*, a *Chriſtian*, and then but a very young man,

[s] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Eutych. et Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. Khondemir, Ebn Hawkel, Ism. Abulfed. Yakut Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamathi, Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 185—188. Al Asmaghi et Abu'l Abahia, apud Al Makîn, ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p 433, 853, et alib. paſſ. [t] Mirhond. Ebn Shohnah. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 432.

man, declared, that, in his opinion, a vein was immediately to be opened. This was opposed by *Al Amín*, but agreed to by *Al Mamún*, as the only expedient that could be thought of to save his father's life. The *Khalif*, therefore, was blooded without delay, and recovered; after which, *Al Mamún* related to him the whole affair, and was ever after his particular favourite. As for *Gabriel*, *Harún* was so pleased with his conduct on this occasion, that he made him his principal physician, and settled a pension of 100,000 *dirhems* upon him [u].

as does his favourite mistress from another disorder.

When *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mohdi*, the *Khalif*'s brother, was prefect of *Egypt*, he made a present to *Harún* of a most beautiful damsel, of whom that prince was passionately fond. This girl being once extremely ill, and the court-physicians not being able to procure her any relief, the *Khalif* found himself obliged to apply to his brother for a doctor from *Egypt*. *Abd'allah*, upon this application, sent him the patriarch of *Alexandria*, who had great skill in physic, and who soon cured her of her distemper. This so pleased the *Khalif*, that he ordered all the churches that had been taken away from the *Melchites* in *Egypt* to be restored them, and gave the patriarch a large sum of money for the cure he had performed. This patriarch, whose name was *Balâtian*, or *Balatianus*, died in the forty-seventh year of his patriarchate, and was succeeded by one *Eshât*, or *Eustatius*, at *Alexandria*, in the sixteenth year of the *Khalîfat* of *Al Rashîd*. Which *Eustatius* was originally a flax-dresser; but finding a treasure accidentally in the place where he beat his flax, he became a monk in the monastery of *Al Kosair*, was at last made the head of his convent, and built the church of the *Two Apostles*, together with a bed chamber for the bishop. He lived, after his advancement to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, only four years; and, after his death, one *Christopher* was elevated to that high dignity; who, having been afflicted with a paralytic disorder, appointed a certain bishop, named *Peter*, to discharge the duties of his function for him. He continued, however, in that sublime post, tho' very infirm, two-and-thirty years. In the eighth year of *Al Rashîd*'s reign, *Theodoritus* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and presided over the *Christians* there seventeen years. We are told by *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, or *Eutychius*, that there was so remarkable a solar eclipse, as should seem, at *Alexandria*, after evening-prayer, in *Harún*'s reign, that the stars appeared, and the people were struck with terror, insomuch that they fell down upon their knees, and implored the divine protection. For other particulars relating to the churches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* in

[u] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 122.

the

the *Khalifat* of *Al Rashîd*, we must beg leave to refer our readers to the writers mentioned here; as a detail of such ecclesiastical affairs would by no means be compatible with our present design [w].

A CERTAIN writer relates, that *Harûn* being one day told that there was a fool at *Baghdâd*, who pretended to be GOD, he sent for him, in order to converse with him, and discover whether he was really a fool or an impostor. At his first appearance, the *Khalif* said to him, "A man was brought before "me some days ago, who made himself a fool, and had a "mind to pass for a prophet sent by GOD. I commanded "him immediately to be carried to prison, and from thence "brought to his trial; after the conclusion of which being "condemned, he had his head struck off." The fool, having heard these words, replied, "You acted on this occasion as "became one of my faithful servants; that wretch never re-"ceived the gift of prophecy from me, nor had he ever any "order or mission on my part." The author, who has handed down to us this story, adds, that, according to the principles of the *Mohammedans*, one who is besides himself, and has lost the use of his reason, can say nothing but what is true; since it is GOD who speaks in him. On the contrary, he who pretends to be a prophet, and to be sent by GOD, when he really is not so, is an impostor, and can utter nothing but lies. The greatest part of the *Moslems* believe, that fools are agitated by the spirit of GOD, and of course reverence them as saints transported by the divine love; and, in conformity to this sentiment, as M. *D'Herbelot* has rightly observed, it is a saying not uncommon in these western parts of the world, that *truth is in the mouth of children and fools* [x].

Harûn's *conference with a fool at* Baghdâd.

THIS *Khalif*, being in *Egypt*, said once to his courtiers, "The king of this country formerly boasted himself to be GOD; I therefore, in abhorrence of such pride, "intend to confer the government of it upon one of the "meanest of my slaves. In consequence of which intention, he chose for this effect one *Hozaib*, an *Ethiopian*, a person of a most rude and clownish disposition. The king hinted at here is *Pharoah*, who is represented in the *Korân* as saying to his people, *I am more great and powerful than all your gods: I am your sovereign* GOD *and master*. The *Egyptians* having once complained to this *Hozaib*, after he had been made their governor, that the cotton they had sowed on the banks of the *Nile* was carried away by an inundation of that river, he asked them, by way of consolation, why they had not sown wool there?

He appoints an Ethiopian slave governor of Egypt.

[w] EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 408—411. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 123. [x] Aut. LATHAIF, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Haroun Al Raschid*, p. 432.

there? believing that wool and cotton were produced in the same manner. This answer of the governor has been taken for a piece of wit by M. *D'Herbelot*; tho' it has been preserved as an instance of his stupidity by *Sâdi*, an author of good repute amongst the *Moslems* [y].

He took Safsâ.

Ebn Kassem has remarked, that the strong castle of *Safsâf* in *Natolia*, called by the *Turks* at this day *Belejek*, was taken from the *Greeks* by the *Khalîf Harûn Al Rashîd*, who obliged the emperor *Nicephorus* to pay him tribute, as we have already observed; but that this was retaken from the *Arabs* by the *Greeks*, who kept possession of it till the time of *Othmân*, the son of *Ortogrol*, the founder of the *Othmân*, or *Ottoman*, empire [z].

His advice, on a particular occasion, to his son.

Amongst the remarkable sayings of this *Khalîf*, the following has been handed down to us by *Sâdi*, or *Saadi*, the above-mentioned author. *Al Amîn*, his son, having one day desired him to punish a man for speaking ill of his mother *Zebeida*, he consulted his officers of justice upon the punishment proper to be inflicted on that offender. After which, he addressed himself to *Al Amîn* in the following terms: "I "would advise you, son, to forgive him, as this will be an "action worthy a great and magnanimous prince; but if "you cannot absolutely repress your desire of vengeance, "nor overcome yourself on so fine an occasion, you may "treat his mother in the same manner that he has treated "yours [a]."

His adventure with a woman, whose house had been pillaged by some of his men.

The *Khalîf* being once marching at the head of his troops, a woman came to him to complain that some of his soldiers had pillaged her house. *Harûn* immediately made answer, "Hast thou not read, woman, in the *Korân*, that when "princes pass with their armies through places, they destroy "them." True," replied the woman; "but then it is also "said in the same book, that the houses of those princes shall "be desolate for the acts of injustice they have committed." This bold repartee, and the good sense of the woman, were so well received by the *Khalîf*, that he immediately ordered reparation to be made her for the damages she had sustained [b].

He took for his master, Asmâi.

He took for his instructor in the *Mohammedan* law the celebrated doctor *Asmâi*, or *Asmaghi*, who being willing to examine things to the utmost rigour of the law, would frequently have obliged him to make a false step, if he had not been extremely

[y] Sadi, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 432, 433.
[z] Ebn Kassem, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 433.
[a] Sadi, D'Herbel Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.
[b] Aut. Rabi Al Akhiar.

well

well upon his guard. On ſuch occaſions as theſe, *Harûn* uſed to ſay to him, "You are more learned than I; but I have "more ſenſe and prudence than you." This ſage's name at length was *Abu Sa'id Abd'almâlec Ebn Koraib Al Aſmai*. He was born in the year of the *Hejra* 122, and died in the 215th, or 216th, year of that æra, when the *Khalif Al Mamûn* ſat upon the *Moſlem* throne. He excelled in the art of grammar and eloquence, was extremely well verſed in the moſt authentic traditions, and had a perfect knowledge of the *Korân*. Theſe fine qualities ſo indeared him to the *Khalif Harûn Al Raſhid*, that he did not think it beneath him to take him for his maſter. But the ſcholar was reſolved to give the firſt leſſon, and that ſuch a one as was worthy his high rank and capacity. He ordered *Aſmâi* never to offer to teach, or inſtruct, him in public, and not to be too forward, or officious, in giving him his advice in private; to ſtay till he was aſked his opinion, and then to content himſelf with giving a clear and preciſe anſwer to the queſtions put to him, without any ſuperfluous additions; above all things, to take care not to attempt preoccupying him in favour of any of his notions, or exacting of him too high a regard for his authority; not to dwell too long on the hiſtories and traditions he ſhould relate to him, without his particular permiſſion; to bring him back with ſoftneſs, and without any hard words, to the paths of juſtice, if he ſhould ever depart from thence in his deciſions; principally to point out to him the things that were moſt proper for the diſcourſes he was to make in public, in the moſques and other places; and, finally, never to talk to him in obſcure and myſterious terms, ſuch as were not eaſily to be underſtood. This doctor was ſomething under a middle ſize, of great vivacity and penetration, and had a mind capable of the vaſteſt undertakings. He was the author of many pieces; the principal of which were *Oſſûl Al Kelam*, *The foundations of ſcholaſtic divinity*, and *Fuhûat-wa Al Naderat*, *Rare and curious things*. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Iſa Ebn Jaafar* ſaid the funeral ſervice over the *Khalif Harûn Al Raſhîd*, at the time of his interment; and that *Al Haſan Ebn Al Tabtâh* was governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Mâlec Ebn Daham*, whom he removed a little before his death, when he expired [c].

[c] Asmai, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Aſmâ'*, p. 39. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 120. Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi ſup. p. 23.

SECT. XXVII.

After Al Rashîd's *death, his son* Mohammed Mûsa Al Amîn *is proclaimed* Khalif.

UPON the arrival of a courier from *Tûs* with the news of *Al Rashîd*'s death, his son *Mohammed Mûsa Al Amîn* was proclaimed *Khalif*, or emperor of the *Moslems*, at *Baghdâd*. This happened about twelve days after his father's decease, tho' he had been declared *Khalif* at *Tûs* the very morning *Al Rashîd* died. His mother was *Zebeida*, the daughter of *Jaafar Ebn Abu Jaafar Al Mansûr*. He was at *Baghdâd* when his father expired. *Al Mamûn*, this prince's brother, had been called to the succession after him, by an express declaration which *Harûn*, in order to render it the more authentic, had caused to be hung up in the *Caaba*. He had likewise been indulged by his father with the perpetual government of *Khorasân*, together with the command of all the troops cantoned in that province. Notwithstanding which, *Al Amîn*, after his accession, formed a design to exclude him from the *Khalifat*, deprived him of the furniture and moveables of the imperial palace in *Khorasân*, which had been left him by *Al Rashîd*, and, in open violation of his father's will, and the former declaration of that prince, which had been renewed a little before his death, ordered the forces in *Khorasân* to march directly to *Baghdâd*. This not a little incensed *Al Mamûn*, who thereupon expostulated with *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabî*, the general of those forces; but without effect; he punctually obeying the orders he had received from the new *Khalif*. However, *Al Mamûn* took care not to be wanting in his fidelity to his brother. He obliged the people of *Khorasân* to take the oath of allegiance to *Al Amîn*, and reduced to reason some seditious spirits that had actually excited a considerable body of the inhabitants of his province to a revolt. The new *Khalif* caused *dirhems* to be struck immediately after his inauguration, as has been rendered probable by M. *Kehr*; two of which, with the words *thsalathsen wates'ina wamaâten*, *an hundred and ninety-three*, upon them, were found near *Stegen*, on the coast of the *Baltick*, the 2d of *June*, 1722 [d].

The Khalif *excludes his brother from the succession.*

AL AMIN being extremely addicted to drunkenness and gaming, and thereby become incapable of all manner of application to business, chose *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabî* for his prime *Vizir*, and intirely abandoned to him the government of his dominions. *Fadl* was a very able minister; though, fearing *Al*

[d] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 239. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 124. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 13, &c.

Ma-

Mamûn's reſentment, if ever he ſhould aſcend the *Moſlem* throne, for the ill offices he had formerly done him, he gave his maſter very bad advice, and ſuch as in the end proved the total ruin of them both. He told him, that his brother *Al Mamûn* had gained the affection of the people of *Khoraſân* by the good order and police he had eſtabliſhed in his government; that his unwearied application to adminiſter juſtice to thoſe over whom he preſided, had ſo attracted their eſteem, that the forces of the whole province were intirely at his devotion; that his own conduct had by no means been reliſhed by his ſubjects, whoſe minds were almoſt totally alienated from him; and that, therefore, he had only one part to act, which was, to deprive his brother of the right of ſucceſſion that had been left him by his father, and transfer it to his ſon *Mûſa*, though then but an infant. The *Khalîf*, unhappily for himſelf, followed the counſel of his prime *Viſir*, ordered *Al Mamûn*'s name to be omitted in the public prayers on *Fridays*, and in the diſcourſes made afterwards to the people by the *Imâm*, which the *Moſlems* call *Khotbah*, and declared *Mûſa*, tho' ſtill in his tender years, the preſumptive heir to the crown. After which degradation of *Al Mamûn*, *Al Amîn* ſurnamed *Mûſa*, at that time not above five years old, *Al-Nâtik Billah*, *Al-Nâtik Belhak*, or rather *Al-Nâtik B'lhak*, i. e. *one who reaſons and diſcourſes in a manner agreeable to* GOD, *or according to truth*. But ſeveral of the *Moſlems*, after *Mûſa* had been proclaimed his father's immediate ſucceſſor, by way of ridicule, nicknamed him *Natha Billah*, that is to ſay, *one who, by the grace of* GOD, *begins to ſpeak*. The *Khalîf* alſo ſent for his other brother from *Meſopotamia*, the government of which province his father *Harûn* had conferred upon him; and recalled *Al Mamûn* to court, under the pretext that he wanted his aſſiſtance in his councils. This unparalleled treatment ſo irritated *Al Mamûn*, that he was reſolved to come to an open rupture with his brother, in order, if poſſible, to fruſtrate his wicked deſigns. Inſtead, therefore, of going to *Baghdâd*, as *Al Amîn* had commanded him, he cut off all communication between his province and that capital; pretending, that, as his father *Harûn* had aſſigned him the lieutenancy of *Khoraſân*, he was reſponſible for all the diſorders that might happen during his abſence there. He alſo coined money, and would not ſuffer *Al Amîn*'s name to be impreſſed upon any of the *dirhems* or *dinârs* ſtruck in his province. Not content with this, he prevailed upon *Rafe' Ebn Al Leit Ebn Sayâr*, who had been for ſome time in open rebellion againſt the *Khalîf*, to join him with a body of troops; whoſe example was ſoon after followed by *Harthema Ebn Aaſen*; which put him in poſſeſſion of all the vaſt territory of *Khoraſân*. Here he bore an abſolute ſway, officiated in the

mosque as *Imâm*, and from the pulpit constantly harangued the people. *Al Amîn*, about this time, removed *Al Hasan Ebn Al Tahtâh* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Hâtem Ebn Harthema Ebn Aasan* to succeed him in that post. He likewise coined a large number of *dirhems* at *Baghdâd*, to enable him to carry on the war against his brother *Al Mamûn* with vigour; one of which, with the words *arba'en wates'ina wameâten*, *an hundred and ninety four*, upon it, was discovered near *Stegen*, in 1722. *Theophanes* seems to represent the new *Khalif* as a very weak prince; and intimates, that a civil war, between him and *Al Mamûn*, which occasioned a vast effusion of human blood, and many dreadful devastations, commenced soon after his accession. These were the principal transactions, if not the only events of any éclat, that happened in the *Moslem* empire, during the year of the *Hejra* 194 [e].

He declares war against his brother.

THE following year, being the 195th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 4th, 810, the *Khalif Al Amîn* finding that he had missed his aim, and that his brother *Al Mamûn* set him at defiance, declared war against him, and sent *Ali Ebn Isa* to invade *Khorasân* with an army of 60,000 men. Before his departure, *Zobeida*, as we are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Al Amîn*'s mother, and mother-in-law to *Al Mamûn*, intreated that general to consider the latter as her own son, or at least the son of *Harûn Al Rashîd*; and, if he refused to obey the *Khalif*'s orders, three days after they had been imparted to him, to bring him in silver chains to *Baghdâd*. Authors, however, differ about the number of forces employed by *Al Amîn* in this expedition. Some make them to amount to the number above-mentioned, others reduce them to 40,000, and, lastly, others assert, that *Ali Ebn Isa* set out from *Baghdâd* with only a body of 10,000 horse [f].

His forces overthrown by those of Al Mamûn.

AL MAMUN being informed, that *Ali Ebn Isa* had begun his march for *Khorasân*, and even advanced to the frontiers of that province, made the necessary dispositions for giving him a proper reception. He put on foot all the troops he could raise with the utmost expedition, and gave the command of them to *Taher*, or *Tdaher*, *Ebn Hosein*, afterwards the founder of a considerable dynasty, and one of the greatest generals of the age; who, being a man of undaunted resolution, chose only a body of 4000 men, whom he led against *Ali Ebn Isa*, then incamped on a spot of ground about ten leagues from the city

[e] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 124, 125. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 239, 240. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 1, 20, 30, &c. THEOPHAN. chron. p. 409.

[f] AUT. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 240. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 125. EUTYCH. ubi sup.

of *Ray*. *Ali*, ſeeing ſo ſmall a number of troops, was tranſported with joy, and promiſed himſelf an eaſy victory over them; not conſidering that theſe were all choice men, and the flower of *Al Mamûn*'s forces. He, therefore, walked about careleſly in his camp, without any manner of precaution. Which being obſerved by *Dawd*, ſurnamed *Siyâh*, or, as ſome of the manuſcripts of *Abu'l-Faraj* have it, *Shâh*, one of *Thaher*'s ſubalterns, he, with a ſmall party, ſurprized *Ali* in his camp, cut off his head, and immediately brought it to *Thaher Ebn Hoſein*; who inſtantly diſpatched a courier with it to *Al Mamûn*, then at *Merû*, the capital of *Khoraſân*. The courier made ſuch haſte, that he arrived at *Merû* in four days time, tho' that city is near 400 leagues diſtant from *Ray*, preſented the head to *Al Mamûn*, and brought him the news of a victory obtained by his general over the enemy without ſtriking a ſtroke; the *Khalif*'s troops betaking themſelves to flight, as ſoon as it was known that *Ali* had been aſſaſſinated in his camp. This is the relation of *Al Mamûn*'s firſt inſtance of ſucceſs handed down to us by the *Perſian* hiſtorians. But the *Arab* writers relate this affair in a different manner. *Al Mamûn*, according to them, joined *Harthema Ebn Aaſan* with *Thaher* in the command of his forces, and ordered them to attack *Ali*, then poſted on an advantageous ſpot of ground, about five paraſangs from *Ray*. Upon which, thoſe generals, in purſuance of their orders, marched up to *Ali Ebn Iſa*'s camp, gave him battle, and intirely defeated him. For ſome time, *Ali*'s right and left wings behaved well, and forced thoſe of *Thaher* and *Harthema* to give way; but *Al Mamûn*'s main body having broke that of the *Khalif* in ſuch a manner, that the troops which compoſed it could never afterwards rally, and then fallen upon the two wings which had ſo puſhed thoſe of *Thaher* and *Harthema* in the beginning of the action, *Al Amin*'s troops could not ſtand their ground, but were forced to betake themſelves to a precipitate flight. And what increaſed the general confuſion, on this melancholy occaſion, was the death of *Ali Ebn Iſa* himſelf, who was killed by an arrow let fly at him by the aforeſaid *Dawd Siyâh*, in the heat of the action; which abſolutely obliged victory to declare in favour of *Al Mamûn*'s troops. *Ali*'s head was afterwards cut off, and ſent as a preſent to that prince, who amply rewarded *Thaher* and *Harthema* for the important ſervices they had done him. If we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, *Ali* thought himſelf ſo ſure of an eaſy victory, that he told his men they had nothing farther to do, in order to obtain it (or, as the *Arabic* text of that author expreſſes it, to break *Thaher* to pieces like a tree) than to march over the hill of *Hamadân*. Hence it appears, that however the preceding accounts may vary in other reſpects, they ſeem to

agree in this, that the dispersion of the *Khalif*'s forces, as well as the loss of *Ali*, was in a great measure, if not solely, owing to a want of precaution in that general; who could by no means be induced to think, that the enemy would have the courage to attack him, or even dare to look him in the face. But however this may be, whether *Ali* was surprized, or overthrown by the bravery and resolution of the enemy, this disaster proved of fatal consequence to *Al Amin*'s affairs [g].

Al Mamûn *assumes the title of* Khalîf.

Al Mamun, having received advice of the death of *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâhân*, his brother's general, and the intire defeat of the army under his command, assumed the title of *Khalif*, ordered *Al Amin*'s name to be omitted at the time of divine service in his turn, and made the necessary preparations for carrying the war into the very heart of the *Mosiem* dominions. For this purpose, he divided his forces into two bodies, and commanded both of them to march into *Irâk* by different routes. One of them obeyed the orders of *Thaher*, who directed his march towards *Ahwâz*; and the other those of *Harthema*, who took the road of *Holwân*; both of them proposing to meet in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and, after their junction, to form the siege of that city. In the course of their march this year, *Al Mamûn*'s troops defeated a body of the *Khalif*'s forces, and reduced the city of *Hamadân*, together with several other places of strength, without any considerable loss. In the mean time, *Al Amin* removed *Hâtem Ebn Harthema Ebn Aafan* from the government of *Egypt*, and substituted *Hâyar Ebn Al Ashab* in his room. According to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Thaher*, with the body of troops under his command, took post in the territory of *Holwân*, incamped there, and fortified his camp, to secure it from all insults of the enemy, towards the close of this campaign [h].

Some dirhems *coined at* Samarkand.

We must here beg leave to observe, that it seems to appear from a *dirhem* coined at *Samarkand* the preceding year, and found on the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722, not only that some of those pieces were then struck in the mint erected there, but likewise that *Al Mamûn* assumed the titles of *Imâm, protector of the pillars of* Islamism, and *one by friendship united with* Mohammed, at that time. From whence we may infer, that he probably caused himself to be acknowledged *Khalif* in *Khorasân* at least a year sooner than that event is said to have happened by the *Arab* historians, if not immediately after his

[g] Aut. Lobe Al Tawarikh, Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar Al Makin, Eutych. et Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Theophan. chronograph. p. 409. [h] Aut. Lobe Al Tawarikh, Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 240, 241. Ebn Shohnah, Ism. Abulfed. in hist. univer. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 125, 126.

father's

father's deceaſe. This, if admitted, may ſerve to correct thoſe writers, and perhaps give us to underſtand, that the *Khalîf Al Amîn* had ſome other motives to a war with *Al Mamûn* beſides thoſe they have ſuggeſted to us. The words preſerved by this *dirhém* are ſo remarkable that we muſt not paſs them over in ſilence here. On one ſide it exhibits *bemedinati Samarkanda ſœnatan arbaa wates'ina wameátan*, i. e. *At* Samarkand, *in the year* 194; and on the reverſe, *Mohammedon raſûlo .. llâhi wama'lûfoho l'Imâmo .. l'Mamûno waliyyo amadi .. l'Moſlemina Abd'allahi bno Emiri .. l' momenîna*, i e. Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* God, *with whom is united by friendſhip the* Imâm Al Mamûn, *the protector of the pillars of* Islamiſm, Abd'allah, *the ſon of the prince of the faithful.* This piece ſeems likewiſe farther to intimate, that a conſiderable number of *dirhéms* were coined by the people of *Samarkand*, with *Al Mamûn*'s name upon them, on account of *Rafe' Ebn Al Leit Ebn Sayár*'s declaration for him, and as an inſtance of their loyalty to him; if it will not evince that prince's firſt victory to have been gained in the year of the *Hejra* 194; tho' it has been placed by the oriental hiſtorians in the following year. In either of which caſes it muſt be owned, that the antient coins of the *Arabs* may, on ſome occaſions, illuſtrate matters of hiſtory, as well as thoſe of politer nations. With regard to the word *Imâm*, it may not be amiſs to remind our readers, that it properly denotes the ſame perſon as the *Latin Antiſtes*, or rather, for the moſt part, one that preſides over eccleſiaſtical affairs [1].

And at Mohammedia.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſurprizing progreſs made by *Al Mamûn*'s arms in the year of the *Hejra* 195, the province of *Kermân*, or at leaſt a conſiderable part of that province, tho' not ſo very remote from *Khoraſân*, ſeems to have perſiſted in an unſhaken fidelity to *Al Amîn* ſeveral months, if not, as is moſt probable, through the whole courſe, of that year. For, ſome *dirhêms* were coined then at *Mohammedia* in *Kermân*, as we learn from one of them found near *Dantzick* in 1722; whoſe anterior face has preſerved theſe words, *belmohammediyyata chamſen wates'ina wameátan*, i. e. *At* Mohammedia, *in the year one hundred and ninety-five*; and, on the reverſe, we diſcover the following inſcription: *Mohammedon raſûlo .. llâhi wa-alakeyatoho .. l'Khalîfato Mohammedon Emiro .. l'mo'menina al'abido*; Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* God, *and the* Khalîf Mohammed, *prince of the faithful, the devout worſhipper and adorer of* God, *is his attendant.* Where, by the *Khalîf Mohammed*, we are plainly to underſtand *Mohammed*

[1] Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi ſup. p. 1, 30, &c. See alſo Sale's tranſlat. and notes upon the Korân, p. 16.

Abu Mûſa Al Amîn, the ſon of *Harûn Al Raſhîd*, who at that time ſat upon the *Moſlem* throne. Hence it appears, that ſome *dirhéms* were ſtruck at *Mohammedia*, in the year of the *Hejra* 195, probably with a deſign to enable *Al Amîn* to pay the troops he had then in thoſe parts on foot; as likewiſe that the people of this diſtrict, at leaſt, were intirely in the intereſt of that unfortunate and indolent prince, when thoſe pieces were coined. For a more particular explication of the legend and inſcription preſerved by the *dirhém* now in view, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to what has been publiſhed on this head by M. *Kehr*, an author to whom we own ourſelves obliged for ſeveral hints and obſervations, that can by no means be judged unworthy a place in the work we are at preſent upon [k].

The farther progreſs of Al Maimûn's *arms.*

THE following year, being the 196th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn*, who now openly diſputed the *Khalifat* with his brother, failed not to improve the great advantages he had gained. He ſent an expreſs to *Thaher*, commanding him to purſue his march with the utmoſt expedition, and reach, if poſſible, the frontiers of *Irâk*, before *Al Amîn* could ſend any formidable army into the field. That general, therefore, upon the arrival of the expreſs, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for immediately opening the campaign. But he had no ſooner moved out of his winter quarters, in order to recommence the military operations, than he received advice of the approach of two armies, conſiſting each of 20,000 men, that were advancing to give him battle; but, by the aſſiſtance of his emiſſaries and ſpies, he found means to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord and diſſenſion between *Ahmed Ebn Marîd Al Shaibâni* and *Abd'allah Ebn Hamîd Ebn Kahtaba*, who commanded them; ſo that, inſtead of acting in conjunction againſt the common enemy, as they ought to have done, they turned their arms againſt one another. This enabled *Thaher* to make himſelf maſter of *Holwan*, which he took by capitulation, and then marched directly to *Ahwâz*. Here he attacked a body of the *Khalif*'s forces; but being weakened by the loſs of a detachment he had left in garriſon at *Holwân*, under the command of *Harthema Ebn Aafan*, who had joined him before his arrival at that place, nothing deciſive happened on either ſide. The indolence and ſupineneſs of *Al Amîn* had hitherto been one of the principal cauſes of the ſurprizing progreſs of *Al Mamûn*'s arms in ſo ſhort a time, and given ſuch offence to the people of *Baghdad*, that they were univerſally diſpoſed to an inſurrection. Of which unaccountable negligence, the following moſt remarkable inſtance has been mentioned by ſome of the

[k] GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 1, 19, 29.

caſtern

eaſtern writers. When a courier arrived from the army, with the bad news of *Ali Ebn Iſa Ebn Mâhân*'s death and defeat, and imparted it to the *Khalîf*, he found him fiſhing, and ſo little concerned at what had happened, that he ſaid to him, *Don't diſturb my diverſion*; *for* Kuthar, *my freed-man, has taken two large fiſhes, and I none at all.* Being, therefore, become odious to the citizens of *Baghdâd*, by ſuch an infamous neglect of public affairs, they unanimouſly entertained thoughts of withdrawing their allegiance from him. To which they were farther excited by *Al Haſan Ebn Ali Ebn Iſa Ebn Mâhân*, perſon of great power and authority in the army, after his arrival from *Rakka* at *Baghdâd*. They, therefore, depoſed him on the eleventh day of the month of *Rajeb*, incarcerated him and his mother *Zebeida*, and took the oath of fidelity to *Al Mamûn*; though afterwards repenting of what they had done, they drove *Haſan* out of the city, took *Al Amîn* out of priſon, and placed him again upon the throne. They alſo, in a little time, ſeized *Haſan*, and brought him to the *Khalîf*, that he might receive the reward of his late treaſonable practices and inſtigations. That prince, however, did not only forgive him, but likewiſe, after having ſupplied him with large ſums of money, carriages, horſes, arms, and all ſorts of military ſtores, ſent him to command the troops poſted in the neighbourhood of *Holwân*. But he had no ſooner reached the oppoſite bank of the *Tigris*, than he took to his heels, in order to make his eſcape. Of which *Al Amîn* being apprized, he immediately ſent a detachment in purſuit of him; which at laſt coming up with him, after a brave defence, cut him to pieces, and brought his head to the *Khalîf*. Two of his ſervants alſo that attended him, and in conjunction with him behaved with ſuch unparalleled reſolution, that they ſeveral times repulſed the above-mentioned detachment, met with the ſame fate [1].

In the mean time, *Thaher Ebn Hoſein* made a moſt rapid progreſs with the troops under his command. Having advanced to *Ahwâz*, and attacked a body of the *Khalîf*'s forces poſted there, as has been already obſerved, he obliged them to retire; though the action by no means ended in their intire defeat. However, it ſo intimidated the commandant of *Ahwâz*, that he thought fit to ſurrender that fortreſs to him. This opened him a way to *Wâſet* upon the *Tigris*, and facilitated the conqueſt of that place. After which, he marched with his army to *Al Madâyen*, almoſt within ſight of *Baghdâd*; Thaher *takes ſeveral towns, which introduces* Egypt, Syria, Hejâz, *and* Yaman, *to declare for* Al Mamûn.

[1] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 126. Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 241, 243. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 414, 415. Khondemir, Ism. Abulfed. &c.

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the inhabitants of which town opened their gates to receive him, upon the first news of his approach. The rapidity of these conquests, and *Al Amín*'s infamous administration, excited the people of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Hejáz*, and *Yaman*, unanimously to declare for *Al Mamún*, who was thereupon immediately proclaimed *Khalíf* in all those provinces. All things thus apparently tending to a revolution, that prince took upon him to constitute several governors of provinces, and in particular appointed *Ayád Ebn Mohammed* to preside, in the room of *Hâtem Ebn Harthema Ebn Aafan*, whom he deprived of the government of that country, over the people of *Egypt*. He also made the proper dispositions for improving the vast advantages he had gained, and even for putting an end to the war in which he found himself engaged the following campaign [m].

Some dirhems *coined at* Ispahân. *A description of that city.*

To furnish the powers engaged in this war with proper supplies, large quantities both of *dirhems* and *dinárs* were probably coined in several of the principal cities of the *Moslem* empire, the present year. That some *dirhems* were struck at *Ispahán*, or *Isfahán*, the capital of *Persia*, we learn from one of them found near the coast of the *Baltick* in 1722. This city, called by the orientals *Isfehán*, *Isfahán*, *Esfahán*, *Asfehán*, *Ishehán*, *Áshehán*, *Spahán*, *Suffihán*, and *Esbahana*, seems to be the *Aspa* of *Ptolemy*, placed in *Parthia* by that geographer, though he assigns it and the adjacent places a greater latitude than the eastern astronomers and geographers; most of whom place *Ispahán* in latitude 32° 25′, and longitude 86° 40′. This conjecture is not a little countenanced by the affinity of names, as *Spahán*, *Asfehán*, *Isfahán*, *Ispahán*, &c. must be allowed very deducible from *Aspa*; tho' *Al Bicri* seems to derive those names from *Ispáh*, in the plural *Ispahán*, which in *Arabic* denotes *militia*, *troops*, &c. because, according to him, the *Parthians* assembled all their forces, drawn out of *Persia*, *Kermán*, and *Ahwaz*, at this place. Some of the oriental writers have ranked *Ispahán* amongst the cities belonging to the fourth climate; tho', if we will believe *Hamdalla*, it has a better title given it to the third by its situation. It stands in a very extensive plain, surrounded by mountains, and has eight districts appertaining to it, that contain about 400 towns and villages. The fertility of the soil, the mildness of the seasons, and the fine temperature of the air, all conspire to render *Ispahán* one of the most charming and delightful cities in the world; for which reason, *Ismael Súfi*, the first prince of the last royal family of *Persia*, that lost all its power and influence

[m] Abu Jafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 127. Gohii not. ad Alfragan. p. 121, et alib.

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in that country by the dethroning of the late *Shâh Hoſein*, when he came to it, gave it the title of *Dar Aſſultana*, or the *royal ſeat*. *Shâh Abbâs* alſo, his great grandſon, was ſo taken with its pleaſant ſituation, that he fixed his reſidence there. After which, this city was adorned with a ſuperb edifice, called by the *Perſians Dawlat-khâna*, *the royal palace*, a ſpacious market-place, a ſtately moſque, a noble garden divided into four parts, an extenſive hippodrome, and a royal park, or place, where wild beaſts were kept, conſiſting of 1000 acres of ground. It ſoon likewiſe received ſuch farther acceſſions of grandeur, as enabled it to lift up its head above all the other cities of *Perſia*. The three principal ſuburbs annexed to are, *Abbâs-abâd*, denominated likewiſe *the manſion of the* Tauriſians, built by *Shâh Abbâs*, and belonging to the people of *Tauris*; *Julfa*, inhabited by a colony of *Armenians*, called by ſome *New Julfa*, there having been an antient city going under the ſame name in *Armenia*, upon the *Araxes*; and *Ghebr-abâd*, or, as the *Arabs* pronounce it, *Kebr-abâd*, *the ſtreet of the* Magians, occupied intirely by the profeſſors of *Magiſm*, or the antient religion of the *Perſians*. The river *Zenderoud*, having its ſource on mount *Dimawend*, ſeparates the city of *Iſpahân* and *Abbâs-abâd* from *Julfa* and *Ghebr-abâd*; beſides which, another river, called *Ali Kûren*, by means of a paſſage made for it through mount *Dimawend* by *Shâh Abbâs*, formerly watered part of the neighbouring tract, and united its ſtreams with thoſe of the *Zenderoud*. Some authors relate, that there are, or formerly were, two other ſtreets, or ſuburbs, belonging to *Iſpahân*; and that the *Perſians* have a common ſaying amongſt them, importing, that this city *is half of the world*. The diſtrict of *Iſpahân*, which is in *Al Jebâl*, or the *Perſian Irâk*, is bounded on the eaſt by *Khûzeſtân*, the *Suſiana* of the antients, whoſe metropolis *Tuſter*, ſituated in a plain, anſwers to the *Suſa* of *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, and the *Shuſhan* of Scripture; and on the ſouth by the town of *Semîram*, that ſtands at almoſt an equal diſtance from this capital and *Shîrâz*, the metropolis of *Fârs*, *Fârſiſtân*, or, as the antient *Perſians* pronounced it, *Pârs*. At firſt the ſpot on which *Iſpahân* ſtands was occupied by four towns, or ſtreets, going under the names of *Kirân*, *Koſhec*, *Jûbâra*, and *Derdeſhta*, built by *Tahmurath*, ſurnamed the *Demoniac*, becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have vanquiſhed and bound the devil, and *Jamſhîd*. The *Perſian* writers pretend, that *Kaykobâd*, the founder of the *Kayanian* dynaſty, was the firſt king of *Perſia* who fixed his reſidence here, where he choſe his ſepulchre; though, according to them, it did not long enjoy the prerogative of capital of that kingdom. Others relate, that the *Jews*, after their diſperſion over *Aſſyria*, and ſome of the neighbouring pro-

provinces, being drawn hither by the ſalubrity of the water, built a ſmall town near another, named *Jiey*, which was afterwards greatly inlarged, and became a city of very conſiderable note. Hence it came to paſs, that *Yákût* ſtiled *Iſpahân* the larger city of the *Jews*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from *Jiey*, two miles diſtant from it, that had alſo received the denomination of the *Jewiſh* city, or rather the leſſer *Jewiſh* city; and hence a probable reaſon may be aſſigned why the *Perſians* and *Armenians* ſhould affirm, that *Iſpahân* had antiently the name of *Júſh*. Some authors maintain, that the word *Iſpahân*, or *Sipahân*, denoted *cavalry*; and that it was applied as a name to the city ſo called, becauſe the antient kings of *Perſia* aſſembled their cavalry, in which the principal ſtrength of their armies conſiſted, here. The greateſt part of the *Perſian* hiſtorians attribute the foundation of *Iſpahân* either to *Huſhenk*, or *Houſhenk*, or to *Tahmurath*, two *Perſian* kings of the dynaſty of *Piſhdâd*. It loſt its title of capital of *Perſia* by the tranſlation of the royal ſeat, in the days of the *Khoſrú's*, firſt to *Suſa*, afterwards to *Eſtakhr*, or *Iſtakhra*, the antient *Perſepolis*, and laſtly to *Al Madayen* upon the *Tigris*. However, in proceſs of time, it recovered this; for *Jalaleddin Melec Shah*, one of the *Seljukian* princes, quitted *Khoraſan* and the *Arabian Irák*, where his predeceſſors had ſeated themſelves, in order to fix his reſidence in this city. Nevertheleſs, it was afterwards obliged to leave this honour, upon the decline of the *Seljúkian* dynaſty, to *Shiráz*, which the *Modhafferian*, or *Mothafferian*, *Soltáns* of *Perſia* had made the capital of their dominions in the days of *Tamerlan*; tho' after *Iſmael Súfi* had ſeated himſelf upon the *Perſian* throne, it grew more flouriſhing than ever, and was not only made by his deſcendants the metropolis of *Perſia*, but likewiſe one of the moſt magnificent cities of *Aſia*; eſpecially after *Shâh Abbás* I. had joined to it the ſuburbs, or ſtreets, above-mentioned, and eſtabliſhed there ſeveral colonies of *Georgians*, *Ghebrs*, and *Armenians* [n].

The modern ſtate of Iſpahân before the commencement of the rebellion in the year 1721.

WITH regard to the modern ſtate of *Iſpahân*, before the commencement of the dreadful rebellion in the year 1721, ſince which time the once flouriſhing kingdom of *Perſia* has been almoſt one continued ſcene of blood, ravages, and confuſion, in order to give our curious readers a general idea of it,

[n] GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 24—26. GOLII not. ad Alfragan p. 214—218. PTOL. geogr. lib. vi. c. 5. AL EDRI, HAMDALLAH, SHARIF AI EDRISI, MOHAMMED EBN KOTHAIR AL FARGANI, YAKUT EBN ABD'ALLAH AL HAMATHI, HEROD. lib. v. c. 54. STRAB. lib. xv. PAUSAN. Meſſen. c. xxxi. PLIN. lib. vi. c. 27. NEHEM. i. 1. ESTH. i. 2. DAN. viii. 2. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, AL JANNAB AHMED EBN YUSEF. Vide etiam ARABSHAH, in vit. Tim. alioſque ſcriptor. oriental. plur.

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we shall here beg leave to lay down the following particulars. This city was distinguished, no less for the magnificence of its buildings, than for the vast tract it inclosed; the circumference having been ordinarily computed at twenty-four miles, including its gardens and suburbs. It was situated in a plain to the north of the *Zenderoud*, which separated it from *Julfa* and *Ghebr-abâd*, as already observed. The source of this river is distant only three days journey: there are various accounts concerning the course of it; but it is agreed to be of very small extent. *Abbâs* the *Great* caused a chanel to be cut through the mountains, thirty leagues distant; by which means the waters of the river *Mahmoud Ker*, called by some of the eastern geographers *Ali Kûren*, as has been above remarked, were conveyed into the *Zenderoud*; which renders it, according to a very curious modern traveller, as wide and deep, upon the melting of the snows in the spring, as the *Seine* is in the winter at *Paris*. This work, which was carried on by some thousands of men, was finished in fourteen years time, at an immense expence. There is a communication between the two banks of the river by different bridges. The largest and finest was that of *Julfa:* it was 360 geometrical paces in length, and thirteen in breadth; the two extremities of it were flanked by four round towers, with a covered gallery, which ranged on both sides the length of the bridge; the whole decorated with the richest ornaments of *Persian* architecture. It was joined by two causeways, made with a gentle descent to a double row of trees, above 3000 paces long. This delightful alley was lined with terrasses and plane trees: it was called *Toherbag*, or *four gardens*, and bordered with gardens belonging to the king. The length of it was terminated by a large pavilion towards the town, and on the opposite side by a building, in the royal garden, called *Hazar Jerib*, or *thousand gardens*. The town, or suburb, of *Julfa* on the one side, and that of *Abbâs-abâd* on the other, stretched along the *Zenderoud*. From the bridge of *Julfa* to the bridge of *Abbâs-abâd* was about a mile and a half. The last received its name from the neighbouring suburb, and served as a communication to the western extremity of the town. The bridge of *Barbaroui*, which was less distant than that of *Abbâs-abâd* from the bridge of *Julfa*, was the third met with descending: like the latter, it was lined with galleries, and not so much inferior to it in architecture as in length. About a mile further, advancing eastward, was the bridge of *Shîrâz*, or *Shiraz*, so denominated, because it was the road-way from *Ispahân* to that city; and near it was the village of *Cheereshân*. The city of *Ispahân*, or *Isfahân*, was then in its highest pitch of splendor, and esteemed the largest, if we except some of the cities of *China*, and most

mencement of the rebellion in 1721.

moſt magnificent in *Aſia*, with 600,000 inhabitants, excluſive of thoſe crowds who had fled thither for ſhelter from different parts of the open country, and were reckoned near 100,000 ſouls. *Julfa* was a town ſituated only a mile and a half ſouth of *Iſpahân*, on the ſouth banks of the river *Zenderoud*, or *freſh river*; on the ſide of which it extended almoſt three miles. The *Armenians* having revolted againſt the *Turks*, in the reign of *Abbâs* the *Great*, and ſubmitted to that prince, he removed part of the inhabitants of *Armenia* into different provinces of *Perſia*. Thoſe of the antient *Julfa*, a town on the banks of the *Aras*, or *Araxes*, were tranſported to *Iſpahân*, from whence they afterwards removed, and ſettled in this place; to which they gave the name of their former reſidence. The people who had been drawn from *Erivan*, *Shirvan*, and the lower *Armenia*, had ſettled in the other ſuburbs of *Iſpahân*; but *Abbâs*, deſirous of improving this new colony, obliged them to remove to *Julfa*, together with ſome *Perſees* of the neighbourhood of *Kermân* and *Yezd*; by which means, four new quarters were formed. Moſt of the *Perſees* took occaſion to retire from thence; ſo that of 1500 families, which were at firſt computed in their quarter, there remained only 300, all compoſed of artificers and labouring-men. But the *Armenians*, being an induſtrious active people, applied themſelves to commerce, and, by their care, this colony ſoon aroſe to a flouriſhing condition. They were greatly encouraged by *Abbâs*, and ſome of his ſucceſſors, inſomuch that *Julfa* had the appearance of a republic, founded in the midſt of a foreign nation. But the *Perſian* court at length, forgetful of its own intereſts, grew tired of favouring them; and, in *Shâh Hoſein*'s reign, their privileges, which had ſuffered ſome diminution under his predeceſſors, fell into contempt. This was the ſituation of the *Armenians* at *Julfa*, whoſe colony there, by ſuch conduct, was reduced to a pretty low ebb, when the ſurprizing revolution happened in *Perſia*, in the year 1722; of which, together with its dreadful conſequences, the world has been but too well apprized. However, if we will believe a very celebrated modern author, who was himſelf upon the ſpot, the inhabitants of *Julfa* amounted to 30,000 ſouls, had thirteen churches, and above an hundred prieſts, and paid the *Perſian* court 200 *tomans* yearly for the free exerciſe of their religion, not many years before that tragical event happened. *Abbâs-abâd* is ſituated to the weſt of the city, and derived its name from *Abbâs* the *Great*, its founder, and has always, at leaſt for the moſt part, been inhabited by *Mohammedans*. *Ghebr-abâd* was intirely occupied by the *Magians*, or *Perſees*, of whoſe religious tenets we have already given a full and ample account, who

are ſaid to have retained the ſame habit and attire that were uſed in the days of the antient *Perſian* kings, and to have amounted lately to about 600 families, conſiſting only of labourers and farmers. Some of the ſtreets were broad, handſome, and of a very conſiderable length; ſuch were many of thoſe that compoſed *Abbâs-abâd*, ſome of thoſe that formed the town of *Julfa*, and a few of thoſe belonging to *Ghebr-abâd*; but others of them were narrow, crooked, aloft, and arched, to the great conveniency of thoſe walking in them. Others of them again, tho' extremely narrow, as well as turning and winding many ways, were of an incredible length, and reſembled ſo many labyrinths. The broad and handſome ſtreets were frequently beautified with trees planted in them, with fountains and canals in the middle of them. At a ſmall diſtance from the town there were likewiſe public walks, adorned with rows of plane-trees on each ſide, ways paved with ſtone, fountains, and ciſterns. There were alſo above an hundred caravanſera's, for the uſe of merchants and travellers, many of which were built by the king and prime nobility of *Perſia*. The ground was plain and even, except in that part of the city bordering upon the river, which ſeemed a little lower, and approaching nearer a ſort of deſcent, than the reſt. As very little rain fell here, the ſtreets of *Iſpahân* were frequently full of duſt; which circumſtance rendered this place diſagreeable, during a conſiderable part of the year. However, in order to remove this inconvenience, or at leaſt to make it more tolerable, the citizens often watered them in the ſummer-time, and whenever the weather was warmer than uſual here. The natives admired a caſtle in the eaſtern part of the town, which they took to be impregnable, and called *Kalahi-berûk*, that is, *the citadel of benediction*. The public money, and moſt of the military ſtores, were ſaid to be kept here; for which reaſon it went amongſt ſome by the name of *Jébbekhoneh*, *the armory*, or *magazine*. The building was itſelf extremely rude, and the penthouſes belonging to it reſembled a human noſe. The baths and caravanſera's, or inns, of leſſer note in this city were almoſt innumerable, tho' there was but one public hoſpital, which was capable of containing a pretty large number of infirm people. Moſt of the public buildings were rather neat than magnificent; tho' the great *Meidan*, or market-place, called by the *Perſians Meidan beſerg*, the royal palace, and the alley denominated *Toher-bag*, adjoining to it, made a very grand appearance. The *Meidan-beſerg* was 660 paces long, and 212 broad; and was ſituated in the ſouth-weſt part of the city. The antient *Meidan*, or market-place, going under the name of *Meidan-kohoneh*, was 300 paces long, and 100 broad; and had its ſituation likewiſe in the ſouth-weſtern quarter of the town.

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The former *Meidan* incloſed the royal moſque, called *the moſque of the* Imâm Al Mohdi; the building denominated *Kaiſerieh*, where all ſorts of foreign commodities were expoſed to ſale; and the mint ſtiled by the *Perſians Serraab-khoneh*, where the current money of the kingdom was coined. Beſides the native *Perſians*, there were, according to Dr. *Kæmpfer*, who reſided ſome time here, in *Iſpahân*, not many years ſince, above 10,000 *Indians*, all ſupported by trade; 20,000 *Georgians*, *Circaſſians*, or *Cherkaſſians*, and *Tartars* of *Dageſtan*, or *Leſgees*; a conſiderable number of *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, and *Portugueſe*, together with a few of the *French* nation. The *Capuchins*, *Diſcalceated Carmelites*, *Jeſuits*, *Dominicans*, and *Auſtin Friars*, had likewiſe their convents here; though they found it impoſſible to make any converts in this place. The moſques and public colleges amounted to above an hundred, when Dr. *Kæmpfer* was in this city. It may not be improper to obſerve, that *Iſpahân* has produced an incredible number of learned men, amongſt whom the following ſeem to merit our principal regard: *Abu Iſmael Tograi*, a celebrated poet, and privy counſellor to *Al Mâlec Mas'ûd Ebn Mohammed Ebn Mâlec Shâh Al Seljûki*; whoſe fifty-nine verſes, ending in LI. were publiſhed by the learned Dr. *Pocock*, at *Oxford*, in 1661. *Shams-addîn Mahmûd Ebn Abu'l Kâſem Al Aſhâri*, who wrote a commentary upon the *Korân*, and annotations upon *Al Beidawi*'s commentary on that book, beſides ſeveral other treatiſes of good repute. The firſt of the pieces here mentioned is ſaid to contain every thing valuable in the *Keſhaf* of *Al Zamakhſhari*. *Abu'l Kâſem Iſmael Al Esfahâni*, who compoſed a piece, intitled, *Targhib wa-Tarhib*, i. e. *concerning the things that are to be ſought after, or avoided.* A copy of this is to be ſeen in the *French* king's library. *Sharf-addîn Abd'al Mo'men Shakerûn Ebn Hebatallah*, who wrote a piece, intitled, *Athbak adhſdhſeheb*, i. e. *Golden leaves*, containing the lives of ſome of the moſt pious *Mohammedans*. *Abu'l Faraj Ali Ebn Hoſein Al Esfahâni*, who publiſhed a treatiſe upon the morals of travellers, as likewiſe the life of *Jahedh*, of the family of *Barmac*, and a piece exhibiting the conduct of the moſt illuſtrious men of *Perſia*. *Abu'l Kâſem Haſan Ebn Mohammed*, who penned a book, intitled, *Akhlâk Ragheb*, i. e. *The manners and diſpoſition of a curious perſon*. *Abu Nâim Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah*, who wrote a treatiſe containing his ſentiments of the qualities of a ſincere friend; wherein he gave a true portrait of many perſons who deſerved that character. *Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim*, who wrote upon the *forty traditions*. *Kamal addîn Al Esfahâni*, a celebrated poet, who obliged his countrymen with an elogy upon *Soltân Jalâl'oddin*, and ſome other works held in good eſteem. *Mohammed Ebn Iſhak Ebn Mandah Al Esfahâni*, who compoſed the hiſtory

history of the city of *Ispahân*. *Omad Al Khattâb Abu Abd'allah Mohammed*, who compiled a history to which he prefixed the title of *The splendor of* Syria. He likewise drew up certain annotations and questions upon the *Sonna*. *Abu Thâher Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Salefi Al Esfahâni*, who drew up a piece, intitled, *The forty traditions applied to travellers*. *Abu Zakaria Yahya Ebn Abd'allah Al Esfahâni*, sometimes called *Ebn Mandah*, who wrote the history of *Ispahân*, and the circumjacent region. *Kawâm-addîn*, *Dawd Al Esfahâni*, and many other eminent writers, whose names and works we are not permitted so much as to mention by the limits prescribed us here °.

Some farther particulars relating to Ispahân.

SINCE the fatal period above-mentioned, the suburb of *Julfa* has been almost totally abandoned by the *Armenians*, who inhabited it in very considerable numbers before. The government of *Ispahân*, twenty-four leagues long, and as many broad, comprehending the districts of *Tchi*, *Marbin*, *Kierairidge*, *Kahab*, *Baraan*, *Perhavar*, *Elkhan*, and *Roundester*, some of which were formerly well peopled, appeared a few years since little better than a desert; most of the inhabitants of that fertile and delightful tract being fled or dispersed. Multitudes of them had taken a precarious refuge in the mountains of *Loristân*, or *Lûristân*, a particular territory lying between *Ispahân* and *Tuster*; whose lands were left untilled, and their houses mouldered into ruins. In short, all the distresses of an unsuccessful war, or the invasion of a barbarous enemy, could not have plunged the people of *Ispahân* into greater misery than the victories of their tyrannical king, *Nadir Shâh*, who seemed more sollicitous to humble his own subjects than his enemies. M. *Kehr* gives us to understand, that the name *Ispahân* was deduced from the word *Sabahan*, *Sabians*, "because," says he, "many *Sabians*, *Magians*, or fire-worshippers, have their habitations in this city." But nothing certainly can be farther fetched than this; as the *Sabians* and *Magians*, whom he here absurdly confounds, are two very different sects; the former paying an adoration either to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose reside in them, and govern the world under the Supreme Deity; and the latter thinking fire worthy of divine honours. Besides,

° HANWAY's historical account of the British trade over the Caspian sea; with the revolutions of Persia, vol. iii. p. 114, 115, 116, 121, 122 Lond. 1753. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 214—218. ENGELBERT. KÆMPFER. amœnitat. exotic. &c. p. 163—206, &c. Lemgoviæ, 1712. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 25. See also OLEARIUS's travels into Persia. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Esfahan* & *Esfahani*, p. 323, 324, et alib. pass. PETR. DELLA VALLE, TAVERN. CHARD. voy. de Perse, &c.

though the *Magians*, or *Persees*, with whom, according to him, *Ispahân* abounds, might at first have settled here in great numbers; yet this can by no means be allowed to hold true of the *Sabians*, who were by far more numerous in other parts of the east than in *Persia*, where *Magism* principally, if not solely, prevailed. Nor has *Ispahân*, at least, for several ages, abounded with *Magians*, or *Persees*, as this author pretends, in support of his hypothesis; that sect having been, ever since the reign of *Abbâs* I. confined to the suburb of *Ghebr-abâd*, as has been already observed. The latitude of *Ispahân* has been defined by Dr. *Kæmpfer* to be 32° 40′; whereas this city has been placed by *Nassîr Eddîn*, or *Nasîr Khoaja Al Tîsi*, and *Ulugh Beigh*, or *Olugh Bek*, in latitude 32° 25′ P.

Description of the above-mentioned dirhêm.

THAT a mint was erected here, and consequently that *Ispahân* was a town of considerable note, in the earlier times of *Mohammedism*, though it made a much more considerable figure in later ages, the aforesaid *dirhêm* itself, exclusive of what might be collected on this head from the eastern writers, is a sufficient proof. This *dirhêm* exhibits the words *Bemedinati Espahan na sitten wates'ina wameâten*, i. e. *In the city of* Ispahân, 196; and on the reverse, Mohammed *is the apostle of* GOD, *all direction is from* GOD. The last of which expressions is apparently equivalent to the following assertion, GOD *alone is the true leader and director*. As the two *Arabic* terms in the inscription importing this may either be read *Lellahi sarifaton*, or *Lellahi sarimaton*, for *saramaton*, they may either be rendered *All direction is from* GOD, or *In* GOD *is strength*; the last of which versions makes the words perfectly equivalent to the following aphorism of the *Mohammedans*, *Lâ hâula wala kuwata ella bellâhi*, i. e. *There is no strength or fortitude but in* GOD. As neither the name of *Al Amîn*, nor that of *Al Mamûn*, occurs on this *dirhêm*, we cannot certainly say by which of those princes partisans it was coined. However, as *Thâher Ebn Hosein* reduced *Ahwâz*, as well as *Wâset* and *Al Madâyen* upon the *Tigris*, and obliged the province of *Fârs* to submit to *Al Mamûn* in 196, the city of *Ispahân* must undoubtedly have opened its gates to that prince's troops the same year q.

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P HANWAY, ubi sup. vol. iv. p. 230. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 216. GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi sup. p. 24. ENGELBERT. KÆMPFER. ubi sup. p. 163. HYDE, hist. relig. vet. Pers. p. 128, et alib. PRID. connect. of the hist. of the Old and New Testam. p. i. b. 3. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Sabi*, p. 725, 726. SALE's prelim. disc. p. 14, 15. NASSIR-EDDIN. et ULUGH BEIGH. in bin. tabul. geog. p. 105, 157. Oxon. 1711.

q GEORG. JAC. KEHR. ubi sup. p. 24—26. ABU-L-FEDA ISMAEL BEN ALI ABULFEDA ALMOAYADUS ET ABDALLAH MOHAMMED EBN EDRIS

THE next year, being the 197th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn*'s forces, under the command of *Thâher Ebn Hoſein* and *Harthema Ebn Aafan*, appeared upon the banks of the *Tigris*, in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and formed the ſiege of that capital. As the *Khalif Al Amîn* himſelf was ſhut up in the place, and it had a numerous gariſon, the beſieged made a vigorous defence, and deſtroyed the enemy abundance of men. The beſiegers, however, played upon the town inceſſantly with their catapults, and were in their turn not a little annoyed by the gariſon with the ſame ſort of military machines. The latter likewiſe made continual ſallies, and fought like men animated by deſpair, though they were always at laſt beaten back into the town with conſiderable loſs. In fine, the ſiege continued through the whole courſe of this year; during which, the greateſt part of the city called *Aſker Al Mohdi*, or *the camp of* Al Mohdi, erected on the eaſtern bank of the *Tigris*, was either demoliſhed or reduced to aſhes by *Al Mamûn*'s troops. The citizens alſo, as well as the gariſon, were reduced to the laſt extremity by the length and violence of the ſiege. The ſubjects of *Al Hakem* ſeem to have enjoyed this year a profound tranquillity and repoſe throughout the whole extent of the *Moſlem* dominions in *Spain*[r]. Al Mamûn's forces form the ſiege of Baghdâd.

IN the beginning of the 198th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *September* 1ſt, 813, the *Khalif Al Amîn*, having been deſerted by his troops, as well as the principal men of *Baghdâd*, who had kept a private correſpondence with *Thâher Ebn Hoſein*, found himſelf obliged to retire to the old town on the weſtern bank of the *Tigris*, called the city of *Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr*. However, he did not take this ſtep before the citizens of *Baghdâd*, intimidated by *Thâher Ebn Hoſein*, had formally depoſed him, and proclaimed his brother *Al Mamûn Khalif*. *Thâher*, receiving advice of this, cauſed that town to be immediately inveſted, planted his catapults againſt it, and at laſt ſtarved it to a ſurrender. *Al Amîn*, being thus reduced to the neceſſity of putting himſelf into the hands of one of *Al Mamûn*'s generals, choſe to implore the protection of *Harthêma Ebn Aafan*, whom he judged to be of a more humane diſpoſition than *Thâher Ebn Hoſein*; which having obtained, he imbarked in a ſhallop, or ſmall veſſel, upon the *Tigris*, in order to arrive at that part of the camp where *Harthema* was poſted. But *Thâher*, being informed of his de- Al Amîn aſſaſſinated.

[r] EDRIS AL SHAFEI, in *Raudh arreyâhin fi hekâyât-aſſalehin*, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p 127. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 241. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hiſt. Arab. c. XXIV. p. 21.

sign, which he imagined, if carried into execution, would eclipse the glory he had acquired, laid an ambush for him, which he had not the good fortune to escape. Upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Harthema*'s tent, *Thâher*'s soldiers rushed out upon him, sunk his boat, drowned all his attendants, and incarcerated him in *Ibrahim Al Talhi*'s house. Here he was soon after massacred by some of *Thâher*'s servants, who cut off his head, and carried it in triumph to their master; by whose order it was the next day exposed to public view in the streets of *Baghdâd*. *Thâher* afterwards sent it to *Al Mamûn* in *Khorasân*, together with the ring or seal of the *Khalîfat*, the sceptre, and the imperial robe; at the sight of which, that prince fell down on his knees, returned thanks to the ALMIGHTY for his good success, and made the courier who brought them a present of a million of *dirhêms* [s].

Some farther particulars relating to him.

SOME of the eastern writers relate, that *Al Amîn*, a little before his death, imagined himself in a dream to sit upon a very high thick wall, and saw, as he thought, at the same time *Thâher* sapping its foundations. Nor did he appear to desist from that operation, till the wall he undermined was absolutely levelled with the ground. This had such an effect upon *Al Amîn*, as the *Arabs* are naturally superstitious, that he resolved never to deliver himself up to the mercy of that general. Other prognostics likewise, according to the oriental historians, preceded this prince's death. Finding a moth in his cloaths the very day he was killed, as soon as he saw it, through an unaccountable impulse, he cried out, GOD *deliver me from every great misfortune that may happen!* *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* being one night along with him, a little before the surrender of old *Baghdâd*, called the city of *Al Mansûr*, in the golden palace there, he sent for one of his singing girls, named *Da'f*, to entertain them with some of her songs. After they had exhilarated themselves with a few glasses of wine, she sung some verses taken out of the works of the celebrated poet *Al Nâbigha Al Ja'di*, that have been preserved by *Al Hakim*; which he could not forbear considering as presages of his approaching fate, and which obliged him to speak with a sigh the following words: *When destiny defeats our projects, we ought to look upon as useless all precautions.* The same night, which did not precede this prince's murder above two or three days, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* and the *Khalîf* heard a voice clearly and distinctly pronouncing these words, from the neighbouring bank of the *Tigris*, *The*

[s] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 127, 128. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 241, 242. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 414, 415. KHONDEMIR, THEOPHAN. chronograph. p. 421.

sub-

ſubject of your conſultation is determined; which, being afterwards repeated, threw the latter into ſuch an exceſs of inquietude and grief, that he immediately fell out of his ſeat. We are told by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Al Amîn* was ſupplied with the veſſel in which he attempted to eſcape out of *Thâher*'s hands, by *Harthema Ebn Aafan* himſelf, who attended him therein; that *Thâher*'s men, who gave chace to them in little boats, attacked them with ſtones and naphtha, and at laſt ſent their ſhallop to the bottom of the river; that *Harthema* was with much difficulty ſaved, being dragged out of the *Tigris* by the hair of his head; that the *Khalif* was taken with only an old ragged mantle over his ſhoulders, his breeches on, and a turbant upon his head, at no very great diſtance from *Baſra*; that he was incarcerated in a houſe, to which *Thaher*'s ſoldiers conducted him, till midnight; and that ſeveral *Perſians*, ſent by *Thâher* for that purpoſe, then entering the room wherein he was confined, with drawn ſcymitars in their hands, immediately diſpatched him, and cut off his head, which was ſoon after carried by a courier to *Al Mamûn* in *Khoraſân*. The aforeſaid tragedy was acted either on the twenty-fifth or twenty-ſixth day of the month *Al Moharram*, before *Al Amîn* had completed the thirtieth year of his age, and after he had reigned four years and about ſeven or eight months. He had a handſome face, little eyes, and thick buſhy hair. He was tall, fat, extremely robuſt, and of a fair complexion. Some of the eaſtern writers have repreſented him as vaſtly liberal, tho' at the ſame time as raſh, imprudent, cruel, intirely attached to his pleaſures, and indolent to the laſt degree. As a farther inſtance of his infamous ſupineneſs, it may be obſerved, that he and his freed-man *Kûthar* were playing at cheſs, without the leaſt apprehenſion of any impending danger, when *Al Mamûn*'s forces puſhed the ſiege of *Baghdâd* with ſo much vigour that the city was upon the point of being carried by aſſault. Soon after his acceſſion, he purchaſed for large ſums of money great numbers of eunuchs, who were brought from all parts of his dominions to *Baghdâd*, conſtantly attended him day and night, and had, together with his free women, of whom he was likewiſe extremely fond, the principal ſhare of his favours. Nay, he is ſaid to have divided all his jewels, beſides many other things of ineſtimable value, amongſt them. He alſo commanded the different provinces of the empire to ſend to his court all ſuch perſons as were the moſt expert at cheſs, and other games then in vogue amongſt the *Arabs*, allowed them penſions, and ſpent the moſt conſiderable part of his time amongſt them. Of the veſſels which he conſtructed on the *Tigris*, one reſembled a lion, another an elephant, another a vultur, another a ſerpent, and another an horſe. He

scarce ever associated either with his officers or relations; but gave himself up almost intirely to women (ten of which, that understood music, used frequently to perform on the lute together before him) wine, and diversions of various kinds. His principal counsellors, or *Visirs*, were *Al Fadl Ebn Al Rabî*, *Ismael Ebn Sabîh*, and others; his judges, *Ismael Ebn Hamâd Ebn Abu Hanîfa*, *Abu'l Bahra Ebn Waheb*, and *Mohammed Ebn Samâ'a*; the captain of his guards *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Mâhân*; and his chamberlain *Al Abbâs Al Fadhl Ebn Al Rabî*. The inscription of his seal was, Mohammed *trusteth in* God. In his days, according to *Eutychius*, the emperor *Nicephorus* departed this life; and, in the third year of his *Khalifat*, if we will believe the same author, *Thomas*, surnamed *Tamrîk*, was advanced to the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, in which sublime station he remained about ten years. In fine, as this *Khalif*, whose body was buried at *Baghdâd*, most shamefully neglected all affairs of government, no very memorable event, or action of éclat, happened, during the whole course of his reign [t].

SECT. XXVIII.

He is succeeded by his brother Al Mamûn.

THE same day that *Al Amîn* was assassinated, the people of *Baghdâd* proclaimed his brother *Al Mamûn* the second time *Khalif*. His mother was *Marajel Al Bâdagheisia*. At the time of *Al Amîn*'s death, *Thâher Ebn Hoscin* occupied the eastern, and *Harthema Ebn Aafan*, the western part of *Baghdâd*. *Hamîd Abd'al Hamîd Al Tûsi* was posted also with a body of troops at a place about four parasangs from that city. Soon after his accession, the new *Khalif* removed *Thâher Ebn Hoscin*, whom he appointed to preside over *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, from the government of *Irâk*, and substituted *Al Hoscin Ebn Sahal* in his room. He likewise deprived *Ziyâd Ebn Mohammed* of the lieutenancy of *Egypt*, and sent *Al Motalleb Ebn Abd'allah Al Jerâ'i* to succeed him in that post; but this governor being soon deposed, *Al Abbâs Ebn Mûsa Ebn Isa Al Hâshemi* was dispatched to *Egypt*, to take upon himself the direction of affairs there. About the same time, the new *Khalif*, whose name at length was *Abu'l Abbâs Al Mamûn Abu Jaafar Abd'allah Ebn Harûn Al Rashid* constituted *Al Fadl Ebn Sahal* his *Visir*; or rather, according to the *Persian* historians, confirmed him in that exalted charge, to which he had advanced

[t] Khondemir, Al Nadicha Al Ja'di, apud Abu Jaafar Al Tabar et Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 129, 130 ut et ipse Abu Jaafar Al Tabar et Al Makin, ibid. Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 242, 243. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 414—417.

him

him before his elevation to the *Moſlem* throne. The *Khalif* alſo gave *Al Fadl* the title, or ſurname, of *Dhi'l Rivâſatain*, i.e. *the perſon having two principalities*, or *ſublime employments*, becauſe he committed to his care the civil and military government of all his dominions [u].

THE following year, being the 199th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Auguſt* 21ſt, 814, the new *Khalif*, who reſided ſtill at *Merû* in *Khoraſân*, was alarmed with the news of commotions brought him from ſeveral parts of the empire; the moſt dreadful of which was that excited by *Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Iſmael Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Haſan Ebn Al Hoſein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, commonly called *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ*, at *Câſa*. The people of that city being incenſed at *Al Mamûn*, for permitting *Al Fadl Ebn Sahal*, his *Viſir*, to manage all things ſolely by his own authority, were eaſily prevailed upon by *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ* to eſpouſe the intereſt of the houſe of *Ali*, or, as they termed it, that of the prophet himſelf. *Mohammed*, therefore, found it no difficult matter to aſſemble a conſiderable body of the malecontents; the command of which he gave to *Abu'lſarâyâ*, an officer who had ſerved under *Harthema Ebn Aafan*, the preceding year. This officer, not thinking himſelf rewarded according to his merit, left *Harthema* in diſguſt, retired to *Câſa*, and took the oath of allegiance to *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ*, as the prophet's lawful ſucceſſor, there. Being now at the head of his new maſter's forces, he drove *Al Haſan Ebn Sahal*'s deputy from *Câſa*, and in ſeveral engagements defeated the troops ſent againſt him by the *Khalif*'s governor of *Irâk*. This enabled him to advance to *Baſra*, which he poſſeſſed himſelf of without any conſiderable loſs. By theſe ſignal advantages, *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ*'s forces, under the conduct of *Abu'lſarâyâ*, began to grow formidable, and to give no ſmall inquietude to the *Khalif*; eſpecially ſince the ſcene of action, as well as the neighbouring tract now wholly occupied by the rebels, was ſituated at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the city of *Baghdâd* itſelf [w]. *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ rebels againſt the Khalif.*

IT ſeems to appear from *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that the people of *Calahorra*, the *Calagurris* of the antients, rebelled likewiſe, about this time, againſt *Al Hakem*, the weſtern *Khalif*, in *Spain*. Upon receiving advice of which revolt, that prince ſent *Abd'alkarim*, one of his generals, with an army to bring *Rebellions in various parts of the empire.*

[u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 131. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 243. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 416—419. Aut. LORD AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, ISM. ABULFED. hiſt. gen. AL JANNAB. [w] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 131, 132. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 120—124.

them to a ſenſe of their duty. It may alſo be inferred from *Theophanes*, that one uſurper made himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*, with the territory appertaining to it, another ravaged *Paleſtine*, a third ſet up for himſelf in *Egypt*, and a fourth in the weſtern part of *Africa*, the preſent year. But we ſhall content ourſelves with barely mentioning theſe rebellions here, as no clear and diſtinct account of them has been handed down to us by any of the *Arab* hiſtorians [x].

Abu'lfarâyâ is beheaded, and the rebellions in Irâk *and* Arabia *extinguiſhed.*

THE next year, being the 200th of the *Hejra*, was remarkable for ſeveral material occurrences that happened in it. *Haſan Ebn Sahal*, the governor of *Irâk*, having finiſhed his military preparations for reducing the rebels of that province to the obedience of the *Khalif*, ſent *Harthema Ebn Aafan* with a powerful army againſt *Abu'lſarâyâ*; who, after the death of *Mohammed Ebn Tabâtibâ*, had cauſed the authority of *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hoſein Ebn Ali Ebn Abu Taleb* to be recognized by the troops under his command. *Abu'lſarâyâ*, finding himſelf not able to make head againſt the *Khalif*'s forces, fled to *Cúfa*, and even abandoned that city upon their approach. After *Harthema Ebn Aafan* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the place, and taken the inhabitants under his protection, he ſent a detachment in purſuit of *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid* and *Abu'lſarâyâ*, who had made their eſcape; which ſoon came up with them, took both of them priſoners, and conducted them, by *Harthema*'s order, to *Al Haſan Ebn Sahal*, the governor of *Irâk*. Several of their accomplices likewiſe, who were taken at the ſame time, attended them, under the ſame eſcorte, to the governor's reſidence. After they had been brought before him, and he had had ſome converſation with them, *Al Haſan* ſent *Mohammed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Zeid* to *Al Mamûn*, then at *Merû* in *Khoraſân*; but ordered one of his executioners to cut off the head of *Abu'lſarâyâ*. Notwithſtanding what is inſinuated to the contrary by *Theophanes*, the province of *Egypt* ſeems to have enjoyed a profound repoſe under the adminiſtration of *Al Motalleb Ebn Abd'allah*, who ſucceeded his predeceſſor *Al Abbâs Ebn Múſa Al Hâſhemi*, and *Aſſari Ebn Al Hakem*, both this and the preceding year. After the extinction of the rebellion in *Irâk*, *Harthema Ebn Aafan* took a journey to the *Khalif*'s court at *Merû*; where he accuſed *Al Fadl Ebn Sahal*, his *Viſir*, of concealing from him the true ſtate of his affairs, and adviſed him to reſide at *Baghdâd*, that he might be, as it were, in the centre of his empire, and conſequently much nearer the greateſt part of his frontiers. On the other hand, *Al Fadl*, being ap-

[x] RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. c. xxiv. p. 21. THEOPHAN. ubi ſup. p. 421.

prized

prized of this accusation, told the *Khalif*, that *Harthema* had excited *Abu'lsarâyâ* to the late revolt, and done him many ill offices in other respects. This so exasperated *Al Mamûn*, that he commanded *Harthema* to be first severely drubbed, and afterwards thrown into prison; where he was soon put to death by an assassin sent thither by *Al Fadl* for that purpose. About the same time, *Abd'alkarim*, after he had besieged *Calahorra* in *Spain*, obliged the people of that place to submit to *Al Hakem*, the western *Khalif*, and ravaged the territory belonging to them in a dreadful manner, returned to that prince's residence loaded with spoil. The calamities attending the distracted state of the *Arabs* at this juncture obliged many of the *Christians*, according to *Theophanes*, to abandon *Palestine* and *Syria*, and to take refuge in the island of *Cyprus*. *Ibrahim Ebn Mûsa Ebn Jaafar* caused himself to be proclaimed *Khalif* in *Yaman*, as did *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar* at *Mecca*, the present year. But as neither of these usurpers was long supported in his attempt, the commotions in those parts were appeased without any great effusion of *Moslem* blood [y].

Great commotions at Baghdâd.

In the 201st year of the *Hejra*, beginning *July* 30th, 816, *Al Mamûn* called *Ali Ebn Mûsa Ebn Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Ali Ebn AbuTâleb*, after his death, to the succession, gave him his daughter *Omm Habîba* in marriage, and ordered him to repair immediately to his court at *Merû* in *Khorasân*. He also surnamed him *Al Radi min Al Mohammed*; alluding thereby to his being one of *Ali*'s descendants, and of the family of *Mohammed*. He moreover commanded his troops to lay aside their black cloaths, such as the members of the house of *Al Abbâs* constantly wore, and to put on others of a green colour, the principal characteristic of the prophet's family, in their room. He likewise wrote to the governors of provinces, to let them know, that he had found none either of the race of *Al Abbâs* or *Ali* more pious, excellent, or learned, than *Ali Ebn Mûsa*; and therefore had nominated that young prince to succeed him in the *Khalifat*. He sent an express to *Al Hasan Ebn Sahal*, the governor of *Irâk*, in particular, with orders to him to repair forthwith to *Baghdâd*, to oblige the inhabitants of that capital to dress themselves in green, and to exact of them a recognition of *Ali Ebn Mûsa*'s right to the succession. This step, however, greatly alarmed the members of the house of *Al Abbâs*, who were found the preceding year to amount to above 30,000 souls, and threw the whole

[y] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 132, 133. Khondemir, Eutych. ubi sup. p. 418, 419. Theophan. ubi sup. p. 21—23. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. Al Jannab.

city into confuſion; many of the *Moſlems* there abſolutely refuſing to comply with the *Khalif*'s orders. Nay, the principal officers of the families of *Al Abbâs* and *Haſhem* aſſembled on this occaſion, reſolved formally to depoſe *Al Maimûn*, and to proclaim his uncle *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* emperor of the faithful in his room. It is intimated by ſome of the eaſtern writers, that *Al Fadl Ebn Sahal*, the firſt officer of the empire, made profeſſion of the ſect of *Ali*, entertained the higheſt veneration for the family of that *Imâm*, and inſpired his maſter with the ſame ſentiments; which produced the aforeſaid impolitic conduct. It muſt here be obſerved, that the *Shiites*, or followers of *Ali*, look upon this *Ali Ebn Mûſa* as one of the twelve great *Imâms*, whom they regard as the twelve great pillars of *Iſlamiſm*. However, the meaſures purſued at this juncture by the *Khalif* now in view might have proved the total ruin of his affairs [z].

Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi *proclaimed* Khalif *there.*

THE following year, being the 202d of the *Hejra*, the forces cantoned about *Baghdâd*, excited to this revolt by the friends of the houſes of *Al Abbâs* and *Hâſhem*, withdrew their allegiance from *Al Mamûn*, and created his uncle, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi*, *Khalif*. However, the troops commanded by *Al Haſan Ebn Sahal*, the governor of *Irâk*, perſiſted in their fidelity to the former of thoſe princes, and even attacked *Ibrahim*'s forces ſeveral times; tho' nothing deciſive happened on either ſide. After his inauguration, *Ibrahim* made a ſpeech to the people; wherein, like others in the ſame ſituation, he promiſed them all the happineſs and advantages that their hearts could deſire. Upon which, *Cûfa*, with its dependencies, ſubmitted to him. *Ibrahim*'s exaltation, and the courage of his faithful ſubjects in *Irâk*, haſtened *Al Mamûn*'s journey to *Baghdâd*. Upon his arrival at *Sarkhas*, or *Sarakhas* (which is undoubtedly the true reading in *Al Makîn*) a town of *Khoraſân*, and not at *Baghdâd*, as is intimated by ſome of the *Perſian* hiſtorians, he gave private orders to an aſſaſſin to murder *Al Fadl Ebn Sahal*, his *Viſir*, who had been the chief cauſe of all the diſturbances in the empire, in a bath; and afterwards put the murderer to death, for the perpetration of a crime which he pretended to abhor. This *Al Fadl* is ſaid to have been the firſt *Arab* who inſerted his ſurname in the letters that he wrote. The people of *Corduba* in *Spain* rebelled this year againſt *Al Hakem*, the *Khalif* there; but were reduced to his obedience by *Abd'alkarim*, his gene-

[z] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 133. GREG. ABU'L-FARAI, ubi ſup. p. 243. KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH, GEORG. CEDREN. ubi ſup. p. 512, 513. EBN SHOHNAH. See alſo SALE's prelim. diſc. p. 175——178.

ral,

ral, who entered their city by force at the *new gate*, cut off all the ringleaders, hanged above 300 of the rebels, and ſuffered ſome of them to eſcape. *Al Hakem*, however, according to his uſual clemency, pardoned the wives and children of thoſe who had been concerned in the revolt. This rebellion is attributed by *Roderic* to the opulence, luxury, and pride, of the *Moſlems* ſettled in that part of *Spain* [a].

THE following year, being the 203d of the *Hejra*, commencing *July* 9th, 818, *Ali Ebn Mûſa Al Radi*, called by the *Perſians Riza* the *Imâm*, having taken a ſurfeit, by eating too many grapes, or, as others write, having been poiſoned, died at *Tûs* in *Khoraſân*, the laſt day of the month *Safar*; and was buried, by *Al Mamûn*'s order, near the ſepulchre of his father *Harûn Al Raſhîd*. This *Ali Ebn Mûſa* has been repreſented by the *Arab* writers as a moſt abſtemious and religious youth. His death not a little affected the *Khalif*, who therefore continued the remainder of the year at *Tûs*. In the mean time, great commotions happened at *Baghdâd*. The troops there depoſed *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi*, ſurnamed by them *Al Mobarak*; who, in order to eſcape their fury and violence, was obliged to hide himſelf about the middle of the month *Dhu'lhajja*, and to remain concealed till *Al Mamûn*'s arrival at *Baghdâd*. That uſurper, whom ſome likewiſe call *Ebn Shaklab*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, ſat upon the *Moſlem* throne at *Baghdâd* almoſt two whole lunar years [b].

The troops at Baghdâd *depoſe* Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi.

THE next year, being the 204th of the *Hejra*, beginning *June* 28th, 819, the *Khalif Al Mamûn* entered *Baghdâd*, at the head of his forces that had attended him from *Khoraſân*, and were all, in compliance with his former order, dreſſed in green. However, in about a week's time after his arrival at *Baghdâd*, he thought fit to revoke the order he had made three years before, and to command both the people and the army always to appear in black, as heretofore; which produced the deſired effect, and intirely conciliated the affections of all his ſubjects to him. This year was likewiſe remarkable for the death of the famous *Abu Ali'd'allah Mohammed Ebn Edris*, ſurnamed *Al Shâfeï*, the author of the third orthodox ſect of the *Sonnites*. He was born either at *Gaza* or *Aſcalon* in *Paleſtine*, in the year of the *Hejra* 150,

The famous Al Shafeï *dies in the year of the* Hejra 204.

[a] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 133, 134. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 418, 419. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 185. Aut. LOBE AL TAWARIKH, KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. [b] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 134. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 244. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 418, 419.

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the same day, as some will have it, that *Abu Hanîfa* died, and was carried to *Mecca* at two years of age, and there educated. He died in *Egypt*, whither he went about five years before. Some authors relate, that he came to *Baghdâd* in 195, and performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, from whence he returned in 198, and afterwards took a journey into *Egypt*, where he had formerly heard that celebrated doctor and *Imam*, *Mâlec Ebn Ans*. He is held in the highest repute amongst the *Sonnites*, for his excellency in all points of learning, and was much esteemed by *Ebn Hanbal*, his cotemporary, who used to say, that *he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body*. *Ebn Hanbal*, however, had so ill an opinion of *Al Shâfeï* at first, that he forbad his scholars to go near him; but some time after, one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after *Al Shâfeï*, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbad them to follow him, and did it himself? To which *Ebn Hanbal* replied, *Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule, thou wilt profit thereby*. *Al Shâfeï* is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method; one wittily saying, that the relators of the traditions of *Mohammed* were asleep, till *Al Shâfeï* came and waked them. He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been observed by a good author. *Al Ghazali* tells us, that *Al Shâfeï* used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him, that he never so much as once swore by GOD, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, *I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue*. The following saying is recorded of him, *viz. Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time, is a liar*. He also used to say, that, for sixteen years together, he never rose from table satisfied, as imagining that a full meal would disqualify him both for study and devotion. We are informed, that when his mother was with child of him, she dreamed that the planet *Jupiter* fell out of her womb into *Egypt*, and that a part of it passed from thence into several other regions; from whence the interpreters of dreams, whom she consulted on this occasion, inferred, that she should be brought to bed of a son who should first instruct the *Egyptians* in all kinds of useful knowledge, and afterwards impart the same instruction to other nations. He wrote a book upon the foundations of *Islamism*, which comprized all the essentials both of the civil and canon law of the *Moslems*; as also two others, one of which was intitled *Sonan*, or *Sonnan*, and the other *Mesnad*, upon the

the ſame ſubject. His doctrine was held in ſuch high repute amongſt the *Sonnites* in the time of *Saladin*, that he founded a college at *Cairo*, or *Al Kahirah*, in which no other was permitted to be taught. The magnificent moſque and college erected at *Herât* in *Khoraſân* by *Gayatho'ddin*, third *Soltân* of the *Gaurian* dynaſty, was appropriated to the uſe of the doctors of *Al Shâfei*'s ſect: and the doctors of the city of *Farab*, or *Fariab*, in the *Tranſoxana*, according to an eaſtern writer of good note, were all of the ſame ſentiments. There is a hiſtory of theſe doctors, or followers of *Al Shâfeï*, that bears the title of *Thabakat Al Shâfeïât*, in which they are ranged in different claſſes. The *Shâfeïtes* were formerly ſpread into *Mawarâ'lnahr*, and other parts eaſtward, but are at preſent almoſt intirely confined to *Arabia*. With regard to the *Moſlem* traditions, it is ſaid that *Al Shâfeï* received them from *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, and tranſmitted them to *Zohari*. For, it is looked upon as a point of no ſmall importance by the *Mohammedans* to know the canal by which thoſe traditions, that deduced their ſource from the prophet himſelf, have been conveyed down to them. We muſt not forget to inform our readers, that *Aſſari Ebn Al Hakem* likewiſe departed this life in *Egypt*, over which country he had been ſent by *Al Mamûn* to preſide, and was ſucceeded there by his ſon *Mohammed Abunaſr*, the preſent year [c].

The province of Khoraſân *is ſettled upon* Thaher Ebn Hoſein, *and his deſcendants.*

In the 205th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *June* 17th, 820, nothing very material happened in the *Moſlem* empire, as far as can be collected from the oriental hiſtorians. We are told, however, that *Al Mamûn*, now finding himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the *Khalifat*, conferred this year upon *Thâher*, and his deſcendents, the government of *Khoraſân*, with almoſt an abſolute and unlimited power, in order to recompence the ſignal ſervices done him by that general. Some of the eaſtern writers alſo relate, that *Al Shâfeï* was alive, and continued to propagate his doctrine, as uſual, throughout the whole courſe of the preſent year [d].

Al Hakem *and* Mohammed Abu-

The following year, being the 206th of the *Hejra*, *Mohammed Abunaſr Ebn Aſſari*, lieutenant of *Egypt*, died at *Meſr*, or *Al Foſtât*, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Abd'allah Ebn Aſſari*, whoſe pretenſions to the government were

[c] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. Khondemir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. Ebn Khalecan, Al Zafarani, apud Pocockium, in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 296, ut et ipſe Poc. ibid. Al Ghazali. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Schafei*, p. 766. et Poc. ubi ſup. p. 197, 295—297.

[d] Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 545, 546, et alib. Ebn Shohnah, Aut. Lobb Al Tawarikh, Poc. ubi ſup. p. 296.

ſupported

nasr Ebn Assari *die.*

supported by the soldiery. The same year, *Al Hakem Ebn Hesham Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, king of *Spain*, or rather the western *Khalif*, likewise departed this life at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, in the 27th year of his reign. He left behind him nineteen sons and twenty-one daughters, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Abd'alrahmân*, then about forty-one years of age. During some of the last years of *Al Hakem*'s reign, the *Christians*, animated by the dissensions that reigned in the *Moslem* part of *Spain*, took *Barcelona* and other places, and committed dreadful ravages in their dominions. However, an end being put to those dissensions, *Al Hakem* was making preparations for war, in order to recover the places that had been lost, when he was surprized by death. But an accurate and particular account of the *Moslem* transactions in *Spain*, during this period, has not been handed down to us by any of either the eastern or western historians [e].

Al does likewise Thâher Ebn Hosein.

THE next year, being the 207th year of the *Mohammedan* æra, that renowned general *Thâher Ebn Hosein* died at *Merû* in *Khorassân*, after he had been two years governor of that vast province. He was liberal, prudent, magnanimous, and brave, and had all the great qualities requisite to form a consummate general. He is said, by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, to have given an *Arab* poet 300,000 *dinârs* for a few verses he brought him, intended as a panegyric upon some of his heroic actions; and to have told him, that he would have made him still a larger present, had his verses been more numerous. This *Thâher Ebn Hosein*, according to some of the oriental authors, was the founder of the dynasty of the *Thâherians*; for a particular account of which, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the *Persian* historians. It appears from *Cedrenus*, that the *Moslems* of *Spain* had landed a body of troops in *Crete*, defeated the imperial forces sent against them, and made themselves masters of at least a considerable part of that island, before the present year [f].

According to some authors, Al Shâfeï *dies in* 208.

WE meet with no remarkable events in the year of the *Hejra* 208, recorded by the eastern historians; unless we will admit, that the famous *Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Edris Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Othmân Ebn Shâfeï*, surnamed *Al Shâfeï*, who, according to some, was born in *Yaman*, and of whom we have already given a particular account, died this year, as certain authors pretend [g].

[e] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. c. xxiv. p. 21, 22. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 9. [f] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 135. Aut. Lobb Al Tawarikh, Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 545, 1017, 1018, et alib. Georg. Cedren. ubi sup. p. 508--511. [g] Al Ghazali, Poc. in not. ad spec. hist. Arab. p. 296, 297.

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In the year of the *Hejra* 209, nothing remarkable happened in the eastern territories of the *Moslems*; at least no material event has been mentioned as happening there at this time by any of the most celebrated *Arab* historians. However, it appears probable from *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that *Abd'allah*, *Al Hakem*'s uncle, who had resided many years at *Valencia*, about this very time rebelled against *Abd'alrahmân*, that prince's son, who was then settled upon the *Moslem* throne in *Spain*. But *Abd'alrahmân* marched against him, dispersed the troops he had assembled, and forced him to betake himself to a precipitate flight; a few days after which defeat *Abd'allah* expired. The rebellion being thus extinguished, *Abd'alrahmân* ordered *Abd'allah*'s wives and children to be brought before him, and very liberally supplied them with every thing they stood in need of. He likewise ordained, that, for the future, children should always inherit their parents estates and effects; and that these should never devolve to brothers and sisters, or other near relations, and much less to persons of another family, when issue was left by the deceased, as had sometimes formerly happened amongst the *Moslems* in *Spain* [h].

Abd'allah *rebels against* Abd'alrahmân *in* Spain.

The following year, being the 210th of the *Moslem* æra, beginning *April* 24th, 825, *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* was taken in women's cloaths by night, together with two of his wives, in the latter *Rabi*, after he had lain concealed near seven years. The centry they attempted to pass, who was an *Ethiopian*, asked them who they were, and what they did there at so unseasonable an hour? The answer returned by *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* not being satisfactory, the centry carried them all three before the officer then upon duty; who ordering *Ibrahim*'s face to be uncovered, his beard immediately appeared. This induced the officer to send him under an escorte to the *Khalif*'s palace, where he continued till the next morning under arrest; and being then brought before *Al Mamûn*, that prince not only pardoned him, but admitted him likewise to his entertainments, and made him a present of ten thousand *dinârs*. As the particulars of the conference held between *Ibrahim* and the *Khalif*, on this occasion, have been related at large by *Al Makîn*, we shall not insert them here, but refer our curious readers to that author himself for their farther satisfaction in this matter. This year *Al Mamûn* conferred the government of *Egypt* upon *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hosein*; who, towards the close of it, set out for that country from *Baghdâd*, in order to fix his residence there [i].

Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi *pardoned by the* Khalif.

[h] Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 9.

[i] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 135, 136.

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The Moſlems *victorious in* Spain.

THE next year, being the 211th of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 13th, 826, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hoſein* arrived in *Egypt*, and, in the month of the former *Rabî*, entered upon the government there. After the amotion of *Abd'allah Ebn Aſſari*, he alſo appointed *Ayâd Ebn Ibrahim* his *Viſir*. About this time, *Abd'alkarim* retook *Barcelona* from the *Chriſtians* in *Spain*, and reduced the other places the *Moſlems* had loſt, during the continuance of their late diſſenſions. The *Khalîf* likewiſe forbad all his ſubjects to make honourable mention of *Moâwiyah*, the firſt *Khalîf* of the houſe of *Ommîyah*, and to prefer him to any of the prophet's companions, the ſame year [k].

The Arabs *make a deſcent in* Sicily.

IN the 212th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 2d, 827, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hoſein* removed *Ayâd Ebn Ibrahim* from the high office of *Viſir*, and ſubſtituted in his room *Iſa Ebn Yezid*. The *Khalîf* likewiſe, this year, commanded his ſubjects to admit *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* to have been the moſt excellent of all men, except *Mohammed*. This happened in the month of the former *Rabî*. Nay, it ſeems probable from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that the *Khalîf Al Mamûn*, at this time, iſſued out a public edict, declaring the *Korân* to be created, which was confirmed by his ſucceſſors *Al Mótaſem* and *Al Wâthek*, who whipt, impriſoned, and put to death, thoſe of the contrary opinion. But, at length, *Al Motawakkel*, who ſucceeded *Al Wâthek*, put an end to theſe perſecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releaſing thoſe that were impriſoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that the *African Moſlems* made a deſcent in *Sicily* about the middle of the month of *July*, the preſent year [l].

The Khalîf *appoints two new governors of provinces.*

THE following year, being the 213th of the *Mohammedan* æra, the *Khalîf Al Mamûn* removed *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* from the government of *Egypt*, and ſent his brother *Al Mótaſem* to take upon himſelf the government of that country, and *Syria*. He alſo appointed his ſon *Al Abbâs* to preſide over *Meſopotamia*, and ſome of the neighbouring provinces. He likewiſe made a preſent to each of the new governors, as well as to *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, of 500,000 *dinârs* [m].

[k] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 136. ROD. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 9. ISM. ABULFED.

[l] Chronic. Sicul. ab anno CHRISTI 827, ad annum CHRISTI 963. ex codice Arabico Cantabrigienſ. edit. à JOANNE BAPTISTA CARUSIO. in hiſt. Saracenico-Sicul. var. monument. &c. p. 5.

[m] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 136, 137.

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In the 214th year of the *Hejra*, nothing very material happened in the eaſtern provinces of the empire; but the weſtern *Moſleems* in *Africa* carried on great military preparations, in order to make another deſcent in *Sicily*. Nay, according to ſome authors, about this time, they took and deſtroyed the city of *Selinus*, in that iſland. The weſtern *Moſlems* were now grown in a manner independent on the *Khalif*. *Ibrahim Ebn Aglab*, who had been ſent governor into the weſtern parts of *Africa* by the *Khalif Harûn Al Raſhîd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 184, aſſumed to himſelf almoſt an abſolute power in that country, and conquered a large extent of territory for himſelf and his deſcendants; over which they preſided as ſovereign princes about 112 years. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Al Mamûn* received *Abu Dolaf*, one of his brother *Al Amîn*'s friends, into favour, and appointed *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* to preſide over *Khoraſan*, the preſent year [n]. *The weſtern Moſleems project another invaſion of Sicily.*

The next year, being the 215th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mamûn* aſſembled a powerful army, in order to undertake an expedition againſt the imperial territories. Having finiſhed his military preparations, he ſet out from *Baghdâd*, at the head of his numerous forces, on the 27th day of *Al Moharram*, and made himſelf maſter of a fortreſs called *Karra* by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; which he ordered to be diſmantled. He alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral other places of ſtrength, and then marched to *Damaſcus*. *Abu Solimân Al Darâni*, a perſon of uncommon ſanctity, *Makki Ebn Ibrahim Al Balkhi*, one of *Al Bokhâri*'s doctors, and *Abu Zeid Seid*, a famous grammarian and philologer, according to *Abulfeda*, died this year [o]. *The* Khalif *invades the territories of the* Greek *emperor*;

The following year, being the 216th of the *Moſlem* æra, *Al Mamûn* received advice, that the *Greek* emperor had put about 1600 of the citizens of *Tarſus* and *Al Maſiſiyah* in *Cilicia* to the ſword. To revenge which affront, he took poſt with a formidable army before a conſiderable *Chriſtian* town, which immediately ſurrendered to him. From thence he detached his brother *Al Motaſem* with a body of troops, to penetrate farther into the imperial territories; who made himſelf maſter of no leſs than thirty of the enemy's caſtles. He alſo ſent *Yahya Ebn Actem* with another detachment to *Zawaba*; who carried the place by ſtorm, laid a great part of it in aſhes, and then returned to the army, which ſoon after marched to *Damaſcus*. *Omm Jaafar Zebeida*, *Al Amîn*'s mother, died the preſent year. In *and makes another irruption into them the following year.*

[n] Ebn Shohnah, Georg. Cedren. ubi ſup. p. 512, 513. Zonar. p. 173. Vide etiam Joan. Baptiſt. Carus. Saracenicar. rer. in Sicil. geſtar. epit. 87. Panormi, 1720. Ism. Abulfed. ubi ſup.

[o] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 137. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 215.

the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the *Khalif* put himself at the head of the troops to be employed in the *Egyptian* expedition p.

Al Mamûn reduces the city of Taima.

On *Friday* the seventh day of the month *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 217, commencing *Feb.* 7th, 832, *Al Mamûn* entered *Egypt*, and soon after attacked the city of *Taima*, probably the present *Tamiea*, with all his forces. Having obliged it to surrender, he carried away with him all the inhabitants prisoners; and, towards the close of the month *Safar*, departed out of *Egypt*, taking the route of *Damascus*, where he arrived in due time, without having sustained any considerable loss. Soon after his arrival here, he received a letter from a member of the house of *Ommiyah* in *Syria*, with an account, that *Merwân*, surnamed *Al Himâr*, had hid a treasure under some pillars at *Hebron:* upon which, several labourers were sent, by the *Khalif*'s order, to discover them; who, amongst other things, dug up a great number of chests filled with 10,000 waistcoats, the extremities of whose sleeves were greased in a most filthy manner. For, *Merwân* having been extremely fond of sheeps kidneys, and a most voracious glutton, he used to tear that part out of the carcases of the animal, when roasted whole, with his own hand; by which means he so smeared the extremities of the aforesaid garment's sleeves, that he could never afterwards wear it. However, he always deposited it in a chest, with others in the same condition, prepared for that purpose, and put on a clean one in the room of it; at least this was the account of the matter given now to the *Khalîf Al Mamûn* by the celebrated doctor *Al Asmai*. Which if we admit, we must of course conclude, that M. *D'Herbelot*, or rather the author he follows, is guilty of a mistake, when he makes this *Asmai* to have died in the 215th, or 216th, year of the *Hejra*. The *Khalîf*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was so pleased with this piece of intelligence, that he made a present of all those garments to the person he was obliged to for it; who sold them, as curiosities, for a sum amounting to 10,000 *dinârs* q.

Two rebellions in Egypt.

Al Mamun undertook the *Egyptian* expedition, in order to suppress the rebellion of the *Al Bimaidæ*, or the descendants of forty (as the name imports in *Coptic*) *Christians* of good note, who made a considerable figure when the *Moslems* first conquered *Egypt*. These *Al Bimaidæ*, who were in all likelihood seated at *Taima*, refused to pay the tribute usually ex-

p Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 137. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 216. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 285, 286, 287, 293—296. q Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 137. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 244, 245. Pococke's description of the East, vol. i. p. 56. Lond. 1743. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 428—431.

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acted by the *Moſlems* of thoſe who profeſs the *Chriſtian* religion: upon which, *Al Mamûn* and his brother *Al Motaſem* marched againſt them with an army into *Egypt*, in the year of the *Hejra* 217, intirely defeated them, put many of them to the ſword, diſperſed the reſt, and carried away their women and children priſoners to *Baghdâd*. *Al Mamûn* himſelf, being highly pleaſed with the ſucceſs that attended his army in this expedition, made a triumphant entry into *Meſr* and *Al Foſtât* on the fourteenth day of the month *Safar*, and departed out of *Egypt* in the former *Rabî*, the ſame year, according to *Ebn Batrik*, or *Eutychius*; tho' theſe particulars are paſſed over in ſilence by other writers. The *Khalif* likewiſe, during his reſidence in *Egypt*, the preſent year, erected a tower, or caſtle, on mount *Al Mokattam*, which he called *Kobbat Al Hawa*, *the tower of deſire*; and permitted two of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who were *Chriſtians*, to build a church, denominated firſt from them *the church of the two gentlemen of the bed-chamber*, and afterwards the church of the *Romans*, upon a ſpot of ground at a ſmall diſtance from it. He alſo erected a *Mikeas*, *Mikiâs*, or meaſuring pillar, in order to determine the gradual increaſe of the *Nile*, at *Shûrât*, a place belonging to the village of *Banbanûdah*, in the country of *Al Sa'îd*, *Thebais*, or the upper *Egypt*; and repaired another of thoſe pillars at *Akhmîm*, in the ſame region, which was gone greatly to decay. Some years before the late rebellion of the *Al Bimaidæ*, *Al Sari*, or *Aſſari*, *Ebn Al Hakem*, and his ſon *Mohammed Ebn Al Sari*, or *Aſſari*, *Ebn Al Hakem*, had withdrawn their allegiance from the *Khalif*, and uſurped the government of *Egypt*; but all the commotions there were appeaſed by *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, or *Obeid'allah Ebn Thâher*, as he is named by *Eutychius*, ſent into *Egypt* by *Al Mamûn* for that purpoſe, who ſeized upon all the treaſures amaſſed by thoſe uſurpers, and ordered them to be conducted to *Baghdâd*. This *Abd'allah* likewiſe obtained a permiſſion from the *Khalif* to annex the palace of *Dâr Al Raml*, or *Dâr'l Raml*, to the great moſque at *Meſr*. With regard to mount *Al Mokattam*, we muſt beg leave to obſerve, that it conſiſts of a ridge of mountains extending to the eaſtern part of *Al Sa'îd*, or *Thebais*; for a farther account of which, as well as of mount *Al Teilamon*, appertaining to the weſtern part of that tract, our curious readers may have recourſe to *Yâkût Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamathi*, *Iſmael Abulfeda*, and the reſt of the oriental geographers [r].

[r] Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 420, 421, 428——432. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 100, 101, &c. Yakut Ebn Abd'allah Al Hamathi, Abulfed. &c. See alſo Shaw's phyſic. and miſcellan. obſervations in Egypt, p. 433——436, &c.

The Khalif *makes an irruption into the imperial territories.*

THE ſame year, the *Khalif* made another irruption into the imperial territories, inveſted *Lûlûa*, and puſhed the ſiege of that fortreſs with the utmoſt vigour for an hundred days together; but being obliged to return home, he left *Âjîf*, or *Ôjaifâ*, his general, with the greateſt part of the troops employed in this expedition, to continue the ſiege. That commander was ſo little upon his guard, that he was ſurprized by a party of the garriſon, who ſallied out of the town, took him priſoner, and, after a detention of eight days, ſent him back to the *Moſlem* camp. In the mean time, *Theophilus*, the *Greek* emperor, advanced with a powerful army to force the *Arab* general to raiſe the ſiege; of whoſe motions the *Khalif* being apprized, he haſtened with a numerous body of troops to the relief of his forces before *Lûlûa*. But *Theophilus* receiving advice, that the whole *Arab* army, commanded by the *Khalif* himſelf, was marching to attack him, he immediately drew off; not thinking it proper at that time to hazard a battle with ſo potent an enemy. This ſo intimidated the beſieged, that they opened their gates to *Âjîf*, without giving him any farther trouble, and were taken under the *Khalif*'s protection. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that the *African Moſlems* landed a body of troops in *Sicily* the preceding year, and made themſelves maſters of the city of *Meſſina* there. They put *Theodotus*, the commandant, who probably made a vigorous defence, to the ſword; and plundered *Lipari*, called *Lipara* by the antients, the chief of the *Æolian* or *Vulcanian* iſlands, on the coaſt of *Sicily*, about the ſame time. Theſe advantages ſo animated them, that they advanced to *Panormus*, or *Palermo*, laid ſiege to that city, and, without any great difficulty, poſſeſſed themſelves of it, the preſent year. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that the *Greek* emperor made ſome overtures for an accommodation to the *Khalif*, after the reduction of *Lûlûa*; and that the terms of peace offered at this time by the *Chriſtian* monarch were rejected by that prince [s].

Al Mamûn *dies.*

THE object of *Al Mamûn*'s laſt expedition into *Egypt*, according to ſome of the eaſtern hiſtorians, was the reduction of the rebel *Aydûs*, who had revolted againſt the *Khalif*, and began to grow formidable there; which having effected, he penetrated into the territories of the *Greek* emperor, advanced to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and took fourteen or fifteen towns from the *Chriſtians* in that tract. Having finiſhed this expedition, he moved at the head of his forces towards *Baghdâd*; and, in his march, incamped upon the banks of the *Badandûn*, or rather,

[s] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 244. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. Cod. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. et JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi ſup. p. 5. et in Saracen. rer. epit. p. 88. ISM. ABULFED. in hiſt. gen. five chronic. ad an. Hej. 217.

as

as some of the oriental writers will have it, near the source of that river. Here he and his brother *Abu Ishak Al Motasem* one day went into the water; after which, admiring the clearness and freshness of the stream, he could not forbear saying to his courtiers, "Nothing would give a better relish "to the water of this river than some of the fresh dates of "*Azad*." Which words were scarce out of his mouth, when it was told him, that some mules were arrived with a considerable quantity of those dates in the camp. This tallying with the *Khalif*'s present appetite, he ate so immoderately of them, and afterwards drank such vast draughts of the water of the *Badandûn*, that a violent fever immediately ensued, which put a period to his days on the nineteenth, or, according to *Abulfeda*, the eighteenth, of the month *Rajeb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 218. We are told by *Abu'lFaraj*, that, a little before his death, he deprived his brother *Al Kasem Al Mútamen* of the right to the succession that had been conferred upon him by his father *Harún Al Rashîd*, and declared his other brother *Abu Ishak Al Motasem* his only lawful heir; tho' this event is said to have happened before *Al Mamún*'s last expedition into *Cilicia* by other historians. As soon as this affair was settled, he apprized the provinces of it by a letter, signed by himself and his successor *Abu Ishak Al Motasem Ebn Harún Al Rashid*, which he dispatched to the governors of them at their respective residences, with all possible expedition. When he was at the point of death, his physician *Ebn Masawaih* approached him, and another person, who desired him to make a confession of his faith, or to communicate his religious sentiments to the people about him. But his speech failing him, he could only say, "O thou who never dieſt, "have mercy upon me now dying!" After which, he almost immediately expired, and was carried to *Tarsus*, where his son *Al Abbas* and his brother *Al Motasem* buried him in the house of *Khakán*, one of *Harún Al Rashid*'s favourite eunuchs. Some writers relate, that the astrologers foretold his death should happen at a place called *Rakka*, or *Arrakka*; and that as soon as he was informed by the people about him, that the town, or village, upon the *Badandún*, where he lay sick, went by that name, he expected there, in conformity to their prediction, to meet with his approaching fate. The same year in which he died, he ordered *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*, the governor of *Baghdad*, to oblige the judges and masters of traditions to assert the creation of the *Korân*; and to punish, with the utmost rigour and severity, all who should presume to maintain the contrary opinion. Amongst other delinquents, who incurred the *Khalif*'s displeasure on this occasion, a celebrated *Arab* historian has mentioned *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, a

famous *Sonnite* doctor, and *Mohammed Ebn Núh*, surnamed *Al Masrûb*, who were loaded with irons, and sent to the *Khalif*'s camp; but *Al Mamûn* was surprized by death, upon the banks of the *Badandûn*, before his arrival. His successor *Al Mótasem*, however, commanded *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal* to be whipt in a cruel manner. We must here observe, that the *Khalif*'s son *Al Abbas*, by his father's order, repaired the city of *Tawaba*, a little before the last irruption into *Cilicia*, and inlarged it with so many additional buildings, that it was a mile square, had three streets and four gates, and was considered afterwards for some time as one of the principal cities in those parts [t].

Description of his person and character.

Al Mamun was forty-eight, or, as others will have it, above forty-nine, years of age at the time of his decease. He reigned twenty years, five months, and thirteen days; or above twenty-two years, if we suppose his reign to have commenced at the beginning of the siege of *Baghdâd*. With regard to his person, he was of a middle stature, of a fair complexion, though tinged with yellow, and had a long beard of a greyish colour. Some, however, have represented him as a person of a comely countenance, with a beard perfectly grey, and of a ruddy or sanguine, or, as others will have it, of a swarthy, complexion. As for his disposition, the eastern writers have painted him as endued with all royal virtues; as full of sweetness, liberal, of great clemency, a consummate general, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. He is also said to have applied himself particularly to the speculative sciences, and to have made a very considerable progress in them; which induced him, at a vast expence, to encourage learned men to resort from all parts of the world to *Baghdâd*. He likewise spent immense sums in purchasing curious books, written in *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, and *Greek*, in order to have them translated into *Arabic*. One of the aforesaid authors finishes the portrait of this prince with saying, that he was, without contradiction, the greatest and most renowned prince of the house of *Al Abbâs*, a race more fruitful in heroes than any that ever swayed the sceptre amongst the *Moslems*. Through the whole course of his reign, he favoured indifferently all learned men of whatsoever religion they were; who, on their part, in return, contributed to the utmost of their power to raise the glory of this monarch to the highest pitch. This they did by the presents which they made him

[t] Mirkhond, Aut. Lobb Al Tawarikh. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 253. Georg. Jac. Kehr, ubi sup. p. 17. Khondemir, Ebn Shohnah, Abu Jaafar Al-Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 138. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 245, 246. Jsm. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 218. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 434, 435.

of

of their works, collected from all the moſt rare and curious productions of the learned men of the eaſt, whether *Indians*, *Jews*, *Magians*, or oriental *Chriſtians* of every ſect. He ſeems to have been moſt famed for his ſkill in aſtronomy, and the accurate obſervations which he made. He uſed to ſay, "If "men knew what an exceſs of clemency there is in me, I "ſhould be perpetually viſited by the moſt notorious offend-"rs." *Abulfeda* relates, that this *Khalîf* heaped his favours upon the deſcendants of *Ali*, and reſtored to them the territory of *Fadak*, or *Fidak*, that formerly belonged to their common mother *Fâtema*, of which, by the tyranny of his predeceſſors, they had been ſo long and ſo unjuſtly deprived [u].

BEFORE we conclude our account of this *Khalîf*, we muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the maſter appointed him by his father *Harûn Al Raſhîd* was the famous *Abu'l Haſan Ali Ebn Hamzah Bahaman Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Firûz*, a *Perſian* by nation, but extremely well verſed in all kinds of *Arab* literature. This doctor was a ſlave of the *Aſadites*, and ſurnamed *Kaſſâi*, or *Koſſî*, from the deciſions he had made againſt luxury, and in favour of ſumptuary laws. He was ſo excellent a grammarian, that he baffled in a diſpute *Sibûieh*, the *Perſian*, who was before eſteemed the beſt grammarian of his age. The *Khalîf Harûn* one day meeting *Koſſâ*, aſked him in a very civil manner how he did? To which he anſwered, with a good deal of wit and elegance, "If I had never received any other fruit from my ſtudies than "the favour you do me to think of me, that would be ſuffi-"cient to make me happy." Another day, *Koſſâ* coming to the door of *Al Mamûn*'s apartment, in order to inſtruct him, as uſual, that prince, who was then at table with his friends, ſent him a diſtich upon the leaf of a myrrh-tree, importing, "that there was a time for ſtudy, and a time for "diverſion, and that he was then entertaining his friends." Which *Koſſâ* anſwered by a tetraſtich on the back of the ſame leaf, couched in the following terms: "If you could once "perceive the excellency of knowledge, you would un-"doubtedly prefer the pleaſure ariſing from thence to that "which you at preſent taſte; and if you knew who was now "at your door, you would immediately get up, come to him, "and proſtrate yourſelf on the ground, to thank and praiſe "GOD for the favour he vouchſafes you." The young prince had no ſooner read this than he left his companions, and waited upon his maſter with the utmoſt deference and reſpect. This doctor was the author of a book, intitled, *Naſaïs Alarai*.

Some account of Kaſſai, *Al* Mamûn's *maſter.*

[u] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 138, 139. EUTYCH. ubi ſup GEORG. JAC. KEHR, ubi ſup. p. 17. KHONDEMIR. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 218. Vide etiam D'HERB. Bibl. orient p. 546.

wa-Kessas Al Anbia, The history of the patriarchs and prophets from the creation of the world; a translation of which into *Persic* is to be met with in the *French* king's library. *Kossâ* died in *Khorassân*, or, according to *Abulfeda*, at *Ray*, whither he attended the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd*, in the year of the *Hejra* 189 [w].

Al Mamûn *blamed by the* Sonnites *for falling into the errors of the* Motazalites.

Al Mamun, notwithstanding his amiable qualities and rare intellectual endowments, had the weakness to fall into the errors of the *Motazalites*, and was blamed by the more severe doctors of the law for not being sufficiently orthodox in the religion of the *Mohammedans*. The same doctors by no means approved of his introduction, or rather improvement, of philosophy and the other speculative sciences amongst the *Moslems*. For, the *Arabs* had not yet accustomed themselves to read many books besides those relating to their religion. They did not begin even in earnest to cultivate astronomy before the reign of this *Khalif*, who was himself a great proficient therein [x].

Some farther particulars relating to this Khalîf.

Al Mamun's first prime minister, or *Visir*, was *Fadl Ebn Sahal*, surnamed *Dhi'l Riyasatain*, as has been already observed; after whose tragical exit, his brother *Hasan Ebn Sahal*, *Omar Ebn Sa'id*, *Ahmed Ebn Abu Khâled*, and *Ahmed Ebn Yusef*, successively filled that sublime and important post. Some, however, maintain, that he was his own prime minister, after *Fadl Ebn Sahal*'s death; which, in our opinion, very well accords with what has been related of this *Khalif* by the eastern historians. The first captain of his guards was *Zoheir Ebn Masaiyeb Al Dobbi*, who was succeeded by *Thâher Ebn Al Hosein*, of whose exploits we have already given our readers a full and ample account. *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim* had also for some time assigned him the command of that corps. His chamberlain, whilst in *Khorassân*, was *Al Hosein Ebn Abu Sa'id*, and afterwards *Ali Ebn Abu Sâleh*, *Abd'alhamîd Ebn Shabib*, *Mohammed Ebn Sâleh*, *Ismael Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sâleh*, and others who have not been named by the oriental writers. His judges were *Mohammed Ebn Omar Al Wasidi*, *Mohammed Ebn Omar Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Mahrûni*, *Bashar Ebn Al Walid*, and *Yahya Ebn Aktem*; the last of whom, by some point of ill conduct, incurred the *Khalif*'s displeasure. The first day of *Al Mamûn*'s reign is said to have been *Monday*, and the last *Wednesday*. The symbol, or inscription, of his seal was, *ask of* God, *and he will give you*. Some of the *Christian* writers inform us, that *Mark*, the *Jacobite* patriarch, died at *Alexandria* in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mamûn*, and was succeeded

[w] Al Zamakhshar. in *Rabi Al Abrar*, Ebn Shohnah, Geor. Jac. Kehr, ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 189. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Kessai*, p. 961.

[x] Ebn Shohnah, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Greg. Abu' Faraj, ubi sup. p. 246, 247.

in the patriarchal ſee there by one *James*, who preſided over thoſe of the *Jacobite* perſuaſion ten years and eight months. In this patriarch's time, the monaſteries, that had been taken from the *Chriſtians*, were reſtored, and re-occupied by the monks, who had been formerly driven from thence. He was a perſon of uncommon ſanctity, and, if we will believe ſome of the aforeſaid authors, reſtored to life again the ſon of one *Makâra*, a perſon of great diſtinction, belonging to *Nabrûh*; who was ſo affected with this illuſtrious miracle, that he diſtributed the third part of his ſubſtance amongſt the poor, and built at his own expence a church in *Jeruſalem* ſolely for the uſe of the *Egyptians* reſorting to that place. In this *Khalif*'s time, *Dionyſius*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, took a journey into *Egypt*, in order to have a conference with *Abd'allah*, or *Obeid'allah*, *Ebn Thâher Ebn Al Hoſein* there, and abode for ſome time in the *Jacobite* patriarch's houſe. In *Al Mamûn*'s *Khalifat*, a grievous famine likewiſe raged at *Jeruſalem*, which ſeems to have been occaſioned by vaſt ſwarms of locuſts, that devoured all the fruits of the earth, and even every thing green, in the neighbouring tract. The extreme ſcarcity of proviſions, or rather the total want of them, at this juncture, drove almoſt all the *Moſlems* from the holy city; which gave *Thomas*, the patriarch, an opportunity of repairing the roof of the church of the *Reſurrection* there. For this purpoſe, he purchaſed the trunks of fifty tall cedars and firs, which were imported from the iſland of *Cyprus*. The expence of this reparation, which was very conſiderable, was wholly defrayed by one *Bocâm*, a rich native of *Bûtah*, or *Bûrah*, in *Egypt*. The patriarch made uſe of forty beams, or rafters, on this occaſion; that number having been ſuggeſted to him by forty martyrs, who appeared to him in a dream, and ſeemed to ſupport the roof that was upon the point of falling down. After the return of *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* to *Jeruſalem*, in his way to *Baghdâd*, the *Chriſtians* were accuſed of having inlarged, and made an addition to, the aforeſaid roof; upon which, *Abd'allah* ſent for the patriarch, ordered him and many others to priſon, and threatened to have them all publickly whipped, if, upon inquiry, he found the *Moſlems* capable of ſupporting their accuſation. However, by the intervention of an antient *Mohammedan*, on whom he beſtowed a ſum of a thouſand *dinârs*, and engaged to ſupply him and his poſterity, as long as any of them ſhould remain, with the ſame monthly allowance of proviſions that the prieſts and deacons themſelves were furniſhed with, out of the revenues of the ſaid church, for his aſſiſtance in this affair, *Thomas* pacified *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, eſcaped the ignominious puniſhment with which he had been threatened, and obtained the

the absolute approbation of all the principal *Moslems* then residing in *Jerusalem* of what had been done. After *Thomas*'s death, which happened in the seventh year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mamûn*, one *Basilah*, who had received his education from his predecessor, succeeded him in the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, and continued in that see twenty-five years. One *Ayûb*, or *Job*, seems to have been constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, in the first year of *Al Mamûn*, according to *Eutychius*; but this does not tally with what has been observed of *Dionysius*, the patriarch likewise of this see, as that author makes *Ayûb* to have presided over the church there no less than thirty-one years. As *Al Mamûn* was convinced, that the improvement of the mind ought to be the principal object of a wise man's attention, and was much preferable to the pursuit of those pleasures in which the vulgar, as well as others placed in more exalted stations, do for the most part take their chief delight, he did not only treat with the greatest marks of distinction those learned men whom he invited to *Baghdâd*, but likewise spent as much time in their company as the affairs of state would permit, encouraged his subjects by his example to read the books they both translated and wrote, and even constantly attended their disputations. The principal astronomers that flourished in his days were *Habash Al Merwazi*, an inhabitant of *Baghdâd*, who wrote three books of astronomical tables, or calculations, intitled, *Al Send Hend*, *Al Momtahen*, and *Al Shâh*; *Ahmed Ebn Kothair Al Fargâni*, or, as others call him, *Mohammed Ebn Ketir Al Forgâni*, known likewise amongst the *Europeans* by the name of *Alfraganus*, whose book, intitled, *Elements of astronomy*, with *Golius*'s version and notes upon it, is held in considerable repute amongst the learned; *Abd'allah Ebn Sahel Ebn Nûbakht*, a person famous for his skill in astronomy, and much esteemed by the *Khalif*; *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa Al Khowarazmi*, whose astronomical tables, intitled, *Al Send Hend*, were reckoned sufficiently exact; *Mashallah*, the *Jew*, for his uncommon skill in abstruse literature, looked upon as the *phœnix* of his age, who flourished in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mansûr*, and died after *Al Mamûn*'s accession to the throne; and *Yahya Ebn Abu'l Mansûr*, of whose skill in astrological matters we have an instance handed down to us by *Abu'l-Faraj*. The most celebrated physicians in *Al Mamûn*'s days, some of whom he employed in translating into *Arabic* a considerable number of those physical treatises purchased of the subjects of the *Greek* emperor by the *Khalif*, were *Yahya Ebn Batrik*, *Al Mamûn*'s freed-man, who had a happy talent at translations, with regard to his hitting upon the true sense and meaning of his author, tho' he did not write elegant *Arabic*, and was better versed in philosophy than physic; *Sahel Ebn*

Ebn Sâbûr, ſurnamed *Al Kawſaj*, who lived at *Ahwâz*, and conſequently wrote in the dialect of *Khûz*, or *Khûzeſtân*; *Yahya Ebn Mâſûa*, who likewiſe made a very conſiderable figure in his profeſſion; *Jiûrgîs*, or *George*, *Ebn Bakhtiſhua*, of whom we have ſpoken before; *Iſa Ebn Al Hakem*, who alſo enjoyed a very advantageous character; and *Zakarîâ Al Tifûri*, who practiſed with good ſucceſs. Beſides theſe, *Al Mamûn* had another phyſician, called *Gabriel* by one of the *Arab* writers, who attended him every morning before any of the others, and had for ſome time aſſigned him a monthly penſion of 1000 *dirhêms*; but, falling afterwards into diſgrace, he was forbidden to appear in the *Khalif*'s preſence, and his penſion was reduced to 150 *dirhêms*. We muſt here beg leave to remark, that the *Arabs* diſcovered a paſſion for the ſtudy of phyſic in the earlier times of *Iſlamiſm*; that art being of ſuch vaſt utility to all ranks and degrees of men, even when they applied themſelves almoſt ſolely to the ſtudy of their own language, and of the *Mohammedan* civil law, founded upon the precepts and determinations of the *Korân*. For, this was undoubtedly the ſtate of learning amongſt the *Arabs*, whilſt the *Khalifs* of the houſe of *Ommiyah* ſat upon the *Moſlem* throne. But, after the elevation of the family of *Al Abbâs* to the *Khalifat*, the cultivation of the ſciences began ſoon to be in vogue. *Abu Jaafar Al Manſûr*, the ſecond *Khalif* of that race did not only attain to a good degree of knowledge in the *Mohammedan* civil law, but likewiſe made ſome progreſs in the ſtudy of philoſophy and aſtronomy; which arrived at a much higher degree of perfection in the reign of his great grandſon *Abd'allah Al Mamûn*. For, that prince not only hired learned men, whom he had aſſembled from all parts of his vaſt dominions for that purpoſe, to tranſlate the books he had purchaſed of the *Chriſtians* at an immenſe expence, but likewiſe promoted by all poſſible motives the ſtudy of thoſe branches of literature they were written upon, and even purſued with an almoſt unparalleled ardour that ſtudy himſelf. But, for a more explicit and particular account of this *Khalif*'s thirſt after knowledge, as well as of his wonderful propenſion to favour and animate learned men, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious and intelligent readers to the authors cited here [y].

[y] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 139, 140. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 420—437. Al Kadi Saed Ebn Ahmed Al Andalos. apud Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. ut et ipſe Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ibid. Ism. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 1, et alib. Khondemir, Ebn Shohnah. Vide etiam D'Herbel. ubi ſup.

SECT.

SECT. XXIX.

Al Mótasem *is proclaimed* Khalif.

AL MÓTASEM, or *Abu Ishak Mohammed Ebn Harûn Al Rashîd*, surnamed likewise *Billah* by some of the oriental historians, was saluted *Khalif* the same day his brother *Al Mamûn* died, that is, the 18th or 19th of the month *Rajeb*, in the year of the *Hejra* 218. His mother *Mâredah*, or *Mârudah*, was one of the concubines of the *Khalif Harûn Al Rashîd*. Some of the *Moslem* commanders at *Tarsus* were inclined to favour the interest of *Al Abbâs*, son to the deceased *Khalif*; but that young prince having himself taken the oath of allegiance to *Al Mótasem*, all the officers of the army, as well as those belonging to the court, soon followed his example. *Al Mótasem* ascended the throne by virtue of *Al Mamûn*'s express nomination of him to the *Khalifat* after his decease, which was made to the prejudice of his own son *Al Abbâs*, and the exclusion of his other brother *Al Mútamen*; tho' the latter had been called to the succession after him by their father *Harûn Al Rashîd*. The first thing the new *Khalif* did was to issue orders for the demolition of the additional part of *Tawâba*, that had been built by *Al Mamûn*'s son *Al Abbâs* in the late reign; which were immediately executed, all the arms and warlike stores to be met with in the town carried from thence, and the inhabitants, who had been transplanted thither from other cities, commanded to return to their former habitations. In the beginning of the month of *Ramadân*, *Al Mótasem* arrived at *Baghdad*, and soon after was inaugurated there. About the same time, the *Khalif* received advice of the great progress made by the rebels in *Persia*, and *Persian Irâk*, who were headed by one *Bâbec*, an enemy both to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the *Moslems*. This *Bâbec* was surnamed *Al Horremi*, or *Al Khorremi*, and *Khorremdin*, either because he was of a certain district near *Ardebil* in *Adherbijân*, called *Khorrem*, or because he instituted a *merry* religion, which is the signification of the word in *Persian*. He first appeared in the year of the *Hejra* 201, when he began to take upon him the title of a prophet. We do not find what particular doctrine he taught, when he now made open profession of his impiety; but it is said his system of religion differed from all the others then known in *Asia*. He gained a great number of devotees in *Adherbijân* and the *Persian Irâk*, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the *Khalif Al Mamûn*, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and particularly *Ebn Hamid*, one of them, with his own hand; by which victories he became so formidable, that *Al Mótasem*

Mótaſem was obliged to employ the whole forces of the empire againſt him. The general ſent to reduce *Bâbec* was *Haidar Ebn Kaûs*, ſurnamed *Afſhîn*, a *Turk* by nation, who had been brought a ſlave to the *Khalif*'s court, and, having been employed in diſciplining the *Turkiſh* militia there, had acquired the reputation of a great captain. As the rebels had made themſelves maſters of *Al Jebâl* and *Hamadân*, and were very ſtrong, *Afſhîn* was reſolved to bring them to a battle as ſoon as a proper opportunity offered; which having done, he overthrew them with prodigious ſlaughter, putting no leſs than 60,000 of them to the ſword, and driving the reſt into the imperial territories. He firſt marched at the head of his army towards the province of *Adherbijân*, and ſpent a good deal of time in rebuilding all the caſtles between the cities of *Arzanjân* and *Ardebîl*, that had been demoliſhed by *Bâbec*'s troops. This ſtep he judged previouſly requiſite, in order to ſecure all the paſſages and defiles, and thereby put a ſtop to the incurſions of the rebels [z].

THE following year, being the 219th of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 16, 834, *Mohammed Ebn Al Kâſem*, one of *Ali*'s deſcendants, appeared in arms againſt the *Khalif*, and ſeized upon a conſiderable part of the province of *Kheraſân*. He was, however, at laſt defeated by the *Khalif*'s forces, taken priſoner, and brought to *Al Mótaſem* at *Baghdâd*. Being ſent to priſon, he was for ſome time there confined; but at laſt, by what means we have not been told, he made his eſcape, and was never afterwards ſeen. The ſame year, *Kendi*, *Al Mótaſem*'s governor of *Egypt*, died at *Meſr*, and his ſon *Motaffir*, or *Modaffir Ebn Kendi*, was appointed by the *Khalif* to ſucceed him. It appears from ſome of the eaſtern writers, that *Afſhîn* made himſelf maſter of *Iſfahân*, or *Iſpahân*, and *Hamadân*, the two principal cities of *Al Jebâl*, or the *Perſian Irâk*, and ſeveral of *Bâbec*'s caſtles, notwithſtanding the great annoyance given him by the rebels, though he could not reduce the whole country to the obedience of the *Khalif*, the preſent year [a]. Mohammed Ebn Al Kâſem *rebels againſt the* Khalif.

ABOUT this time, a very ſevere perſecution was carried on by the *Khalif* againſt all who denied the creation of the *Korân*. *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, the founder of the fourth ſect of the *Sonnites*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak here- Al Mótaſem *perſecutes thoſe who deny*

[z] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 140, 141. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 436, 437. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 252. KHONDEMIR, Aut. LOBB AL TAWARIKH. EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 158, 159.

[a] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 141. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 438, 439. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup.

after,

the creation of the Korân.

after, refuſing to acknowledge the *Korân* to be created, was ſcourged in ſo cruel a manner that he fainted away, having been almoſt flayed alive, by order of the *Khalîf Al Mótaſem*, and afterwards impriſoned. The ſame puniſhment would have been inflicted upon *Abu Harún Ebn Al Bacâ*, had he not eſcaped it by a notable evaſion, which was of ſignal ſervice to him. He allowed the *Korân* to have been placed, given, or inſtituted, by GOD, and that every ſuch thing was created; though he would not in direct terms admit the concluſion naturally flowing from thoſe premiſes. In fine, he conceded the *Korân* to be endued with one of the eſſential properties of a created being, though he endeavoured to evade ſtanding to the immediate conſequence of ſuch a conceſſion [b].

A great overthrow given Bâbec *by* Afſhîn.

THE next year, being the 220th of the *Hejra*, *Afſhîn*, having fortified the paſſes in the mountains, and poſted proper detachments of troops there to defend them, deſcended into the plain, and incamped near a village called *Arſû*, or, as ſome will have it, *Aſhâk*, where he offered the enemy battle. *Bâbec*, notwithſtanding the great loſſes he had ſuſtained, accepted the challenge; but, after a ſharp engagement, was intirely defeated, and conſtrained to fly with the ſhattered remains of his troops firſt to *Mogân*, and afterwards to *Caſbabâd*, the place of his nativity, where he had at that time erected his principal fort. His army muſt have been extremely numerous before the beginning of the action, if, as we find aſſerted by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, he loſt in it above 100,000 men. Be that as it will, *Bâbec*, finding no other way to eſcape, was obliged to retire into the *Gordyean* mountains, where he fortified ſeveral poſts; from whence he greatly incommoded the *Khalîf*'s forces that purſued him thither, frequently intercepting their proviſions, and deſtroying them abundance of men. In fine, *Al Mótaſem*'s general found it impoſſible to diſlodge him from thoſe poſts during the courſe of the preſent year [c].

Bâbec *ſtill ſupports himſelf againſt* Afſhîn.

THE following year, being the 221ſt of the *Moſlem* æra, *Mûſa Ebn Abu'l Abbâs Al Shabâni* was continued by the *Khalîf* in the government of *Egypt*, to which poſt he had been advanced by that prince after the death of *Medaffir Ebn Kendi*, the preceding year. *Bâbec* ſtill remained in the *Gordyean* mountains, and defended himſelf againſt the *Khalîf*'s troops. However, *Afſhîn* took ſeveral of his ſtrong-holds, and forced ſome of his fortified poſts, though he could not

[b] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 252, 253. EBN KHALECAN. [c] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, hiſt. dynaſt. p. 253. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 158.

bring the war in those parts to a conclusion the present campaign[d].

In the 222d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *December* 14th, 836, *Afshîd* carried on the war with great vigour against *Bâbec*, and shut up that impostor in *Casbabâd*, *Badû*, or *Al Badh*, as it is sometimes called by the *Arab* historians; which place he straitly besieged. Hither that rebel found himself obliged to retire, after *Afshîn* had reduced all his castles one after another with invincible patience, and forced all his retrenchments in the mountainous tract of the *Curds*, as his last resource. The fortress of *Casbabâd*, being a place of considerable strength, he defended himself there with great bravery for several months; but at last, finding he should be obliged to surrender the town, he made his escape into a neighbouring wood, from whence he soon after came to *Afshîn*, upon that general's promising to procure for him the *Khalif*'s protection. But *Afshîn* had no sooner got him into his power, than he ordered an executioner, who attended him for that purpose, first to cut off his hands and feet, and afterwards his head. This is the account handed down to us by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. Other writers, however, relate, that, just before the surrender of *Casbabâd* to the *Khalif*'s forces, *Bâbec* found means to escape thence in disguise, after he had with great bravery sustained several assaults, with his son *Abd'allah*, and his general *Moâwiyah*, into *Armenia*, where he was betrayed in the following manner. *Sahel Ebn Sanbât*, an *Armenian* officer, happening to know him, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, *Sahel* clapt himself down by him; at which *Bâbec* being surprized, asked him, how he dared to take that liberty unasked? *It is true, great king*, replied *Sahel*, *I have committed a fault; for who am I that I should sit at your majesty's table?* and immediately sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, *Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them.* After this, *Sahel* sent him to *Afshîn*, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister, and wife, to be ravished before his face; for so *Bâbec* used to treat his prisoners. *Afshîn*, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to *Al Mótasem*, by whose order he was put to an ignominious death. The *Khalif* was then at *Sar Man Ray*, *Sarra Manray*, or *Samarra* (for it went by all those names) a city of *Irâk*, on the

Bâbec *reduced, and put to death.*

[d] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin. ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup.

eastern

eaſtern bank of the *Tigris*, a little above half a degree to the weſt of *Baghdâd*; where he firſt ordered *Bâbec*'s hands and feet to be cut off, and then his head, after his belly had been ript open in the preſence of a great number of ſpectators. The body was fixed upon a gibbet, erected for that purpoſe, in the town, and the head ſent into *Khoraſân*. This man had maintained his ground againſt the power of the *Khalifs* above twenty years, and had cruelly maſſacred 250,000 people; it being his cuſtom never to ſpare man, woman, or child, either of the *Mohammedans*, or their allies. Amongſt the priſoners taken at *Caſbabâd*, there was one *Nûd*, who had been one of the ten men employed by *Bâbec* in his executions; and who owned, that, in obedience to his maſter's commands, he had deſtroyed above 20,000 *Moſlems* with his own hands. To which he added, that vaſt numbers had alſo been executed by his companions; but that of theſe he could give no preciſe account. *Caſbabâd* was taken in the month of *Ramadân* this year; after which, *Ajif Ebn Anboſa* reduced the *Zatalhdians*, who inhabited *Al Batayeh*, or the fenny tract between *Wâſet* and *Baſra*, to the obedience of the *Khalif*, and conducted many of them priſoners to *Baghdâd*. The *Khorremites*, not *Horremites*, as they are called by M. *D'Herbelot*, nor *Hazemites*, as they are denominated by Dr. *Pococke*, in his *Latin* verſion of *Abu'l-Faroj*, or ſectaries of *Bâbec*, which remained after his death, ſeem to have been intirely diſperſed, there being little or no mention made of them by the oriental hiſtorians [c].

The Khalif *makes an irruption into the* Greek *empire.*

THE next year, being the 223d of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 3d, 837, the emperor *Theophilus* invaded the *Moſlem* territories with an army of 100,000 men. He penetrated as far as *Zabatra*, or *Zabtara*, took and demoliſhed that city, put all the men therein to the ſword, and carried the women and children into captivity. From thence he advanced to *Malatia* in *Cappadocia*, ſeized upon that place, killed great numbers of men he found in it, and took about 1000 of the *Moſlem* women there priſoners. He alſo made himſelf maſter of ſeveral other towns, the inhabitants of which he treated with exceſſive cruelty, putting out the eyes, and cutting off the noſes and ears, of the men, and carrying away the women captives, according to ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians. The *Khalif*, receiving advice of theſe hoſtilities, and of the barbarous conduct attending them, marched againſt the *Greeks* with a more formidable army than any of thoſe with which his predeceſſors had formerly made war upon that na-

[c] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 141, 142. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 253, 254. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 438, 439. D'HERBEL. ubi ſup.

tion.

tion. This army he divided into ſeveral bodies, which entered the imperial territories by different routs, and reduced ſeveral fortreſſes belonging to the *Chriſtians*, before any enemy appeared to oppoſe them. *Ancyra*, in particular, we are told, he took, and laid in aſhes; though *Ayûb*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, who attended the *Khalif* in this expedition, could have prevailed upon him to have ſaved it, had the inhabitants, as he deſired, opened their gates to that prince, when he firſt preſented himſelf before the town. Some of the *Greek* writers, on the other hand, pretend, that the *Moſlems* were the aggreſſors in this war, and made an irruption into the imperial provinces ſeveral years before, treating the emperor's ſubjects with their uſual barbarity, without having received either from that prince himſelf, or any of the people belonging to him, the leaſt provocation. Be that as it will, as *Theophilus*, in ravaging *Syria*, had, according to one of them, notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of the *Khalif*, deſtroyed *Zabatra*, or *Sozopetra*, the place of his nativity; he ordered every one of his ſoldiers to ingrave upon his ſhield the word *Amorium*, the birth-place of *Theophilus*, ranked amongſt the cities of *Phrygia* by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, which he was reſolved, at all events, to deſtroy. Theſe circumſtances, however, have been wholly omitted by the *Moſlem* authors. The *Khalif* firſt advanced to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, and from thence moved into *Phrygia*; of which the emperor being apprized, he marched at the head of his forces to *Dorylæum*, diſtant about three days journey from *Amorium*. There, in a council of war, ſeveral of his officers adviſed him to decline an engagement with the *Arabs*, whoſe army was far more numerous than that of the *Greeks*, and to tranſport the inhabitants of *Amorium* to ſome other place. But the emperor, imagining ſuch a proceeding would reflect no ſmall diſgrace upon him, reſolved to venture all in the defence of his native city; and accordingly ſent thither a ſtrong detachment, under the command of *Ætius*, general of the Eaſt, *Theodorus Craterus*, *Theophilus Bubutzicus*, and other experienced generals. In the mean time, the *Khalif*, having made the proper diſpoſitions for inveſting the city, detached a body of 10,000 *Turks*, with a ſtrong party of *Armenians*, to try the ſtrength of the emperor's forces. The two armies faced each other at *Dazymenum*, and ſoon came to a general action, wherein the *Arabs* were at firſt put to the rout; but the *Greeks*, in purſuing them, were ſo galled by the arrows of the *Turks*, that they not only gave over the purſuit, but betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. A body of *Perſians*, however, in the emperor's ſervice, though abandoned by the reſt of the army, ſtood their ground, and ſurrounding the empe-

ror, who was preſent in the engagement, made head againſt the enemy, and at laſt, by favour of the night, retired in tolerable good order. According to *Abulfeda*, the right wing of the *Moſlem* army was commanded by *Afſhîn Ebn Kaûs*, the left by *Aſhnas*, and the main body by the *Khalif* himſelf, in this expedition. *Al Mótaſem*, informed of the good ſucceſs of his troops, marched directly to *Amorium*, and, being there joined by his victorious forces, laid cloſe ſiege to the place; which, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, was betrayed to him by one of the inhabitants, who had abjured the *Chriſtian* religion. The *Khalif*, enraged at the great loſs he had ſuſtained during the ſiege, which, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, continued about 55 days, put moſt of the men to the ſword, carried the women and children into captivity, and levelled the city with the ground. Some of the eaſtern hiſtorians relate, that the *Greeks* loſt in the aforeſaid action above 30,000 men. The *Khalif*'s forces being diſtreſſed for want of water, in their return home, the *Chriſtian* priſoners roſe upon ſome of them, and murdered them; which ſo exaſperated the *Khalif*, that he put 6000 of the *Greeks*, who had been principally concerned in exciting that commotion, to death. Of the inhabitants of *Amorium* 30,000 were ſlain, and as many taken priſoners, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Al Mótaſem* having diſcovered in his march, that ſome of his officers had engaged themſelves to ſupport *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Mamûn*'s pretenſions to the *Khalifat*, he forbad his ſubjects to ſupply that prince with liquids of any kind; ſo that, according to *Abulfeda*, he died of thirſt at *Manbij*, and was buried in that city, the preſent year. *Zabatra*, *Zabtara*, or *Sozopetra*, whoſe deſtruction occaſioned the terrible fate of *Amorium*, ſtood between *Samoſata* and *Malatia*, a day or two's journey to the ſouth of the latter, and has been mentioned by *Iſmael Abulfeda*, *Mohammed Al Firauzabâdi*, and other oriental writers. It muſt here be obſerved, that, according to the authors followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, the *Khalif* did not diſcover the conſpiracy that had been formed againſt him before his arrival at *Sarra Manray*, then the ſeat of the *Khalifat*, after his return from the *Grecian* expedition. The conſpirators, if we will believe thoſe authors, propoſed to aſſaſſinate his two beſt friends, *Afſhîn* and *Aſbah*, and afterwards to elevate his nephew *Al Abbâs* to the *Moſlem* throne. But their deſign being detected, they were puniſhed with death; and *Al Abbâs* himſelf was ſhut up in a cloſe place, where he had proviſions ſent him, but was allowed nothing to drink. In this condition he languiſhed for ſome time, and at laſt miſerably periſhed with thirſt. *Eutychius*, however, ſeems to intimate, that *Al Abbâs*'s death hap-

pened, whilst the *Khalif* was on his march from *Zabatra*, and consequently before he arrived at *Sarra Manray* [f].

THE following year, being the 224th of the *Hejra*, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, the *Khalif Al Mótaſem*'s governor of *Khoraſân*, marched againſt *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran*, who had ſet up for himſelf in *Tabreſtân*, with a powerful army, defeated him in ſeveral engagements, and at laſt took him priſoner. This put an end to the rebellion in thoſe parts, and reſtored the country, that had been the ſcene of theſe commotions, to its former tranquillity. As for *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran*, *Abd'allah* ſent him to *Al Mótaſem*, who ordered him to be whipt to death; after which, his body was affixed to a gibbet, at a ſmall diſtance from that erected for *Bâbec*. About the ſame time, the *Khalif* removed *Mûſa Ebn Abu'l Abbâs Al Shaibâni* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Mâlec Al Hindi* to preſide over that country in his room. *Ibrahim Ebn Al Mohdi* died this year, in the month of *Ramadân*; as did likewiſe, in the 68th year of his age, *Abu Obeid Al Kaſem*, who had rendered himſelf extremely famous by his ſkill in the *Arabic* tongue [g]. *A rebellion in* Tabreſtân.

IN the 225th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 12th, 839, *Abu Dolaf* and *Ali Ebn Mohammed Al Madâyeni*, two perſons of conſiderable note, departed this life. It appears from ſome good authors, that *Afſhîn*, the captain-general of the *Khalif*'s forces, endeavoured to excite *Mâziâr*, the governor of *Tabreſtân*, to a defection; of which the *Khalif* being apprized, as well as of his impiety, he having been actually diſcovered to be an idolater, and to have a prepuce, he ordered him to be thrown into priſon, towards the cloſe of this year [h]. Al Móta-ſem *diſcovers a conſpiracy that had been formed againſt him.*

IN the year of the *Hejra* 226, *Afſhîn*, captain-general of the *Khalif*'s armies, and his greateſt confident, having been accuſed of holding a ſecret intelligence with that prince's enemies, was executed for the treaſonable practices he had been guilty of. After the execution, his body was fixed up on a gibbet, erected near thoſe that exhibited the bodies of *Bârabâ Ebn Kâran* and *Bâbec*. This was no ſooner done, than ſome of the *Khalif*'s officers ſearched *Afſhîn*'s houſe, and Afſhîn *executed for treaſonable practices.*

[f] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 142. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 254. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p. 528—532. JOAN. CUROPAL. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 438—441. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 223. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZAB. in Kam. Ptol. geogr. lib. ii. c. 8. STRAB. lib. xii. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 269, 270. D'HERB. & EUTYCH. ubi ſup. [g] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & ABULFED. ubi ſup. [h] KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, p. 143. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 225. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 254.

found in it a great number of idols, which they immediately burned. They likewiſe reduced to aſhes ſeveral impious books, diſcovered there, and written to inſtruct others in his execrable opinions. This year, *Al Mótaſem* took the government of *Egypt* from *Málec Al Hindi*, and gave it to *Aſbás*, one of his menial ſervants. About the ſame time, *Abu'l Hodzail Ebn Al Hodzail Al Baſri*, a famous *Mótazalite* doctor, departed this life, extremely regretted by all his ſect [i].

Al Mótaſem *dies.*

THE next year, being the 227th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 21ſt, 841, the *Khalif Al Mótaſem* died at *Samarra*, either in the 48th or 49th year of his age. The diſtemper that carried him off is ſaid to have been a fever; after the firſt attack of which, he was blooded by his principal phyſician's order, but without effect. He expired on *Thurſday*, the 18th of the former *Rabi*, and left eight ſons and as many daughters behind him. He reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days. He was alſo the eighth *Khalif* of the houſe of *Al Abbás*, was elevated to the *Moſlem* throne in the 218th year of the *Hejra*, was born in the month of *Shaabân*, being the eighth month of the year, fought eight battles, poſſeſſed 8000 ſlaves, and had 8,000,000 *dinârs*, and 80,000 *dirhéms*, in his treaſury at the time of his death. Theſe circumſtances induced the *Arabs* to ſurname him *Al Mothamen*, i. e. *the octonary*, or *the eighth*, according to ſome of the beſt oriental writers. As the people of *Baghdâd* diſturbed his repoſe by their frequent revolts and commotions, he took the reſolution to abandon that city, and to build another, in order to fix his reſidence there. The ſpot he choſe for this purpoſe was called *Katûl*, near the city of *Sarra Manray*, in the *Arabian Irâk*, and and not in *Syria*, as we find advanced by M. *D'Herbelot*. Here he erected this new city, which was firſt called *Samarra*, and afterwards *Sarra Manray*. According to *Mirkhond*, this *Khalif* had 130,000 pied horſes in his ſtables at *Samarra*, about whoſe necks he ordered ſacks full of earth to be hung, which they carried to a place in the city he had marked out for that purpoſe. The earth brought hither in this manner formed a pretty high terras, on which he built a large ſaloon, from whence he could eaſily diſcover every thing that paſſed in the city. This terras gave name to the magnificent palace of *Samarra*, which was ever after called by the *Arabs Tel Almekhâli*, i. e. *the hill of ſacks*; *Almekhâli*, in their language, denoting a ſort of ſacks hung aboutthe horſes necks, in which they carry their ſtraw and oats, according to the common uſage of the eaſt [k].

WITH

[i] KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 254, 255. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 226. [k] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR.

AL

WITH regard to *Al Mótaſem*'s perſon, he is ſaid to have had a handſome face, red hair, a long beard, a broad breaſt, and to have been of a fair complexion. He was of a middle ſtature, and ſo extremely robuſt, that he once carried a burden of a thouſand pounds weight, if we will believe ſome of the *Arab* writers, ſeveral paces. As to his diſpoſition, he was brave to a great degree, and punctual in the diſcharge of religious duties; though he has been repreſented by ſome of the oriental hiſtorians as intirely attached to the ſentiments of the *Mótazalites*. Theſe heretics maintained, as has been already obſerved, that the *Korân* was created, and ſtuck not to accuſe thoſe of infidelity, as aſſertors of two eternal beings, who held the contrary opinion. However, they were oppoſed in this notion by the *Sonnites*, or orthodox *Mohammedans*, who believed the *Korân* to be uncreated and eternal, ſubſiſting in the very eſſence of GOD; or, as others have expreſſed it, the word of GOD, and conſequently uncreated, as well as the Divine Being from whom it did originally proceed. This *Khalif* kept a greater number of forces on foot, particularly horſe, than any of his predeceſſors. He alſo vaſtly increaſed the number of boys at court, for whom he provided about 50,000 ſatchels, or little bags, in which they ſometimes carried their proviſions. The *Moſlem* hiſtorians celebrate this *Khalif* for his greatneſs of ſoul, and mention one of his actions that appears in a very ſingular light. Being once, ſay they, ſeparated from his companions in the country, he met with an old man ſtanding by his aſs, which had fallen down upon the ground, in a very dirty place, with a load of thorns upon his back. This ſight ſo affected the *Khalif*, that he immediately alighted from his horſe, in order to aſſiſt the old man, and raiſe up his beaſt; which having done, though he ſpoiled his cloaths by this generous action, he rejoined his retinue, and afterwards made him a preſent of 4000 *dinârs*. He was the firſt of the *Khalifs* who added the name of GOD to his own. For, he ordered himſelf to be ſurnamed *Bi'llah*, *in* GOD, or *by the grace of* GOD; in which he was followed by ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, who to their names added the words *Billah*, *in* GOD, *Beemri'llah*, *by the order of* GOD, *Ala'llah*, *on* GOD, and *in* GOD, and *Ledini'llah*, *for the faith of* GOD, or *for the worſhip of* GOD. When the *Greeks* took and ſacked the city of *Zabatra*, an *Arab* woman of the houſe of *Al Abbâs* is ſaid to have been taken priſoner by a horſeman there; and, the very moment ſhe was

Deſcription of his perſon, and character.

AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 143, 144. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 255. EUTYCH. ubi ſup MIRKHOND, EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motaſem*, p. 639. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 230, 231. MOHAM. AL FIRAUZABAD. in Kam. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 227.

ſeized, to have cried out, "Succour me, O *Al Mótaſem!*" Upon which, the horſeman ſaid to her, by way of ridicule, "See, here comes *Al Mótaſem* on his pied horſe, to your aſſiſtance." This adventure being ſome time after related to the *Khalif*, who was then at a great diſtance from *Zabatra*, he inſtantly ſwore, that he would not think of any other enterprize before he had releaſed this woman. Accordingly he marched at the head of his forces, in the midſt of winter, to that city, and attacked the *Greeks* poſted there with ſuch vigour, that he intirely defeated them. This victory opening him a way to the place where the woman, who cried out to him for relief, was detained, he arrived there effectually to her ſuccour, and delivered her out of the hands of her enemies. But, for a more particular and circumſtantial account of this affair, we muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the eaſtern hiſtorians cited here [1].

Some farther particulars relating to him.

In the fourth year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mótaſem*, *Sophronius* was placed in the patriarchal ſee of *Alexandria*, where he continued about thirteen years. He was a perſon of uncommon prudence and ſagacity, and an excellent philoſopher. In the ſeventh year of this prince's reign, one *John* was alſo conſtituted patriarch of *Jeruſalem*; but, being extremely ill uſed by the *Chriſtians* there, he ſoon found himſelf obliged to retire from that city. Whilſt *Al Mótaſem* ſat upon the *Moſlem* throne, the king of *Ethiopia* was likewiſe engaged in a war with ſome of the neighbouring powers; during whoſe abſence, the queen thought fit to baniſh one *James*, a biſhop of that country, and to ſubſtitute another biſhop in his room. *James*, immediately after his expulſion, fled into *Egypt*, and the *Ethiopians* were viſited with a peſtilence; which was conſidered as a puniſhment inflicted upon them for the violence that had been offered that prelate. The king of *Ethiopia*, therefore, upon his return from the wars, reproved his wife for what ſhe had done, and recalled the biſhop from his exile; which occaſioned great rejoicings amongſt his ſubjects. About the ſame time, the patriarch of *Alexandria* ſent ſome biſhops, whom he had ordained for that purpoſe, as miſſionaries, into the weſtern part of *Africa*, called *Pentapolis* by the antients, and particularly to the city of *Kairwân*, the metropolis of that country. *Dionyſius*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, alſo died in the *Khalifat* of *Al Mótaſem*, and was ſucceeded by one

[1] Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Al Makin, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, et Eutych. ubi ſup. Poc. not. in ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 219, 220. Mirkhond, Ebn Shohnah, Hamdallah Ebn Abu Becr Ebn Ahmed Ebn Nassir Al Mostawafi Al Kazwini, in *Tarikh Khozidah*, Ism. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 639, 640.

John

John in that patriarchal ſee. When *Salmawiyah*, one of the moſt celebrated phyſicians of the *Moſlem* court, lay upon his death-bed, the *Khalîf* viſited him in tears, and aſked him who ſhould take care of his health after his deceaſe. *Salmawiyah* replied, "That buſy-body *Yahya Ebn Mâſ-*"*wiyah*; but take none of his compound medicines." Soon after which, *Salmawiyah* died; and the *Khalîf* was ſo affected with the irreparable loſs he ſuſtained by that tragical event, that he immediately broke out into the following ſorrowful exclamation, "I ſhall ſoon follow him; for the preſervation "of my life and health has been intirely owing to his ſkill." He likewiſe abſtained from all kinds of food the whole day of *Salmawiyah*'s deceaſe, ordered a bier to be brought into the palace, and the funeral ſervice to be performed, in his preſence, with candles and perfumes, after the *Chriſtian* manner. And he had great reaſon to be under the vaſt concern he expreſſed on this melancholy occaſion. For, *Salmawiyah* blooded him twice a year, and, after each veneſection, ordered him ſome cooling phyſic; by which means, he enjoyed a good ſtate of health as long as that phyſician lived. *Yâhya*, on the contrary, preſcribed him a cathartic before he underwent the aforeſaid operation; which, not agreeing with his conſtitution, gradually altered the habit of his body, and at laſt terminated in his death, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. He is ſaid to have ſurvived *Salmawiyah* only twenty months by that hiſtorian. His firſt prime miniſter was *Al Fadl Ebn Merwân*; after whoſe amotion, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyat*, the ſcribe, or ſecretary, acted in that capacity for him. His ſupreme judge was *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd*; and thoſe who acted under him, *Shaib Ebn Sahel*, *Mohammed Ebn Sama'a*, *Abd'allah Ebn Gâleb*, and *Abu Jaafar Ebn Iſa Ebn Haſan Al Baſri*. The captain of his guards was *Iſhak Ebn Ibrahim*; his chamberlains, *Simâ*, the *Turk*, his freedman, *Waſif*, the *Turk*, who bore the ſame relation to him, and *Bagâ*, one of the ſame nation. His ordinary chamberlains were *Mohammed Ebn Aſem Al Hanaki*, *Yakûb Ebn Ibrahim*, *Atâb Ebn Atâb*, and *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Dankaſh*. The inſcription of his ſeal was, GOD *is the confidence of* Abu Iſhak Ebn Al Raſhîd, *and he believes in him*. The firſt and laſt days of his reign are ſaid to have been *Thurſday*; with which obſervation we ſhall beg leave to conclude our hiſtory of the *Khalifat* of this potent prince [m].

[m] EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 440——443. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 144, 145. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164. HONAIN, apud Greg. Abu'l-Far. ubi ſup. p. 255, 256. ut et ipſe GREG. ABU'L-FAR. ibid. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup.

SECT. XXX.

Al Wâthek Billah *ascends the* Moslem *throne after* Al Mótasem.

AL WATHEK BI'LLAH was proclaimed *Khalif* the same day his father *Al Mótasem* died, that is, the 18th of the former *Rabî*, at *Sarra Manray*, and inaugurated afterwards at *Baghdâd*. His mother's name was *Karâtîs*, or *Farâtîs*, and his own at large *Harûn Al Wâthek Billah Abu Jaafar Ebn Al Mótasem Ebn Harûn Al Rashîd*. About this time, *Theophilus*, the *Greek* emperor, died, and was succeeded by his son *Michael*; who being then only six years old, his mother *Theodora* took upon her the administration. *Abd'alrahmân* still governed the *Moslems* in *Spain*, and seems to have gained several advantages over the *Christians* there. The new *Khalif* adhered to the errors of the *Mótazalites*, as well as his predecessor *Al Mótasem*; and even, at the instigation of *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd* and *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, carried on a most fierce and violent persecution against the *Sonnites*, particularly those who denied the creation of the *Korân*. His mother is said to have been a *Greek* by nation. In consequence of his attachment to the *Mótazalites*, he entertained the most favourable sentiments of all the members of the house of *Ali*. We are told by *Abulfeda*, that *Raja Ebn Ayûb*, with a body of troops assigned him for that purpose by *Al Wâthek*, suppressed a rebellion of the *Kaisians* at *Damascus*, and beheaded 1500 of the rebels there, this year [n].

The Moslems *invade* Sicily.

THE following year, being the 228th of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 10th, 842, *Al Wâthek* dismissed his judges and secretaries of state, and extorted from them, either for real or pretended crimes, very considerable sums of money. According to *Al Noweiri*, *Al Wâthek* undertook this year an expedition against the island of *Sicily*, and landed a body of troops there. Soon after this descent, he laid siege to *Messina*, and in a short time made himself master of that city; which conquest, continues this author, was followed by that of the whole island. However, this invasion has been intirely passed over in silence by the *Chronicon Siculum*, already cited here, which we take to be a piece of exceeding good authority; tho' it seems to have been mentioned by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Abulfeda* observes, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al*

[n] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 145. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 257. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 442, 443. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 533, 534, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 152, 153, &c. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hist. Arab. c. xxv. p. 22. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 227. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Vathek*, p. 911.

Aglab

Aglab was then the *Emîr*, or governor, of the island, and resided at *Palermo*. He likewise informs us, that this *Aglabite* commander reduced many cities there, and carried off from thence a very considerable number of prisoners, together with a large quantity of spoil, in the 228th year of the *Hejra*. 'Tis probable, therefore, that *Al Noweiri*, or rather M. *D'Herbelot*, has mistaken the *Khalîf Al Wâthek* for the *Emîr Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab*; especially as we find not the least intimation of *Al Wâthek*'s having undertaken such a *Sicilian* expedition in the *Tarikh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. Be that, however, as it will, we may infer from *Abulfeda*, that this *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab* first took upon himself the government of *Sicily*, and assumed the title of *Emîr* of that island, the present year. It also appears from the *Chronicon Siculum*, that this prince's new subjects were greatly infested by vast swarms of locusts about the same time [o].

THE next year, being the 229th of the *Moslem* æra, *Al Wâthek* recalled *Ali Ebn Yahya* from *Egypt*, and appointed *Isa Ebn Mansûr* to preside over that country in his room. *Khalf Ebn Heshâm* died this, and *Abu Tamim Ebn Aws*, a celebrated poet of the tribe of *Tay*, the preceding year. The *Normans* sent a fleet, consisting of fifty-four large ships, and as many gallies, with a body of land-forces on board, according to *Roderic*, at this time, to *Lisbon*, in order to drive *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, the western *Khalîf*, out of *Spain* [p]. *The Normans invade Spain; and are driven from thence by Abd'alrahmân's forces.*

IN the 230th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *September* 18th, 844, *Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hosein* departed this life. He was an excellent officer, a great encourager of learned men, particularly poets, and had been successively governor of *Khorasân*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. This year the *Normans*, called *Magians* by *Abulfeda*, advanced with a formidable fleet, and a powerful body of troops on board, from *Lisbon* to *Seville*, and laid siege to that city. From thence they moved to *Cadiz*, and attempted to make themselves masters of that place. But being repulsed in all their attacks both upon that fortress and *Seville*, and receiving advice that *Abd'alrahmân* was marching against them at the head of a numerous army, attended by a strong squadron of ships, they

[o] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. AL NOWEIR. apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. Excerpt. ex chronol. univ. ISM. ABULFED. ex codic. Arabic. MS. in Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Escurial. apud Joan. Baptist. Carus. ubi sup. p. 18. Chronic. Sicul. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. apud Carus. ubi sup. p. 5. [p] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. AL NOWEIR. apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. TARIKH AL MAGREB, &c.

thought

thought fit to retire to *Lisbon* with uncommon precipitation; and were finally driven from thence by that prince's forces without any considerable loss [q].

A cartel settled between the Christians *and the* Moslems.

THE following year, being the 231st of the *Hejra*, beginning *September* 7th, 845, a cartel for the exchange and redemption of prisoners was settled, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, between the *Moslems* and the *Christians*, upon the banks of the river *Al Lames*, the *Lamus* of *Ptolemy*, about a day's journey from *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. The person sent by *Al Wâthek* to conduct this affair on the part of the *Moslems* was one *Khâkân*, an eunuch, who received orders from his master not to redeem any of the *Mohammedan* captives, that refused to assert the creation of the *Korân*, and would not deny all vision of GOD in paradise by the corporeal eye. The *Arab* prisoners redeemed on this occasion amounted to 4460 men, besides 800 women and children, and about 100 belonging to the *Khalif*'s allies, who all entered the *Moslem* camp on the tenth day of the month *Al Moharram*. *Moharek*, an *Arab* musician, *Abu Yakûb Yûsef Ebn Yahya Al Bowaithi*, a disciple of the famous *Al Shâfei*, who was incarcerated for denying the creation of the *Korân*, and *Ebn Al Arabi*, a celebrated philologer of *Cûfa*, who left many learned productions behind him, died this year. A body of *Al Wâthek*'s troops, in the winter, made an irruption into the *Christian* provinces; but were soon obliged to retire by the severity of the season, and the enemy's detachments sent against them. Of the *Arabs* 200 perished with cold, as many were taken prisoners, and a great number drowned in the *Badandân*; so that the *Khalif* sustained a pretty considerable loss in this unfortunate expedition [r].

Al Wâthek *dies.*

THE next year, being the 232d of the *Hejra*, the *Moslems* defeated a large body of the *Sicilian* forces near *Enna*, called at present by the natives *Castro Giovanni*, and put 9000 of them to the sword. After which, they seized upon that fortress, as well as the adjacent territory dependent upon it. They also fortified the citadels of *Modekah*, the *Motuca*, or *Motyca*, of *Ptolemy*, and the *Modica* of the moderns, which they had reduced the preceding year. The *Khalif Al Wâthek* died on the twenty-third, or the twenty-fourth, day of the month *Dhu'lhajja*, and his brother *Al Motawakkel* said the funeral service over him. With regard to the cause of his death, authors are not agreed. We are told by *Abulfeda* and *Abu'l-*

[q] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 146. AL NOWEIRI, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 230.

[r] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 253. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 231. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 541, &c. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi.

Faraj,

Faraj, that, being troubled with the dropsy, he continued for some time in a stove, and found himself thereby greatly relieved; which induced him to stay in it, heated more than usual, the next day longer than before. This, continue the same writers, affected him in such a manner, that he expired upon the spot; though his attendants were not sensible of his death, till they viewed him lifeless in his litter. On the other hand, we are informed by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that, being extremely addicted to venery, he ordered his physician to prepare him some provocatives, and those of the most powerful kind. The doctor, unwilling to comply with his commands, represented, that they would prove of fatal consequence to him. However, the *Khalîf* persisting in his resolution, the physician assured him, that if he would take only three drachms of lion's flesh properly prepared in red vinegar, it would produce the desired effect. This provocative, therefore, he made use of in his drink, and it soon put a period to his days. A little before his death, falling prostrate on the ground, he burst out into the following ejaculation, *O heavenly king, whose reign is eternal, have mercy upon a poor prince, whose reign is fleeting and transitory!* He sat on the *Moslem* throne five years, nine months, and six days, or, as others will have it, five years, seven months, and thirteen days. Some authors relate, that, whilst the people were assembled after his death to elect his successor *Al Motawakkel*, a lizard, or rather newt, came out of the garden adjoining to the palace, plucked out his eyes, and greedily devoured them; and that this was not perceived before his body was washed, in order to be interred. With regard to his person, he was of a fair complexion, a middle stature, and had a very broad breast. His beard was also extremely thick and bushy, and he had a white speck in his right eye. As to his disposition, he was a prince of great honour, valiant, an admirer of the *Arab* poetry, and a munificent rewarder of those who excelled in that branch of literature. In most points of conduct, he imitated his uncle *Al Mamûn*, particularly in his attachment to the sect of the *Mótazalites*. He confirmed the edict made by *Al Mamûn* relating to the creation of the *Korân*, and persecuted with uncommon barbarity all who presumed to maintain the contrary opinion. This greatly alienated his subjects from him; which encouraged *Ahmed Ebn Nasser Ebn Mâlec*, surnamed *Al Khoraï*, one of the most celebrated of those doctors who bore the title of *Al Hafedh*, that is to say, *the preserver of the* PROPHETIC TRADITIONS, entered into a conspiracy against him. This doctor found means to engage many of the principal lords of *Baghdâd*, and several other doctors, in an attempt to dethrone *Al Wâthek*, and to fix himself upon the

Moslem

Moslem throne. But the conspiracy being discovered by the governor of *Baghdâd*, he seized *Ahmed* in his own house the day before it was to be carried into execution, and sent him in irons to *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, then the residence of the *Khalif*. Upon his arrival there, he was immediately brought into *Al Wâthek*'s presence, who, without saying a word of the conspiracy, pressed him to assert the creation of the *Korân*; which he refusing to do, and absolutely persisting in the common sentiment of the orthodox *Moslems*, who unanimously admit the eternity of that book, the *Khalif* was so enraged, that he instantly drew his scymitar, and cut off the traitor's head with his own hands [s].

He imitated in all things his uncle Al Mamûn.

It has been already observed, that *Al Wâthek* imitated in all things his uncle *Al Mamûn*. He was therefore extremely delighted with the study of the sciences, and not a little caressed all men of letters. He was also liberal and charitable to a great degree, having taken great care that no poor people should be found in any part of his vast dominions; insomuch that not a single beggar was to be met with, through the whole course of his reign, either at *Mecca* or *Medina*. He was particularly fond of astrology, and having in his last illness conferred with some of his wise men, who were the most famed for their skill in that art, upon consulting his horoscope, they assured him, that, from the present moment, his reign should be continued fifty years; though he is said not to have lived above ten days after the prediction. The principal of these astrologers was *Al Hasan Ebn Sahel Ebn Nubakht*. This occurrence has been mentioned both by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians [t].

His death predicted by a remarkable dream.

An oriental writer likewise relates, that *Ahmed Ebn Nazir* having been thrown into prison, because he refused to acknowledge the creation of the *Korân*, and the impossibility of seeing God hereafter in paradise with corporeal eyes, received from the good company he found in the place of his confinement no small degree of consolation. For, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, the *Khalif*'s *Visir*, who persecuted the *Sonnites* in a cruel manner, filled all the prisons of *Samarra* with orthodox *Moslems*. Amongst these there was one *Ahmed Ebn Israïl*, a famous astrologer; to whom, as well as to many others of his fellow-prisoners, *Ahmed Ebn Nazir* related,

[s] Chronic. Sicul. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. Filip. Parut. Ptol. geograph. lib. iii. cap. 4. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar Al Makin, ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. ad an. Hej. 232. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 258. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 444, 445. Khondemir. Vide etiam D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 911 [t] Jamalo'ddin Mohammed Al Awki, in *Jamé Al Hakaïât wa-Lamé Al Ravaiât*, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Ism. Abulfed. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, et Khondemir, ubi sup.

that

that a phantom had appeared to him in his dream the preceding night, and assured him that *Al Wâthek* should die in a month's time. The astrologer then being desired to calculate that prince's nativity, in order to discover what truth there was in this nocturnal prediction, refused to be concerned in so dangerous an affair. However, the last day of the month being come, he said to *Ahmed Ebn Nazir*, "What do you say now "of your dream, since the term pointed out by your phan- "tom is almost expired?" To which *Ahmed* replied, *Many things may still happen before the conclusion of the approaching night.* After which, about the second watch of the same night, a considerable number of people arrived at the prison-door, with advice of the *Khalif*'s decease [u].

OTHER authors inform us, that *Al Wâthek*, by eating and drinking to great excess, and that frequently when he had no appetite at all, together with his immoderate use of women, brought himself into a dropsy; of which he was cured by a celebrated physician of *Nisabûr*, who advised him to live more temperately for the future, as a relapse must prove fatal to him. But notwithstanding this salutary advice, the *Khalif* soon began to pursue his former irregular course of life, and was consequently in a short time afflicted with the same distemper, of which, in conformity to the doctor's prediction, he died within the space of a very few months [w]. *Dies of a dropsy, according to some of the eastern writers,*

ONE of the same authors remarks, that the *Khalif Al Wâthek* had so terrible an eye, that having a little before his death cast an angry glance of it upon one of his domestics, who had been guilty of some fault, the man was instantly out of countenance, and fell backwards upon another person that stood at a small distance from him. Which very eye, by a most extraordinary accident, was plucked out of the *Khalif*'s head, according to this writer, by an animal resembling a pole-cat, that slipt between his face and a linen-cloth which covered it, whilst he lay dead in the palace [x]. *Had a very terrible eye.*

SOME of the *Arab* historians have observed, that *Al Wâthek* himself was a tolerable good poet, as well as a rewarder of those who excelled in drawing up poetical compositions; that he sung well, and had an excellent voice. He made, in the second year of his reign, one *Sergius*, who had been a great enemy to those of his own communion, and was for that reason very disagreeable to them, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, where he resided in that capacity sixteen years. He likewise filled the patriarchal see of *Antioch*, which became vacant in the sixth *Other particulars relating to him.*

[u] JAMALO'DDIN MOHAMMED AL AWKI, ubi sup. [w] AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, MIRKHOND, JALALI, KHONDEMIR, &c. [x] AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, ubi sup.

year

year of his *Khalifat*, with one *Nichelas*, who preſided over the *Chriſtians* there twenty-three years. We muſt not forget to remark, that the above-mentioned *Al Haſan Ebn Sahel Ebn Nubakht* was the greateſt aſtronomer, as well as aſtrologer, of the age in which he lived, and wrote a treatiſe upon the *Anwaâ*, or manſions of the moon. With regard to this *Khalif*'s miniſters and ſervants, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât* was his principal counſellor, or *Viſir*; the captain of his guards *Iſhak Ebn Ibrahim*; his chief judge *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd*; and his chamberlains *Aytâh*, the *Turk*, his freed-man, *Bagâ*, the *Turk*, his menial ſervant, *Wasîf*, the *Turk*, his freed-man, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Dankaſh*, *Anbâh*, his ſervant, *Ahmed Ebn Amer*, and *Mohammed Ebn Aſem Al Jabali*. The firſt day of his reign was *Friday*, and the laſt *Wedneſday*. The inſcription of his ſeal was, GOD *is the confidence of* Al Wâthek. Some writers make him to have been thirty-two, others thirty-four, and, laſtly, others thirty-ſix, years of age at the time of his deceaſe [y].

SECT. XXXI.

He is ſucceeded by his brother Al Motawakkel.

AL WATHEK's death was no ſooner known than his brother *Al Motawakkel Ala'llah* was ſaluted *Khalif* by the people of *Samarra*, and afterwards acknowledged as ſuch by all the provinces of the empire. His mother *Shajâ*, *Al Mótaſem*'s concubine, was of *Khowârazmian* extraction. *Ahmed Ebn Abu Dawd*, *Al Wâthek*'s principal judge, *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, his *Viſir*, and *Wasîf*, the *Turk*, together with ſeveral other leading men, at firſt had an intention to proclaim *Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Al Mohtadi*, *Al Wâthek*'s ſon, *Khalif*; but *Wasîf* afterwards objecting to this, on account of his tender years, they dropped their deſign, and agreed to inveſt *Jaafar Abu'l Fadl Al Motawakkel Ala'llah Ebn Al Mótaſem*, the late *Khalif*'s brother, then about twenty-ſix years of age, with the imperial dignity. The new *Khalif* removed the governor of *Egypt* from his office, ſoon after his acceſſion, and conferred upon *Anbâh*, one of his friends, that lucrative poſt [z].

Wasîf *determines the choice of the grandees in favour of* Al Motawakkel.

As *Al Mohtadi*, *Al Wâthek*'s ſon, was incapable of officiating publickly in the moſque, on account of his tender age, *Wasîf*, upon mature deliberation, thought he ſhould be guilty of a great ſin, if he concurred with the other principal officers of the empire in advancing that young prince to the dignity of *Imâm*; and therefore determined their choice of a ſovereign pontiff, who was to be emperor of the faithful, in fa-

[y] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 147. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. [z] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 147, 148. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 446, 447. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 259.

vour

vour of *Al Motawakkel*. This *Wasîf* commanded the body of *Turkiſh* troops, or rather the *Turkiſh* irregulars, firſt ſet on foot by the *Khalif Al Mótaſem*; which gave great weight to his repreſentations, and enabled him the more eaſily to carry his point, notwithſtanding the vaſt influence of *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, the late *Khalif*'s *Viſir*, on this important occaſion [a].

Mohammed Ebn Hammad Ebn Abd'almalec Al Ziyat having treated *Al Motawakkel* ill, in his brother's life-time, that prince reſented the injuries he had then met with, ſoon after he aſcended the *Moſlem* throne. He, therefore, ſent him to priſon in the year of the *Hejra* 233, and ordered a perſon to keep him awake there for ſeveral days and nights together. *Mohammed* being after this ſuffered to take ſome repoſe, ſlept a whole day and a night; and, after he awoke, was thrown into an iron-furnace, lined with ſpikes, or large nails, heated red-hot, where he was miſerably burnt to death. Some authors, however, relate, that he received fifty ſtripes upon his belly, and as many upon his back, and ſoon after expired. This counſellor, or *Viſir*, ſpoke his mother-tongue fluently and properly, and was extremely well verſed in the *Arab* grammar and poetry. But he was haughty, fooliſh, vainglorious, iniquitous in his conduct, and intirely void of compaſſion. He was likewiſe a ſtranger to modeſty, exceſſively fond of power, and covetous to the laſt degree. He never did any perſon a good office, frequently ſaying that pity was a natural weakneſs, and liberality folly. It appears from ſome of the *Arab* writers, that he compoſed verſes during his confinement, though none of theſe have been handed down to us. The new *Khalif* appointed his ſon *Al Montaſer* to preſide over the peninſula of the *Arabs*; and, about the ſame time, *Abu Zakaria Yahya Ebn Moain Ebn Awn Al Baghdâdi*, a famous *Hâfedh* and *Imâm*, and a diſciple of *Al Shâfei*, departed this life, in the 75th year of his age. The *Moſlems* reduced *Leontini*, the *Lentini* of the moderns, called by the *Arabs Lentinah*, and made a farther progreſs in the conqueſt of *Sicily*, during the courſe of this year [b].

Moham-med Ebn Abd'al-mâlec Al Ziyât *put to death by the* Khalif's *order.*

The following year, the *Aglabite Arabs*, ſettled in *Sicily*, made themſelves maſters of the city of *Raguſa* with very inconſiderable loſs. About the ſame time died *Abu Khaitſhamah Zohr*, a famous *Sonnite* doctor, *Ali Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar*, a celebrated *Hâfedh*, and *Mohammed Ebn Mohaſhar*, a *Metazalite* of *Baghdâd*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, after the death of *Mohammed Ebn Hammâd Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, began

The weſtern Moſlems *take* Raguſa.

[a] Khondemir. [b] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 148. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 233. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. Mel. lib. ii. cap. 7. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 8. Ptol. ubi ſup. Fig. Parut. ubi ſup.

to

to think of allaying the heats raised amongst the *Moslems* by his predecessors *Al Mótasem* and *Al Wáthek*, who persecuted with great cruelty those that refused to embrace the tenets of the *Mótazalites*. A famine this year made terrible havock amongst the *Arabs* in *Sicily* [c].

Al Motawakkel *settles the succession upon his sons, and is angry with the* Christians.

In the year of the *Hejra* 235, several remarkable occurrences happened amongst the eastern *Moslems*. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel* settled the succession first upon his eldest son *Al Montaser*, after him upon his second son *Al Mo'taz*, and, finally, upon his third son *Al Mowaiad*. He also gave each of them two banners, or standards, a black one and a white one; the former of which distinguished them as heirs apparent to the crown, and the latter as their father's vicegerents, who had the government of the empire divided amongst them. To *Al Montaser* the *Khalif* assigned *Africa*, from *Arish* in *Egypt* to the most western limits of that vast tract, as likewise the provinces of *Kinnisrin*, *Al Shâm*, or *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Diyar Becr*, *Diyar Rabia*, *Mawsel*, or *Mosul*, *Habab*, *Al Ayât*, *Al Khâbûr*, *Karkisia*, *Tecrit*, the region bordering upon the *Tigris*, *Mecca* and *Medina*, *Al Yaman*, *Hadramaut*, *Yamâma*, *Bahrein*, *Al Sind*, or *Sindia*, *Ahwâz*, *Sarra Manray*, *Cûfa*, *Maseidân*, *Al Hajrân*, *Sharuzûr*, *Kom*, *Kâsân*, and *Al Jebâl*, with its dependencies. To *Al Mo'taz* he assigned *Khorasân*, *Tabrestán*, *Ray*, *Persia*, *Armenia*, and *Adherbijân*. And lastly, on *Al Mowaiad* he conferred the provinces of *Dimishk*, or *Damascus*, *Hems*, *Al Ordan*, and *Palestine*. This division has been celebrated by the *Arab* poet *Ibrahim Ebn Al Abbâs*, some of whose verses have been preserved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. *Al Motawakkel* also about this time commanded all the *Christians* and *Jews* in his dominions to wear a leathern girdle, called by the *Arabs* *zonar*, and a sort of badge on their cloaths, in order to distinguish them from the *Moslems*. He likewise forbad them to make use of iron stirrups, and injoined them, according to *Eutychius*, to paint the figures of devils, or else of hogs and apes, on the doors of their houses; which, as the same writer will have it, was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of *Bakhtishua*, the *Khalif*'s physician, a *Christian*, who had incurred his master's displeasure. About this time, one *Mahmûd Ebn Faraj*, a famous impostor, pretended to be *Moses* resuscitated, and plaid his part so well that several people believed on him, and attended him when he was brought before the *Khalif Al Motawakkel*. That prince, having been an ear-witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which was accordingly executed; and his disciples were imprisoned till they

[c] Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrig. Khondemir, Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 234. Vide etiam D'Herb. Bibl. or. p. 640, 911.

came to their right minds. *Haſan Ebn Sahel*, *Iſhak Ebn Ibrahim Al Sauli*, the muſician, and *Abd'allah Ebn Raghban*, the poet, died the preſent year [d].

THE next year, being the year of the *Hejra* 236, commencing *July* 15th, 850, this *Khalif*, who had openly declared himſelf an enemy to the houſe of *Ali*, forbad his ſubjects, under the ſevereſt penalties, to go on pilgrimage to the tomb of that *Imâm*. Soon after which, he ordered the ſepulchre of *Hoſein*, *Ali*'s ſon, called in *Arabic Maſhhad Hoſein*, in the plains of *Kerbela*, where that *Imâm* was killed, to be intirely razed; and, in order the more effectually to efface all traces of it, he was reſolved not to content himſelf with ploughing, or breaking up, the ground on which it ſtood, but likewiſe to draw a canal of water over it. However, if we will believe the *Shiites*, he could not carry his deſign into execution; the water not approaching the tomb, but keeping its diſtance out of reſpect. Hence that water was denominated *Haïr*, which ſignifies *aſtoniſhed* and *reſpectful*; a name which has ſince been applied to the ſepulchre itſelf, on account of this miracle. Notwithſtanding which, ſome pretend, that the place of *Hoſein*'s interment was always unknown [e].

The Khalif *diſcountenances the poſterity of* Ali.

WE are told by an eaſtern author, in conformity to the *Shiite* traditions, that the night after *Al Motawakkel* had iſſued this impious order, he ſaw *Ali* in a dream, who reproached him with the outrages offered to his family, and gave him ſeven blows with the famous ſword *Dhu'l-Fakar*, uſed by the prophet himſelf in all his engagements, after the battle of *Bedr*, which he held in his hand. This, according to one of his wiſe men, well verſed in the interpretation of dreams, portended ſome ſignal diſaſter to him, that ſhould happen by way of puniſhment for the hatred he bore *Ali* and his deſcendants. And, in conſequence of this prediction, continues the ſame writer, the *Khalif* was aſſaſſinated two days after by ſome *Turks*, at the inſtigation of his eldeſt ſon *Al Montaſer*; who, after the perpetration of this horrid parricide, commanded ſome of his ſervants to collect the pieces into which his father's body had been cut. Theſe amounting to ſeven, that prince from thence inferred, that the murder had been clearly foretold by the preceding dream, which was moſt evidently verified by that tragical event. But here it may not be improper to obſerve, that this *Shiite* fiction muſt neceſſarily be exploded by all perſons of the leaſt pene-

This Khalif's *death predicted in a dream, according to the* Shiites.

[d] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 149. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 259. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 448, 449. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. [e] KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 260. MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

tration; ſince *Al Motawakkel*'s edicts, mentioned here, preceded at leaſt eleven years the aſſaſſination of that prince [f].

A rebellion in Armenia.

In the year of the *Hejra* 237, beginning *July* 5th, 851, the *Khalif* ſent *Yuſef Ebn Mohammed* to preſide over *Armenia* and *Adherbijan*; who, upon his arrival at *Ekhlât*, or *Akhlât*, cauſed *Bokrât Ebn Aſhût*, an *Armenian* nobleman, to be ſecured, and ſent in chains to *Al Motawakkel*. This ſo incenſed the nobleſſe of *Armenia*, that, in conjunction with *Miſa*, who had married *Bokrât*'s daughter, they aſſembled a body of troops, in order to take vengeance of *Yuſef Ebn Mohammed* for the affront he had offered them. Coming up, therefore, with him at the caſtle of *Müſh*, they attacked him with ſuch bravery, that, after an obſtinate engagement, they intirely defeated him, and put both him and the forces he commanded to the ſword. The *Khalif* no ſooner received advice of this unexpected rebellion, than he ſent *Bogâ*, the *Turk*, with an army to ſuppreſs it; which he did effectually, and fully revenged *Yuſef*'s death, killing above 30,000 of the rebels, and taking a vaſt number of them priſoners. After this, he advanced to *Teflis*, a city of *Georgia*, that had aſſiſted the rebels, laid ſiege to it, and in a ſhort time reduced it to aſhes, together with 50,000 of its inhabitants, who all periſhed in the flames. *Yuſef*'s defeat happened in the middle of the month of *Ramadân*, and the extinction of the rebellion, as well as the deſtruction of *Teflis*, conſequential to that event, ſoon after. About this time, died *Hatem Al Aſam Al Balkhi*, a celebrated *Moſlem* ſaint. The ſame year, *Al Motawakkel* appointed *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hoſein* to preſide over *Al Sarta*, the diſtricts of *Al Sawâd*, and the territory of *Baghdâd*. Either this or the preceding year, *Abd'alrahmân* paved the ſtreets of *Corduba* in *Spain* with ſtone, and built an aqueduct, with leaden pipes, which copiouſly ſupplied that city with water from the neighbouring mountains. The preſent year alſo, according to *Abulfeda*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Aglab* died in *Sicily*, after he had reigned there about nine years, in the month of *Rajeb*. He was ſucceeded by *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Abbâs Ebn Al Fadl Ebn Yakûb Ebn Nazare*, who ſubdued many places in *Sicily*, and overthrew the *Chriſtians* near *Enna*, which, by reaſon of its ſurprizing ſtrength, they had made the capital of their part of the iſland, inſtead of *Syracuſe*. This ſignal victory, which was gained on *Thurſday*, the fifteenth day of the month of *Shawâl*, the preſent year, put *Al Abbâs* in poſſeſſion of *Enna*, where he erected a moſque for the uſe of the *Moſlems* that were ſettled there. This defeat given the *Chri-*

[f] Jamalo'ddin Mohammed Al Awki, in *Jamé Al Hakaïât wa Lamé Al Ravaïât*, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 260, 262. Ism. Abulfed. ubi ſup.

ſtians,

ſtians, according to *Abulfeda*, in the year of the *Hejra* 237, ſeems to be no other than that mentioned by the *Cambridge Chronicon*, as happening about five years before. But whether the writer of that *Chronicon*, or *Abulfeda*, whoſe authority is undoubtedly of great weight with regard to all the *Moſlem* tranſactions in the eaſt, is to be followed in the point before us, we leave to the determination of our more learned and intelligent readers [g].

THE following year, the *Grecks* fitted out a fleet of 300 ſhips; an hundred of which, under the command of an admiral, ſet ſail for *Dimyât*, or *Damiata* in *Egypt*. Here, upon their arrival, they landed a body of troops, ſeized upon the town, at that time deſtitute of a gariſon for its defence, plundered and burnt it, and carried off with them 600 *Moſlem* women into captivity. From *Damiata* they advanced to *Meſr*, which they pillaged and laid in aſhes, and then retired to their own ports. After which, the *Khalîf Al Motawakkel* ordered *Damiata*, in order to ſecure it from all future inſults, to be fortified with a ſtrong double wall on the ſide of the river, and on that of the continent with a triple one; which rendered it one of the moſt impregnable fortreſſes in *Egypt*. This year died at *Corduba Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem Ebn Heſhâm*, of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, after he had reigned thirty-one years and five months in *Spain*. He left behind him forty-five ſons and forty-two daughters, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*. About the ſame time alſo departed this life *Ranimir*, the ſon of *Veremund*, king of *Galicia*, whoſe ſon *Ordonius*, according to *Roderic* of *Toledo*, ſucceeded him in his kingdom, fruſtrated all the attempts of the *Arabs* upon his dominions, and reigned 35 years. Other authors, however, make *Ranimir*'s death, and his ſon *Ordonius*'s acceſſion, to have preceded *Abd'alrahmân*'s deceaſe above 20 years [h].

The Greeks make a deſcent upon Egypt.

THE year of the *Hejra* 239, commencing *June* 12th, 853, produced no action of éclat in the *Moſlem* empire; at leaſt none that has been taken notice of by any hiſtorian. *Mahmûd Ebn Gailam*, of *Merû* in *Khoraſan*, one of *Al Bokhâri*'s doctors, died this year. We are told by an author of good repute, that *Al Motawakkel* publiſhed an edict forbidding the

Nothing remarkable happens in the year of the Hejra 239.

[g] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 260. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 642. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 149. ISM. ABULFED. in chronic ex cod MS. Arabic Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Eſcurial. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. MS. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. cap. xxvi. p. 23.

[h] GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi ſup p. 260, 261. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 238. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 149. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. JOAN. VAS. Hiſpan. Chronic. Vide etiam Hiſpan. illuſtrat. p. 709. Francofurti, 1603.

Christians and *Jews* to ride on horseback in any part of his dominions, and permitting them in their journies to make use only of asses and mules, the present year. Which law is considered by the *Turks* as in force at this very day [1].

A rebellion in Spain.

THE next year, according to *Abulfeda*, *Abu Othmân Mohammed*, the son of the famous *Al Shâfeï*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Khâled*, of the tribe of *Calb*, a follower of the same celebrated *Moslem* doctor, departed this life. About the same time, the *Khalif* appointed his second son *Al Mo'tax* to superintend all the mints erected in his dominions, and ordered his name to be stamped on all the *dirhêms* coined in the empire. This year likewise, if we will believe *Roderic* of *Toledo*, the people of that city rebelled against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, and were supported in their defection by *Ordonius*, who sent one of his relations with a body of troops to their relief. However, *Mohammed* advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of *Toledo*, and found means to decoy the rebels into an ambuscade, that he had posted in a proper place at a small distance from the town. The consequence of which was, that he easily defeated them, put 7000 of the *Moslems*, and 8000 of the *Christians* to the sword, and took prisoners a great number of both; many of whose heads he struck off, and sent some of them to the maritime towns, and others to *Africa*, as evident tokens of the glorious victory he had obtained [k].

The emperor's forces take Ainsuria *from the* Arabs.

THE following year, a body of the imperial troops advanced to *Aincaria*, entered the place, made the *Moslem* garison prisoners of war, and carried off all the women and children into captivity; after which, several brisk actions happened in those parts between the *Christians* and the *Arabs*. About the same time, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem* placed numerous garisons in *Curita*, *Talavera*, and *Calatrava*, and made incursions into some of the neighbouring provinces. This year, the famous *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, the founder of the fourth sect of the *Sonnites*, died at *Baghdâd*, and was followed to his grave by 800,000 men and 60,000 women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, that, on the day of his death, no less than 20,000 *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, embraced the *Mohammedan* faith. We must not forget to observe, that the *Moslem* forces took *Bethirah*, or *Buteria*, not far from *Leocata*, in *Sicily*, the preceding year [l].

IN

[i] ABULFED. ubi sup. ad an. Hej. 239. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 640. [k] ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 240. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 149, 150. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. [l] ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 150. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p.

In the year of the *Hejra* 242, beginning *May* 10th, 856, the *Greeks* penetrated to *Somiſat*, or *Samoſata*; but were obliged by the *Moſlems* to retire from thence to *Amid*, or *Amida*, on the borders of *Armenia*. After which, they abandoned *Mesopotamia*, which they had entered, and returned into their own dominions; though they carried off with them about 10,000 priſoners, and plundered a great number of villages in their retreat. This ſeems to be the expedition mentioned by ſome of the *Greek* writers, when they inform us, that the *Moſlem* gariſon of *Samoſata* ſallied out upon the *Chriſtian* forces, then before the town, ſurprized them in their camp, whilſt they were at divine ſervice there, and forced them to abandon the ſiege, the third day after it had commenced. We are told, by ſome of the *Arab* authors, that ſeveral violent ſhocks of an earthquake happened this year in *Komas*, or *Komes*, a province of *Tabreſtân*, in the month of *Shaabân*, attended with unuſual noiſes, that demoliſhed many towns and villages there, did incredible damage, and buried 45,096 men in the ruins of the houſes that were overturned. The greateſt part of theſe periſhed at *Dâmegân*, placed in latitude 36° 30′, and longitude 89° 30′, by the eaſtern geographers, the capital of that province. *Syria*, *Perſia*, *Khoraſân*, and *Al Yaman*, were all viſited with the ſame calamity, according to theſe writers; who farther obſerve, that mount *Al Akra'*, or *the bald mountain*, in the neighbourhood of *Laodicea*, or, as 'tis called by the *Arabs*, *Al Ladikia*, at the ſame time fell into the ſea; by which ſurprizing accident moſt of the inhabitants of that city were deſtroyed. *Mohammed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, died about this time, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Abu Ibrahim Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*; as did likewiſe *Yahya Ebn Aktem*, a moſt celebrated maſter of juriſprudence. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem* ſent alſo an army, under the command of *Al Mondar*, one of his relations, to lay waſte the territory of *Toledo*, that ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to him, the preſent year. The *Moſlem* general executed his orders with exceſſive rigour and ſeverity, either carrying off or deſtroying all the corn, fruits, and grapes, of that diſtrict. Notwithſtanding which, the citizens of *Toledo* ſent ſome of their forces, after *Al Mondar*'s departure, to poſſeſs themſelves of *Talavera*. But the commandant of that fortreſs having been apprized of their deſign, met them at the head of his troops, gave them battle, and intirely defeated them; taking many of them priſoners, and killing 700 upon the ſpot, all whoſe heads he ſent as an agreeable preſent to his maſter *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al*

They are ſurprized and defeated by the Khalif's *troops.*

301. Roderic. Toletan. ubi ſup. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. Joan. Baptist. Carus. ubi ſup. p. 6.

Hakem, who then held his residence at *Corduba*, the capital of the *Moslem* dominions in *Spain* [m].

The Khalif *resides about two months at* Damascus.

THE year of the *Hejra* 243, commencing *April* 30th, 857, has not been distinguished by any remarkable event. The *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, however, set out for *Damascus*, with an intention to make that city the seat of the *Khalifat*, the 20th day of the month *Dhu'lhajja*. He also ordered several buildings to be erected there in the following month *Safar*, designing to transfer all his treasures from *Sarra Monray* to that place. Soon after his arrival at *Damascus*, the *Turkish* soldiery mutinied for their pay; which having received, they returned to their duty. Notwithstanding this, he conceived an aversion to his new capital, and returned to *Sarra Manray*, after he had resided at *Damascus* only two months and a few days. He entered that metropolis on *Monday* the 22d of the latter *Jomâda*, to the great joy of all his subjects there. This year died *Ibrahim Ebn Al Abbâs*, and *Al Hâreth Ebn Asad*; the latter of whom was expelled *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*'s school, for being a reasoner, or one principally guided by his own judgment in his decisions. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem* also undertook another expedition against the city of *Toledo*, besieged the place in form, and destroyed the famous bridge over the *Tajo* there, which threw the citizens into a terrible consternation, the present year [n].

The Greeks, *according to the* Christians, *surprize and defeat the* Arabs, *in their turn.*

THE next year, the *Khalif* commanded *Abu Yusef Yakûb Ebn Ishak*, surnamed *Ebn Al Sekkit*, a famous philologer, extremely well versed in all kinds of polite literature, to be put to death, for his attachment to the house of *Ali*. About the same time, that prince deprived *Bakhtishua*, his physician, of all the riches he had acquired in his service, and banished him into *Bahrein*. The *Greek* writers relate, that 30,000 *Arabs* about this time marched into the imperial territories, surprized a body of 45,000 *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, headed by the emperor himself, and put them to a shameful flight. The emperor narrowly missed being taken prisoner in the action; having been delivered out of the enemy's hands by *Manuel*, one of his officers, when he was in the most imminent danger. It seems to appear from the *Cambridge Chronicon*, that the *Sicilian Moslems* were worsted in an action by sea the present year [o].

THE

[m] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. hist. comp. p. 545, 546. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 158. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 261. ISM. ABULFED. in geogr. & chron. SAID EBN ALI AL JORJANI, EBN HAWKAL, SHARIF AL EDRISI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 192. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. [n] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. [o] GEORG. CEDREN.

THE following year, beginning, amongſt the *Moſlems*, *April* 8th, 859, many cities in the weſtern provinces ſuffered greatly from earthquakes; by which great numbers of their houſes were overturned. Violent ſhocks were likewiſe felt at *Baghdâd*, where the *Khalif*'s palace was in danger of being overthrown, *Al Madâyen*, *Bâlis*, *Al Rakka*, *Harrân*, *Râſo'lain*, or *Râſa'lain*, *Hems*, *Damaſcus*, *Al Roha*, or *Edeſſa*, *Tarſus*, *Maſiſa*, *Adana*, and the maritime parts of *Syria*. At *Antioch*, 1500 houſes, and above ninety towers belonging to the wall that ſurrounded the city, are ſaid to have been thrown down; which, together with the frightful and unuſual noiſes heard amongſt the ruins, ſo terrified the inhabitants, that they fled for ſafety into the neighbouring fields. We are told likewiſe by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, that mount *Al Akra'* above-mentioned, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Abu'l-Faraj*, ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from *Antioch*, and fell into the ſea at the ſame time that the earthquake happened there. At *Laodicea* the ſhocks were ſo terrible, that almoſt all the citizens quitted their houſes, expecting them every moment to fall upon their heads. When mount *Al Akra'* ſunk into the ſea, a thick black cloud of ſmoke, that emitted a moſt noiſome ſmell, iſſued from the ſpot on which it had ſtood. Vaſt numbers of people were deſtroyed by theſe concuſſions, if we will believe the *Moſlem* writers. The ſprings at *Mecca* failed this year to ſuch a degree, that the celebrated well, or fountain, there was almoſt dried up, and the water ſold for 100 *dirhéms* a bottle. A river alſo, about a paraſang diſtant from mount *Al Akra'*, diſappeared the ſame year in which that mountain was abſorbed, and was never afterwards ſeen. About the ſame time, the *Khalif* being informed, that the *Niloſcope*, or *Nilometer*, erected on the point of the iſland of *Al Foſtât* by *Soliman Ebn Abd'almalec Ebn Merwân*, was fallen to decay, he ſent a geometrician, recommended to him by his aſtrologer, *Mohammed Ebn Mûſa*, from *Irâk* to *Egypt*, in order to build a new one there. He likewiſe appointed *Yezid Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Bâdân Ebn Farah* to aſſiſt *Mohammed* in this work, and ordered the expence of the whole to be defrayed by *Soliman Ebn Wâheb*; which being done, the machine erected on this occaſion was called the new *Nilometer*, and the other that had fallen to ruin was never afterwards uſed. The people of *Toledo* at this time, not being able to make head againſt *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hakem*, thought fit to ſubmit to that prince, and met with a very gracious reception from him. Soon after this, the *Normans*, with a fleet of 60 ſhips, ravaged the coaſt of *Spain*,

Terrible earthquakes in ſeveral parts of the Moſlem *empire.*

DREN. et JOAN. ZONAR. ubi ſup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, KHONDEMIR, &c. Chron. Sicul. Arab. Cantab. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUSIUS, ubi ſup.

laid several places there waste with fire and sword, and carried off with them an immense quantity of spoil. From thence they passed over into *Africa*, where they committed likewise dreadful depredations; and, returning into the maritime parts of *Spain*, took up their winter quarters there. But not finding themselves in a condition to settle upon any part of the tract they had taken possession of, they thought fit to return home the following spring. The writer of the *Cambridge Chronicon* relates, that the *Moslems* in *Sicily* repossessed themselves of *Enna*, that had returned to the *Christians*, about the time we are now upon. The present year, likewise died *Abu Ali Al Hoseini*, a disciple, or follower, of the famous *Al Shâfeï*. It seems to appear from *Eutychius*, that *Al Motawakkel* built a new city and palace, adjoining to *Samarra*, from him denominated *Al Jaafaria*, in which he resided some time, either this or the following year [p].

The Arabs *gain several considerable advantages over the* Greeks.

In the year of the *Hejra* 246, commencing *March* 28th, 860, *Omar Ebn Obeid Al Akta'*, by the *Khalif*'s order, made an irruption into the imperial territories, and carried off with him from thence about 70,000 prisoners. *Al Fadl Ebn Farân*, another of the *Arab* commanders, with a fleet of twenty large ships, insulted the enemy's coasts, and seized upon the citadel of *Antioch*. *Ali Ebn Yahya* likewise, in order to make a diversion, penetrated into another of the imperial provinces, and took 5000 prisoners, besides 10,000 head of cattle; after which, a cartel was settled between the contending parties, whereby 2367 captives recovered their liberty. From the *Greek* writers it seems to appear, that the *Arabs* at this time entered the imperial provinces with an army of 40,000 men, and committed dreadful ravages there. But they were surprized, according to these writers, by *Petronas*, the emperor's uncle, with the *Christian* forces, in the district of *Lalacæon*, not far from *Ephesus*, who put the *Khalif* and his whole army to the sword, took his son prisoner, and returned in triumph to *Constantinople*. As this relation, however, runs counter to the *Moslem* history in almost every particular, and as the authors here cited are not greatly to be depended upon in what they have handed down to us concerning the *Moslem* affairs, our impartial and intelligent readers will undoubtedly refuse their assent to the short account we have extracted from them of this expedition. For, that *Al Motawakkel* fell in battle this year, is a notion intirely repugnant to the whole stream of oriental hi-

[p] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 150, 151. Greg Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 245. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 446—449. Shaw's physic. and miscellan. observat. in Egypt, p. 433. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. et Cadus. ubi sup.

story,

ſtory, which in a point of this nature moſt certainly merits greater attention than that of the *Greeks*. About the ſame time, it rained blood in the tract called *Balah*, of a very red colour. *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân* marched with an army alſo now againſt the people of *Navarre*, ravaged the country about *Pampelona*, and made himſelf maſter of three fortreſſes not far from that place. In one of theſe he took priſoner a perſon of diſtinction, named *Fortunius*, whom he conducted to *Corduba*, kept him there twenty years, and at laſt ſent him home loaded with preſents worthy of the prince from whom they came. This *Fortunius*, as our hiſtorian informs us, attained to the age of 126 years. About this time, died *Dabal Al Khozâi Ebn Ali*, a celebrated poet, of the *Shiite* perſuaſion, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 148. We are told, that a body of *Arabs*, named *Fendanites*, or *Effendites*, arrived in *Sicily* the preſent year [q].

Al Motawakkel aſſaſſinated.

THE next year, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel* was aſſaſſinated in the following manner. *Fatah Ebn Khâkân* and *Abd'allah Ebn Yahya*, finding him indiſpoſed with an aſthmatic diſorder, endeavoured to diſſuade him from officiating in the moſque at *Sarra Manray*, as he intended, the enſuing *Friday*; adviſing him to ſend his ſecond ſon *Al Mo'taz* to perform the public ſervice there in his ſtead. The *Khalif* complied ſo far with their advice as to decline going to the moſque himſelf, but at the ſame time appointed his eldeſt ſon *Al Montaſer* to officiate for him. This by no means pleaſing his two favourites, who were ſuſpicious of *Al Montaſer*'s ill deſigns, they perſuaded him to go to the moſque himſelf, when *Friday* came, and ſhew himſelf to the people, in order to prevent all commotions that might be excited by his illneſs, which at that time was publickly known. He, therefore, mounted his horſe, and went directly to the moſque, where he ſaid the prayers, and preached to the people, as uſual; after which he returned to his palace *Jaafaria*, where he then reſided. Upon his arrival there, he ordered *Al Montaſer* to appear before him, reproached him and his mother with the dark cabals in which they had been engaged, and threatened to make them both feel the effects of his reſentment. Nay, he commanded the judges and counſellors who attended him likewiſe to reprove them. This ſo incenſed *Al Montaſer*, that he reſolved upon his father's deſtruction, and engaged certain *Turks*, who were diſſatisfied with the *Khalif*'s conduct, and ſome of his domeſtics, to aſſiſt him in the parricide: for the perpetration of which the following opportunity offered. *Al Motawakkel* having drank

[q] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN. ubi ſup. p. 151. GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 246. Chron. Sic. Cant. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup.

to

to excess with some of his courtiers, and particularly *Fatah Ebn Khâkân*, on *Wednesday* the fourth day of the month *Shawâl*, *Bagâ*, *Bager*, or *Bogâ*, the younger, his butler, at night entered the room, and commanded the company to go home; which they all did, except *Fatah Ebn Khâkân*, and four others, who could not be prevailed upon to retire. In the mean time, *Al Montaser* came to one of the palace-gates, that had been left open for him, and kept the porter, a *Turk*, whose name was *Razâka*, employed, by walking and talking with him, whilst the conspirators destined to assassinate the *Khalîf* made the best of their way to the place where he was, with their scymitars drawn in their hands. As soon as they approached him, one of them, named *Yaaz*, immediately fell upon him, and cut off the hinder part of his shoulders; notwithstanding which, *Al Motawakkel* attempted to defend himself against the assassin, saying at the same time to him, *Be quiet*, GOD *cut off thy hand.* Which being perceived by the other conspirators, they all rushed in at once upon him. *Fatah Ebn Khâkân* observing this, said to them, *Wo be to you, this is the emperor of the faithful!* To which *Bager*, or *Bogâ*, replied, *Hold thy peace, thou enemy!* *Fatah* then threw himself upon his master, in order to screen him from the intended violence; but being dragged off by the assassins, he ran about the room like a madman, with his scymitar drawn in his hand, crying out with all his might, *Death! Death!* This so inraged them, that they instantly dispatched him, and then massacred *Al Motawakkel* without the least resistance; after which, they waited upon *Al Montaser*, and saluted him *Khalîf*. Several reasons have been assigned for this unnatural parricide by the *Moslem* writers; some of which our readers will not be displeased to find inserted here. One of those writers pretends, that *Al Montaser* alledged, as a reason to excuse the perpetration of so horrid a fact, the hatred his father bore *Ali* and all his descendants. He also, says the same author, at last was afraid of his own life. For, *Al Motawakkel* once holding between his hands a scymitar that cost him 10,000 *dinârs*, said to *Fatah Ebn Khâkân*, *I should be glad to find a valiant man amongst my* Turkish *slaves, into whose hands I may put this scymitar, for the defence and preservation of my person.* *Fatah* immediately answered him, *Here is* Bager, *the bravest of your* Turks, *who is worthy of receiving so valuable a present from your own hands.* This *Bager* came by accident into the *Khalîf*'s apartment the moment the conference between him and *Fatah* began, when he received this sword, together with very large appointments, from *Al Motawakkel*. We are told, however, that he never drew it before the time he entered his master's chamber, and slew him with it. Other authors relate, that the *Khalîf* frequently entertained himself with some mis-

miſchievous kinds of diverſions, that were extremely diſagreeable to the people about him; and that this in all probability haſtened his death. Sometimes he would order a lion to be let looſe in the middle of the room where he was regaling his friends, which never failed of throwing them into a terrible conſternation. At other times he would command his ſervants to put ſerpents privately under the table, and break pots full of ſcorpions in the middle of the hall where he had prepared a banquet for his favourites, without ſuffering any of them to riſe from the table, or change his place; and when any of his friends were bit on ſuch occaſions by thoſe venomous animals, he immediately expelled the poiſon by a theriacal medicine that he had prepared for that purpoſe. Whilſt he was in the midſt of one of theſe debauches, the *Turkiſh* ſlaves that had conſpired againſt him entered the hall of the feſtin with their ſcymitars drawn in their hands, and *Bagher* at the head of them, according to ſome of the *Perſian* hiſtorians; upon which, one of thoſe at table, who firſt perceived them, but did not ſuſpect any wicked deſign, ſaid, in a facetious manner, *This is neither the day of lions, nor of ſerpents, nor of ſcorpions, but that of ſcymitars*, or *ſwords*. *Al Motawakkel* no ſooner heard him talk of ſcymitars, or ſwords, than he ſaid, *What's that you would ſay?* Which words were ſcarce out of his mouth, when the conſpirators fell upon him, and cut him to pieces. *Fatah*, continue theſe authors, endeavouring to defend him, and crying out with all his might, *O* Al Motawakkel, *I will not ſurvive you!* was likewiſe killed with the *Khalif*. That prince's buffoon, who had hid himſelf at the ſight of the ſcymitars, hearing *Fatah*'s laſt words, and obſerving what happened to him thereupon, ſaid with a loud voice, *O* Al Motawakkel, *I ſhould be very glad to live after you!* which he thought might induce them to let him make his eſcape. One writer of good repute informs us, that *Al Montaſer* was perſuaded by the wiſe men about him to commit the parricide above-mentioned, becauſe his father had been guilty of ſome enormities that merited ſuch an end. Another aſſures us, that his cruelty to thoſe perſons of diſtinction, who were ſo unhappy as to incur his diſpleaſure, greatly contributed thereto. Theſe he incloſed in an iron ſtove, lined with pointed nails, which he cauſed to be heated more or leſs in proportion to the heinouſneſs of the crime he intended to puniſh; and when any of them, upon finding himſelf in exquiſite torture, ſaid to him, *Have pity upon me*, he replied, *Pity is nothing but a meanneſs of ſoul.* 'Tis affirmed by ſome authors, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Ziyât*, his *Viſir*, remained in ſuch torture forty days before he expired. Another will have it, that *Al Montaſer*'s principal motive to deſire his father's death, and to engage the *Turks* to diſpatch him,

was

was the opprobrious treatment he met with from him. For, the *Khalîf* called his eldest son, by way of mockery and reproach, *Montazher*, or *Montadher*, instead of *Montaser*; by which nickname the former would intimate, that the latter lived in continual hopes of his death. Sometimes likewise *Al Motawakkel* would force the young prince to drink to excess, than which nothing could make him more unpopular or disagreeable to the *Moslems*, and then beat him without the least discretion. Nay, for what had scarce the appearance of a crime, he would make him undergo the most rigorous punishment. Lastly, we are given to understand by some of the oriental historians, that *Al Motawakkel*'s assassination was owing to the resentment of *Wasîf*, the *Turk*, whom he had appointed captain of his guards, and consequently made him master of his person, and yet was so imprudent as to give him just cause of offence. For he deprived him of some domains that he possessed in the *Persian Irâk*, in order to bestow them upon *Fatah Ebn Khâkân*, his favourite and *Visir*. But whatever was the true cause of this prince's violent death, it has been observed by the *Moslem* writers, not only that the conspiracy formed against him was discovered a little before *Al Montaser* caused it to be carried into execution, by one of his trusty slaves, but likewise that his tragical exit was clearly predicted to him about the same time by a most strange and wonderful dream [r].

A farther account of this Khalîf*'s famous sword.*

It has been remarked upon the subject of the sword, or scymitar, given by *Al Motawakkel* to *Bagher*, by *Al Bakhteri*, that this *Khalîf* having heard much of the excellency of a sword in the city of *Basra*, writ to his governor there to purchase it for him, cost what it would. But the governor, upon inquiry, finding it had been sold, and sent into the province of *Bahrein*, informed the *Khalîf* that it was not in his his power to procure it for him. *Al Motawakkel*, therefore, dispatched a courier thither to buy it at any price that should be demanded for it. His order was executed, and, as soon as the sword came into his hands, he gave it to *Bagher*, with the following compliment, *Take this sword; I set no greater value upon it than I do upon you.* [s].

What physicians flourished in his time.

Another oriental author has observed, that this *Khalîf* was slain by his son *Al Montaser*'s order, upon the very spot where *Khosrû Parvîz*, king of *Persia*, of the *Sassânian* race, had been massacred by the command of his son *Shirûyeh*. His principal physician, *Bakhtishua*, having amassed vast treasures,

[r] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 151, 152. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 261, 262. Aut. Tarikh Al Abbas, Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini, Jamal'oddin, Mohammed Al Awki, Mirkhond, Al Bakhteri, Eutych. ubi sup. p. 454, 455. [s] Al Bakhteri.

and

and *Al Motawakkel* being informed of this, the *Khalîf* once invited himſelf to an entertainment at his houſe; where being regaled with the utmoſt magnificence, he conceived an averſion to him, eſpecially as the immenſe wealth he had acquired by his maſter's favour and munificence, had rendered him inſolent and haughty. This induced that prince to ſend *Al Hoſein Ebn Al Mokhalled* to ſeal up the rooms where his treaſures and effects were depoſited, and ſoon after to deprive him of them. *Bakhtiſhua*'s diſgrace happened in the year of the *Hejra* 244, and his death in the year 256. Beſides *Bakhtiſhua*, another phyſician of conſiderable note, named *Abu Zeid Abd'alrahmân Honain Ebn Iſhak Al Ebadi*, a *Chriſtian* likewiſe, flouriſhed in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Motawakkel*. This phyſician was an *Ebadian*, that is, one of thoſe *Chriſtian Arabs* known by the title of *ſervants of* GOD, (for that the words *Al Ebad*, or *Al Ebadi*, import) who were collected from different tribes, and ſettled in the *Arabian*, *Babylonian*, or *Chaldæan Irâk*, not far from the cities of *Hira* and *Cûfa*. *Honain*, whoſe father *Iſhak* was an apothecary in the city of *Hira*, having in his youth an uncommon thirſt after knowledge, went to the ſchool of *Yahya Ebn Mâſwiya*, a celebrated phyſician of *Baghdâd*, for inſtruction; where he continued for ſome time. But meeting with contemptuous treatment from *Yahya*, on a certain occaſion, he retired into the territories of the *Greek* emperor; where he remained two years, and, during that term, not only learned the *Greek* language, but likewiſe made a fine collection of books, in order to forward his philoſophical ſtudies. After the expiration of that term, he took a journey into *Perſia*, from whence he went to *Baſra*, a city of the *Perſian Irâk*, where he attained to great ſkill in *Arabic*, under the direction of *Al Khalil Ebn Ahmed*, and then returned to *Baghdâd*. Here he ſoon grew ſo famous, that *Gabriel Ebn Bakhtiſhua*, univerſally eſteemed for his knowledge, declared to *Yuſef*, another phyſician, that he would excel in every branch of learning *Sergius* of *Raſo'lain*, or *Râs al'ain*, the prodigy of the age, who tranſlated many of the *Greek* authors into *Syriac*. His fame ſoon reaching the ears of *Al Motawakkel*, that prince ſent for him, and was ſo pleaſed with his converſation, that he determined to ſettle a penſion upon him. However, as he had reſided two years in the *Greek* emperor's dominions, ſuſpecting that he might be carrying on ſome ſiniſter deſigns for that monarch, he was afraid at firſt to truſt him; and therefore, in order to try him, after he had ordered him to be clothed in a ſumptuous robe, and aſſigned him an yearly appointment of 50,000 *dinârs*, he commanded him to prepare him a ſubtle poiſon, with which he might deſtroy one of his enemies in ſo private a manner that no one could ſuſpect him

to

to be the author of his death. This *Honain* refuſed to do; telling the *Khalif*, that he could only prepare medicines which would be beneficial to mankind; however, he aſſured that prince, in order to gain time, that he would ſtudy the nature of poiſons, if he could once underſtand that ſuch a ſtudy would prove agreeable to him. The *Khalif* not being able, either by promiſes or menaces to prevail upon him to do what he deſired, ſent him immediately to priſon, where he kept him confined a whole year; after the end of which, he ordered him to be brought before him, and threatened him with immediate death, if he perſiſted in his refuſal to obey his commands. But he ſtill remained inflexible; which ſo pleaſed *Al Motawakkel*, that he bad him be of good courage, and told him that he ſhould now repoſe the greateſt confidence in him. Afterwards demanding of him what could inſpire him with ſuch an amazing reſolution, when death did as it were ſtare him in the face? "Two things," replied *Honain*, "my "religion and my profeſſion. The former commands me to "do good to my enemies, and much more not to hurt my "friends. The latter was inſtituted ſolely for the benefit and "advantage of mankind; and, at my entrance upon it, I "took a ſolemn oath never to be concerned in any miſchievous "or lethiferous preparations." This anſwer charmed the *Khalif*, who made him a preſent of a rich veſt, together with a very conſiderable ſum of money; ſo that he ſeemed to be, for ſome time, one of the happieſt of mortals, as he enjoyed ſo large a ſhare of *Al Motawakkel*'s favour. However, one *Al Tifûri*, a *Chriſtian*, envying his happineſs, found means to accuſe him of profaneneſs and infidelity to the *Khalif*, and to excite the ſuperior clergy to proſecute him for the ſame; which terminated in an excommunication. This ſo affected *Honain*, that he died ſuddenly the following night; having, as was generally believed, put a period to his days by poiſon. He left behind him two ſons, *Dawd* and *Iſhak*; the latter of which applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and tranſlated ſome of the beſt *Greek* writers, and the former practiſed phyſic, after his father's death, amongſt the lower ſort of people. He had likewiſe a nephew, named *Hobaiſh Ebn Al Aſam*, who had an excellent talent at tranſlations; inſomuch that his *Arabic* verſion of ſeveral *Greek* and *Syriac* authors has been juſtly admired by many learned men of the eaſt, and by ſome of them even aſcribed to *Honain* himſelf. This celebrated phyſician, according to *Ebn Shohnah*, tranſlated into *Arabic Euclid*, and *Ptolemy*'s *Almageſt*, which were afterwards reviſed and corrected by *Thâbet Ebn Korra* the *Sabian*. His ſcholars are alſo ſaid to have tranſlated into the ſame language the greateſt part of the works of *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, and to have

have publiſhed this verſion under their maſter's name. Some writers likewiſe attribute to him and his ſon the *Arabic* tranſlation of *Ariſtotle*'s *Analytics*, and his treatiſe of *Interpretation*, intitled by the *Arabs Anolûthica* and *Bari Arminias*; which words are manifeſt corruptions of the *Greek*. In the *French* king's library, N° 866, ſeveral of *Honain*'s pieces, namely, the *Kefaiat Al Naik*, the *Hawaſhi Meſſail Al Hakim Honain*, &c. are ſtill preſerved. It appears from *Ebn Shohnah*, that *Honain*'s excommunication by the patriarch for his irreverence to certain ſacred pictures, or images, and conſequently his death, which immediately followed that tragical event, happened in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Mo'tamed*, and the year of the *Hejra* 260, or 261 [t].

THE reign of this *Khalif* is called by the oriental hiſtorians *the reign of prodigies*. The earthquakes in various parts of the world during that period, and the ſtrange effects produced by ſome of the dreadful concuſſions attending them, already taken notice of, have been conſidered by thoſe writers as part of them. Beſides which, many others, and particularly one in the country of *Kairwân*, the *Cyrenaica* of the antients, wherein the earth opened and ſwallowed up a vaſt number of people, as alſo another in *Yaman*, during which a large ploughed field was carried from the top of a hill to a place at a conſiderable diſtance from it, without loſing an inch of ground, have been mentioned by *Ebn Jûzi*. We are likewiſe informed by *Ebn Abu'l Weza*, that a ſtrange bird, bigger than a raven, perched upon a tree in the ſame country, and, in the hearing of many people, diſtinctly pronounced the following words, *Serve and fear* GOD, GOD, GOD, which it repeated forty times, and then flew away; but ſoon after returned, and pronounced the ſame words forty times more. The truth and reality of which facts were atteſted by 500 perſons who heard them, and were brought before *Al Motawakkel* for that purpoſe. *Ebn Al Jaka* alſo writes, that, in *Khûzeſtân*, a bird placed itſelf upon the bier of a man, whom ſome of his neighbours were carrying to his grave, and cried out in the language of that province, ALMIGHTY GOD *have mercy upon this dead perſon, and all that aſſiſt in his interment.* The water of the *Tigris* likewiſe at *Baghdâd*, once in this prince's reign, continued for three days together as yellow as melted gold, and then aſſumed the colour of blood, which remained a much longer time. At *Sowida*, a ſmall town, in *Egypt*, it hailed ſtones of a monſtrous ſize, every one of which weighed ten *Arab* pounds. Nor was the nature of theſe ſtones

Many prodigies in this prince's reign.

[t] AL MASUDI, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 262—267. EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient art. *Honain*, p. 456, et art. *Ebadi*, p. 307.

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less wonderful than their size. For, an *Arab* having taken one of them, in order to make a fire with it in his tent, so violent a flame immediately issued out of it, that the whole tent, and every thing combustible in it, were consumed in an instant. Some of these stones are said to have been preserved at *Kairo*, or *Al Kahirah*, and *Betlis* in *Georgia*, a long time after. A *Persian* author relates, that two men in *Egypt* having been struck down to the ground by lightning, about the same time, they both continued black from head to foot all the remaining part of their lives, without having received any other damage therefrom [u].

He issued two edicts against the Christians.

THIS *Khalif* issued at least two edicts against the *Christians* settled in the *Moslem* empire, as has been already observed; one of which has been considered as the effect of his resentment against *Bakhtishua*, his physician, who professed the *Christian* religion, by some of the eastern writers; though he seems to have persecuted the followers and descendants of *Ali* with a much greater degree of violence. In his reign, *Theophilus*, the *Greek* emperor, ordered all the images of saints in the churches to be destroyed; which induced *Sophronius*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, and one *Abu Korra*, an *Arab*, to write in defence of image-worship; though others, with an invincible strength of reasoning, maintained the contrary opinion. The former of these learned men sent a letter to the emperor, containing the reasons that obliged him to disapprove of his conduct in the aforesaid particular; which, according to some, had such an effect upon that prince, that he immediately revoked his former edict. *Sophronius* died of a dropsy, in the 233d year of the *Hejra*, and was succeeded by one *Michael*, a native of *Alexandria*, who sat in the patriarchal see there, according to *Eutychius*, about twenty-four years. The same author relates, that the emperor had a distaste given him to images by the pious fraud of a priest, who, by means of a leaden tube, made the people believe, that the breasts of an image of the virgin *Mary* dropped milk; which pretended miracle procured from the populace an uncommon degree of reverence for that image, and no small accession of wealth to the priest himself: but the imposture being detected, the emperor was so incensed, that he commanded him to be beheaded, and forbad his subjects to worship either the images or pictures of saints; which, for some time, he considered as downright idolatry. To which we may add, that this event seems to have preceded a few years the *Khalif*'s first edict

[u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, &c. ubi sup. EBN JUZI, GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 162—164. EBN ABU'L WEZA, EBN AL JALA, AHMED EBN MOHAMMED AED'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI.

against

againſt the *Chriſtians*; and that not long after the emperor had aboliſhed the worſhip of images, he relapſed into that ſpecies of idolatry. This, therefore, being ſo extremely repugnant to the turn and genius of the *Mohammedans*, probably excited the *Khalif* to diſcover an ill diſpoſition to the *Chriſtians* in the year of the *Hejra* 235. For, the diſgrace of *Bakhtiſhua* happened, if we will believe *Abu'l-Faraj*, in the year of the *Hejra* 244; and therefore could not occaſion the publication of the aforeſaid edict, notwithſtanding what may ſeem to be inſinuated to the contrary by *Eutychius*, who, perhaps, induſtriouſly concealed the true cauſe of that affair [w].

Deſcription of Al Motawakkel's *perſon, and character.*

WITH regard to *Al Motawakkel*'s perſon, he was tall, of a thin habit of body, and had a ſwarthy complexion. He had, however, a handſome face, in which a reddiſh and yellowiſh hue appeared, a middling beard, and eyes of a larger ſize. As to his diſpoſition, he was, if we may believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, extremely affable, munificent, and of great condeſcenſion. He was alſo a vaſt encourager of learned men, inſomuch that prodigious numbers of them reſorted to his court. In this, he followed the example of his great predeceſſor *Al Mamûn*, of whoſe uncommon paſſion for the ſciences, particularly geometry and aſtronomy, the following remarkable inſtance has been handed down to us by *Cedrenus*. A young *Greek* having been taken priſoner by the *Arabs*, and brought by the officer whoſe ſlave he was into the *Khalif*'s preſence, that prince's geometricians, who likewiſe then appeared, immediately entered into a conference with him; but the youth proving in knowledge infinitely ſuperior to them, they aſked him whether there were any more geometricians at *Byzantium* as good as himſelf? To which he anſwered, that there were many there who vaſtly excelled him, and particularly his maſter *Leo*, then in poor circumſtances, who applied himſelf ſolely to the ſtudy of the ſciences. The *Khalif*, extremely deſirous of having ſo celebrated a mathematician at his court, gave the *Greek* his liberty, and ſent him with a letter to *Leo*, then at *Conſtantinople*, or *Byzantium*, to invite him into his dominions; offering at the ſame time to load him with preſents, and ſettle what penſion he pleaſed upon him, if he would undertake to inſtruct his ſubjects in thoſe ſciences, in which he ſo eminently excelled. This letter *Leo* ſhewed to *Theoctiſtus*; and he immediately communicated the contents of it to *Theophilus*, who then ſat upon the imperial throne. The emperor, being by this means made acquainted with *Leo*'s uncommon merit, conſtituted him profeſſor of thoſe branches of literature he

[w] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motawakkel.* p. 640. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 262, 263 EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p 448—453. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 152, 153.

was maſter of, and converted the church of the *forty martyrs* into a ſchool, or gymnaſium, where he exerciſed the great talents he was maſter of for the public good. After this, *Al Mamún* ſent him a conſiderable number of geometrical and aſtronomical problems, beſides ſeveral relative to other ſciences, of all which he ſoon received from him a moſt accurate and ſatisfactory ſolution. This ſo raiſed the advantageous idea the *Khalif* had already formed to himſelf of *Leo*'s tranſcendent merit, that he ſent an embaſſador to the imperial court, to deſire the emperor to permit that learned man to reſide a ſhort time with him. For which favour the embaſſador offered *Theophilus*, in his maſter's name, a large ſum of money, and to enter into a laſting treaty of peace and alliance with him. But the emperor, being unwilling that the *Arabs* ſhould make a figure in the learned world, refuſed to comply with *Al Mamún*'s requeſt, and created *Leo* biſhop of *Theſſalonica*. However, this ſufficiently demonſtrates that *Khalif*'s thirſt after knowledge, and confirms the character given of this prince, at leaſt in the particular here inſiſted upon, by the oriental hiſtorians [x].

Some farther particulars relating to him.

THE *Khalif Al Motawakkel* reigned fourteen years and ſeven months, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, or fourteen years, nine months, and nine days, if we will believe *Eutychius*, or, laſtly, fourteen years, ten months, and three days, if we chuſe to admit what has been advanced by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. According to the firſt and laſt of theſe authors, he was forty years of age at the time of his death; but *Eutychius* makes him to have been forty-four years old when that tragical event happened. In the tenth year of his *Khalifat*, he made *Sálmún Ebn Zarkún* patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, who ſat in that ſee about five years. The firſt of his *Viſirs* was *Mohammed Ebn Abd'almálec Al Ziyát*; after whoſe death, *Mohammed Ebn Al Fadl Al Jorjáni* was called to that high poſt. And, laſtly, *Al Jorjáni* was ſucceeded by *Abd'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khákán*, who, as ſome writers will have it, was the *Khalif*'s principal ſecretary of ſtate. The firſt employed by this prince in the capacity of judge was *Yahya Ebn Áčlem*, whom he turned out of his office, and deprived him of all the money he had therein acquired, which amounted to the ſum of 100,000 *dinárs*. After *Yahya*'s diſgrace, he advanced to that honourable employment *Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Al Barhami*, and then *Jaafar Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar Al Háſhemi*. He removed from the exalted poſt that had been conferred upon him *Ahmed Ebn Dawd*, who had been ſo inſtrumental in his elevation to the

[x] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 151. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 454, 455. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 247. GEORG. CEDREN. hiſtoriar. compend. p. 548—550.

Khalifat. The first captain of his guards was *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim*, and the second *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, who was sent for out of *Khoraſân*. His first chamberlain was *Wasif*, the *Turk*, his second *Sa'id Ebn Sâleh*, and his third *Bagâ*, or *Bogâ*, the *Turk*. The first day of his reign was *Thurſday*, and the laſt *Wedneſday*. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *In* GOD *is my truſt*. It has been already obſerved, that *Fatah Ebn Khâkân*, his principal favourite, was aſſaſſinated with him [y].

SECT. XXXII.

IT appears from what has been related above, that the night *Al Motawakkel* was maſſacred the aſſaſſins ſaluted his ſon *Mohammed Abu Jaafar Al Montaſer*, or, as he is commonly called, *Al Montaſer Billah*, *Khalif*. The next morning the new emperor of the faithful aſſembled all the great officers of the court, and the principal inhabitants of the city of *Al Jaafarîa*, built by the late *Khalif*, who had been murdered there, and ordered *Ahmed Ebn Al Khaſib* to read to them a declaration he had cauſed to be drawn up, importing that he had no hand in his father's death, but that this ought to be imputed to his favourite *Fatah Ebn Khâkân*, whom he had ordered to be cut to pieces for being guilty of ſo black a crime. After which, he was inaugurated, and all the perſons of diſtinction preſent took the oath of allegiance to him. His mother *Habaſha*, one of *Al Motawakkel*'s concubines, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was of *Greek* extraction. Soon after his inauguration, he demoliſhed the palace *Al Jaafarîa*, erected by his father, and retired into *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, where he reſided during the remainder of his ſhort reign. Some of the *Moſlem* writers pretend, that *Al Montaſer*, not long after his acceſſion, looking upon a piece of tapeſtry curiouſly wrought, diſcovered thereon a perſon on horſeback with a diadem about his head, and round it a *Perſic* inſcription, which he commanded a *Perſian* then belonging to his court to explain. The *Perſian*, continue theſe authors, would willingly have evaded obeying the *Khalif*'s command; but finding this impracticable, he told *Al Montaſer*, that the horſeman he ſaw was *Shirûyeh*, the ſon of *Khoſrû Parvîz*, who ſlew his father; and that the inſcription was to the following effect: *I am* Shirûyeh, *the ſon of* Khoſrû Parvîz, *who ſlew my father, and reigned only ſix months*. *Al Montaſer* no ſooner heard theſe words than he changed countenance; conſidering the whole affair as ominous, and amounting to a prediction that his reign ſhould not exceed that term. Which prediction, if we will believe the

Al Montaſer *ſaluted* Khalif.

[y] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 261. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 151. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 247. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 641, 642.

Arab hiſtorians, met with a full and abſolute completion. *Abu Othmân Beer Ebn Mohammed Al Mazeni*, a celebrated grammarian, famed for his ſkill in the *Arabic* tongue, died the preſent year. We muſt not forget to remark, that *Al Mondar*, the ſon of *Mohammed*, *Khalif* of *Spain*, invaded the province of *Alava*, where he overthrew the *Chriſtian* forces, and brought a great number of heads with him to *Corduba*; and that *Al Abbâs*, the ſecond *Aglabite Emir* of *Sicily*, who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs*, elected by the people *Emir*, till the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s pleaſure was known, died in the year of the *Hejra* 247 [z].

He excludes his brothers from the ſucceſſion.

THE next year, being the 248th of the *Moſlem* æra, beginning *March* 7th, 862, *Bogâ Al Kabir*, *Boga Al Saghir*, *Bagher*, or *Bager*, *Waſif*, and the other officers of the *Turkiſh* guards, concerned in the aſſaſſination of *Al Motawakkel*, held a council amongſt themſelves, and, in order to avoid being brought to condign puniſhment for the perpetration of ſo horrid a crime, reſolved to oblige the new *Khalif* to exclude his brothers *Al Mo'taz*, or rather *Al Mo'tazz*, and *Al Mowaiad* from the ſucceſſion; being convinced that either of thoſe princes would take vengeance of them for his father's death, if ever he ſhould aſcend the *Moſlem* throne. But the *Khalif*'s brothers, having been apprized of the violence with which they were threatened, went of their own accord to *Al Montaſer*, and reſigned with a good grace their right to the crown after his deceaſe. This is the account of the affair, at preſent in view, handed down to us by ſome of the *Perſian* hiſtorians; tho' the *Arab* writers repreſent this reſignation, or abdication, as the effect of compulſion. Be that as it will, the *Khalif* immediately notified this event to *Mohammed Ebn Al'd'allah Ebn Thâher Ebn Hoſein*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*; intimating at the ſame time, that the two princes themſelves deſired to be permitted always to live a private life, as their abilities were by no means equal to the government of ſo large and extenſive an empire. Notwithſtanding which, he conſidered the *Turkiſh* officers, who had imbrued their hands in his father's blood, according to ſome of the *Arab* writers, as the principal authors of this meaſure; and even told his brothers themſelves, in the very preſence of thoſe officers, that they had impelled him to it. After which, he diſpatched couriers with advice of what had happened to all the governors of provinces in the empire. Some hiſtorians

[z] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 151, 153, 154. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 267. EUTYCH ubi ſup. p. 456, 457 D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Montaſſer*, p. 622. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hiſt. Arab. c. xxvii. p. 24. Excerpt. ex chronol. univerſ. ISM. ABULFED. ex cod. Arab. MS. Biblioth. Divi Laurent. Eſcurial. Vide etiam JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup. p. 18.

report,

report, that the rich tapeſtry above-mentioned, which threw *Al Montaſer* into ſuch a conſternation, was found in his father's wardrobe, and had formerly belonged to the antient kings of *Perſia* [a].

Al Montaſer *dies.*

Al Montaser, not long after his elevation to the *Khalifat*, ſaw his father *Al Motawakkel* in a dream, who reproached him with his parricide, and told him, that he ſhould not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedneſs, in the following terms: "*Mohammed*, thou haſt killed me, thou haſt oppreſſed "me, thou haſt deprived me of the *Khalifat*, which thou "ſhalt in a ſhort time leave, and then enter into eternal fire." This dream ſo frighted the *Khalif*, that he immediately awaked in the utmoſt terror, burſt out into tears, and made the palace ring with his lamentations. This ſoon brought to him *Abd'allah Ebn Amru*, to whom he related his frightful dream; who told him, that theſe nocturnal horrors were only the effects of his waking thoughts, and bad him ſlight them as much as poſſible. In order to which, he farther adviſed him to take a chearful glaſs, and to drive away all penſive thoughts by a round of his favourite diverſions; which he accordingly for ſome time attempted to do. But notwithſtanding this, he gradually fell into a deep melancholy, which at laſt put a period to his days; tho' he died of a ſquinancy on *Sunday* the fifth of the latter *Rabi*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, after he had been ill only three days. Some authors pretend, that he was carried off by poiſon; and others, by an ulcer in his head, cauſed by dropping ſome oil into one of his ears. He expired on the 25th day of the former *Rabi*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. Another writer aſſures us, that he died of a fever; of which when his phyſician ſaid he could eaſily cure him, he replied, *I greatly fear this will be the laſt ſickneſs I ſhall ever have, as I ſaw a perſon in a dream laſt night, who declared to me that I ſhould die in the twenty-fifth year of my age.* This perſon, as he found afterwards, was his father, whoſe nocturnal apparition to him in a dream has been already taken notice of. The death of this *Khalif* happened at *Sarramanraia*, where, from the ſixth day of his ſhort reign, he choſe to reſide [b].

A remarkable ſtory of him.

Mirkhond writes, that this *Khalif* was extremely liberal to his friends; of which he gives us the following ſingular inſtance. One of his officers being returned from *Egypt*, where

[a] D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 154. Greg. Abu'l-Farai, ubi ſup. p. 267. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 456, 457. [b] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 154, 155. D'Herb. Bibl. orient. ubi ſup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, et Eutych. ubi ſup. Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Abd'aljaafar Al Kazwini, Khondemir.

he had acquitted himself perfectly well in an office he was intrusted with, and entertaining his master with an account of the various adventures he had met with in that country, amongst other things told him, that he had brought with him from thence a wounded heart, because he could not purchase, for want of money, a female slave of exquisite beauty and a most charming voice. The *Khalif* heard him without making any reply; but being determined to gratify him, he gave orders privately to the governor of *Egypt* to buy that slave, and send her to *Samarra* as soon as possible. Upon her arrival there, she was immediately conducted to the palace; whither the *Khalif* invited the officer a few days after, in order to rally him upon his amours. He no sooner appeared in his master's presence, than he heard the voice of his beloved slave in the next room; which put him instantly out of countenance. The *Khalif* asked him the reason of his confusion, and whether he knew the voice he heard? Upon which, he frankly owned, that he took it to be the voice of the beautiful slave he had formerly mentioned to him. *Al Montaser* then demanded of him, whether he still preserved his affection for her? To which he answered, that "as he could not entertain the least hopes of ever possessing her, he ought to lay "aside his passion for her, especially as she was become his "master's property." The *Khalif* then very generously said to him, "I can assure you with an oath, that I have purchased "this beautiful slave in *Egypt* for no other person than your-"self, and that I have only cast one glance at her since her ar-"rival in the palace." Which words were no sooner out of his mouth, than he commanded her to be put into the officer's hands, adorned with all those jewels he had given her, in order to make a more valuable present to him [c].

A pleasant occurrence in his reign.

It was in this *Khalif*'s reign, that an *Arab*, seated on a little hill in the neighbourhood of *Mecca*, held unlawful assemblies at his house, in order to debauch the youth of both sexes, whom he suffered to mix together promiscuously there, in direct opposition to the *Mohammedan* laws. This man was brought before the judge of *Mecca*, who, after he had reproached him with his unparalleled impudence in daring to be guilty of such lewdness so near the holy place, began immediately to draw up his process; not doubting in the least of the truth of a fact which was become so notorious to all the people of the territory of *Mecca*. But as none of his accomplices would appear against him, the judge found himself greatly embarrassed for want of evidence. However, he at last hit upon an expedient, which he thought would infallibly convict him; and that was to try whether any of those public beasts made use of by the people who set out every day from

[c] Mirkhond.

one

one particular place to that part of the mountain where this *Arab* lived, would of themſelves find the way to his houſe. The experiment was made on ſome aſſes, the beaſts principally uſed in this country, that went directly of their own accord to the ſpot inhabited by the *Arab*, tho' this was of itſelf extremely difficult to be diſcovered. The judge having now, as he imagined, full proof of his guilt, ſent for the executioner to chaſtiſe him, who immediately appeared with the whips, or ſcourges, in his hand. The *Arab*, who did not want wit, at the ſight of him, bethought himſelf of a pleaſant ſort of fineſſe, in order to avoid the chaſtiſement with which he was threatened. Turning himſelf then to the judge, he ſaid, *When you have flay'd me alive with your whips, you will have puniſhed only one guilty perſon; but, by ſuch an action, you will reflect an eternal ignominy upon the whole* Arab *nation. For it will be ever ſaid of them hereafter, that, when the evidence of men could not be produced, they admitted that of aſſes.* The company were ſo pleaſed with the humour of the man, that it was the opinion of every one preſent that he ought to be pardoned; ſo that he was inſtantly diſmiſſed, without having any puniſhment at all inflicted upon him [d].

Deſcription of his perſon, and character.

WITH regard to his perſon, *Al Montaſer* was of a middle ſtature, and had very large black eyes. He had alſo an aquiline noſe, a majeſtic mien, a large beard, was extremely fat, and of a fair complexion. As to his diſpoſition, he is reported to have been naturally brave, prudent, and juſt, but too great a lover of money. Some of the *Arab* writers obſerve, that he had a taſte for poetry, and made tolerable good verſes, a ſpecimen of which has been preſerved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*. He reigned only ſix months, and had ſcarce completed the 25th year of his age, tho' *Eutychius* ſuppoſes him to have been three years older, at the time of his death. Not only the lower ſort of people, but even the grandees themſelves, gave out publicly, from his firſt advancement to the *Moſlem* throne, that he would not reign longer than ſix months, the time that *Shirûyeh*, the ſon of *Khoſrû Parvîz*, ſurvived his father; which renders it probable that he was poiſoned, as we find aſſerted by ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians. He favoured the houſe of *Ali*, and permitted the *Shiites* to viſit *Al Hoſein*'s tomb. His *Viſir* was *Ahmed Ebn Al Khaſib*, the captain of his guards *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, his judge *Jaafar Al Abbâſi*, and his firſt chamberlain *Abu Nâſer*, the *Turk*. The firſt day of his reign was either *Wedneſday* or *Thurſday*, and the laſt *Saturday*. The inſcription of his ſeal was, *The perſon who endeavours to avoid fear neceſſarily takes it to him.* He died, and was interred, at

[d] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup. p. 622, 623.

Sarra Manray, and had a more beautiful sepulchre, erected for him by his mother, than even the most famed and eminent of his predecessors [e].

SECT. XXXIII.

He is succeeded by Al Mosta'in.

THE day after *Al Montaser*'s death, the two *Boga's*, father and son, *Atâmesh*, and the other principal *Turkish* officers, who had been concerned in the murder of *Al Motawakkel*, assembled in that part of the metropolis denominated *Al Harûniâ*, and, after coming to a resolution never to vest with the imperial dignity any of that prince's sons, lest they should be called to an account for their former villainy, unanimously elevated to the *Khalifat Ahmed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Mo'tasem*, who was surnamed *Al Mosta'in*, or *Al Mosta'in Bi'llah*. This step was taken apparently to the prejudice of *Al Mo'tazz*, second son to the *Khalif Al Motawakkel*, to whom the right of succession most evidently appertained. But the *Turkish* faction having acquired a great degree of power, by the credit which *Boga Al Kabir*, *Boga Al Saghir*, *Wasif*, *Bagher*, or *Bager*, and their other chiefs, had obtained in all the provinces, they carried all before them; insomuch that *Al Mo'tazz*'s party was intirely borne down, and *Al Mosta'in*, whose mother *Mahârif*, or, as others call her, *Makhârek*, had served his father in the capacity of concubine, soon found himself in peaceable possession of the empire, and was universally acknowleged the sole, true, and lawful *Khalif* [f].

An ineffectual attempt made by Al Mo'tazz's *friends.*

THE election of the new *Khalif* happened on *Monday* the 6th day of the latter *Rabi*, in the year of the *Hejra* 248; he being then, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, about 28 years of age, and receiving at the same time from the electors the surname of *Al-Mosta'in Bi'llah*. As soon as the election was over, he appointed *Atâmesh* his *Visir*, or *Wazîr*, and *Ahmed Ebn Al Khasîb* his secretary of state. The day following, he shewed himself to the people, in his imperial robes, who were ranged in two lines to receive him. But the *Khalif* no sooner appeared, than there suddenly started up a body of 50 horse and 1000 foot, with their scymitars drawn in their hands, crying out with all their might, *Long live* Al Mo'tazz! upon which a very smart conflict ensued. But *Al Mo'tazz*'s friends being at last defeated, and for the most part cut to pieces, *Al Mosta'in* was fixed upon the *Moslem* throne. That prince no sooner found himself without a competitor, than he sent to prison *Al*

[e] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 155. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, Eutych. et Abulfed. ubi sup. D'Herb. ubi sup.

[f] Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 155, 156. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 268. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 456—459.

Mo'-

Mo'tazz and *Al Mowaiad*, the *Khalif Al Motawakkel*'s sons. About this time, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, or *Al Lit*, moved out of *Sejestân* towards *Herât*, with a considerable body of troops; and the people of *Hems* drove the *Khalif*'s governor out of the town. The present year likewise, according to *Abulfeda*, *Bogâ Al Kabîr*, and *Mohammed Ebn Al Ola Al Hamadani*, departed this life. We must not forget to observe, that the citizens of *Merida*, the antient *Emerita*, rebelled also this year against *Mohammed*, the *Khalif* of *Spain*; who marched against them with a powerful army, obliged them to surrender at discretion, destroyed their bridge, dismantled their city, forced them to send a number of hostages to *Corduba*, and, in order the more effectually to keep them in their duty, left amongst them a detachment of his troops g.

The Turkish *troops in the* Khalif's *service mutiny.*

The following year, being the 249th of the *Hejra*, commencing *February* 24th, 863, the *Greeks* overthrew the *Arabs* at *Marj Al Askaf*, and put *Omar Ebn Abd'allah Al Aktah*, their general, together with a great number of his men, to the sword; which enabled them to make incursions into the *Moslem* territories, as far as the borders of *Mesopotamia*. The *Turkish* troops also in the *Khalif*'s service mutinied, and cut to pieces *Atâmesh*, *Al Mosta'in*'s *Visir*, and *Seja' Ebn Al Hâtem*, another person of distinction belonging to the court. They also plundered *Atâmesh*'s house, and carried off with them from thence an immense treasure. To these outrages they were excited by *Wasif* and *Bogâ*, their leaders, who were dissatisfied with *Atâmesh*'s conduct; he having, at least as they pretended, set the *Khalif* against them, and excluded them from a share in the administration. These enormities occasioned a commotion at *Baghdâd*, where the populace assembled in great numbers, burnt one of the bridges over the *Tigris*, and demolished the other, opened all the prisons in that city, pillaged the houses of the wealthiest inhabitants, and distributed the money that fell into their hands on this occasion amongst the forces posted, for the defence of the frontiers, at a considerable distance from the town. The troops likewise in garison at *Baghdâd*, inraged at the *Turkish* insolence, about the same time committed great disorders h.

A rebellion breaks out at Cûfa.

In the 250th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 13th, 864, *Yahya Ebn Omar Ebn Yahya*, of the house of *Ali*, assembled a body of troops at *Cûfa*, and declared his intention to dethrone *Al Mosta'in*. Upon advice of this revolt, the *Khalif* sent *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Tha'her Ebn Al Hosein*

g Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, et Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Roderic. Toletan. ubi sup.

h Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 268. Abulfed. ubi sup.

with

with an army againſt *Yahya*; who, coming up with him not far from *Cúfa*, attacked him with ſuch bravery, that he put his forces to flight. *Yahya* himſelf was killed in the action, and his head ſent by *Mohammed* to *Al Moſta'in*, who cauſed it to be expoſed to the view of the people in one of the moſt public places of *Sarra Manray*. This defeat, and the death of *Yahya*, extinguiſhed the rebellion that had broke out in the *Arabian Irâk*. The troubles, however, ſtill continued at *Baghdâd*[i].

Another rebellion in Tabreſtân.

SOME of the authors followed by M. *D'Herbelot* relate, that one *Haſan Ebn Yezid*, another chief of the houſe of *Ali*, rebelled againſt the *Khalif*, and ſeized upon the province of *Tabreſtân*, the ſame year. This uſurper, according to thoſe writers, remained maſter of that province nineteen whole years, and left it to his brother *Mohammed Kaſem*, or *Kaſſem*, who ſucceeded him, and kept poſſeſſion of it eighteen years, without any moleſtation from the *Khalifs*. This uſurper is called *Al Haſan Ebn Zeid Ebn Mohammed Ebn Iſmael*, by *Abulfeda* and *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; the former of which writers places his defection in the 250th, and the latter in the 251ſt, year of the *Moſlem* æra. About this time, the people of *Hems* cut *Al Fadl Ebn Karân*, the *Khâlif*'s governor of that city, to pieces; but they were defeated by *Mûſa Ebn Boga Al Kabîr*, his ſucceſſor, who put a vaſt number of them to the ſword, and laid their city in aſhes. The preceding year, died *Ali Ebn Al Jahm*, a poet of conſiderable note; as did alſo about this time, *Al Khâli*, another of equal merit. The *Moſlems* reduced the city of *Neetum*, the *Noto* of the moderns, called by the *Arabs Natis*, in *Sicily* the preſent year [k].

Al Moſta'in *flies to* Baghdâd.

IN the year of the *Hejra* 251, the firſt day of which was coincident with *February* 2d, 865, the *Turks*, who had made themſelves maſters of all the forces of the empire, and by that means intirely influenced the *Khalif*'s councils, were divided into two powerful factions. *Bagher*, or *Bager*, one of their leaders, having had ſome diſpute with *Wasîf*, another of them, applied to the *Khalif* for juſtice; who was ſo far from complying with his requeſt, that he openly favoured his antagoniſt. This ſo exaſperated *Bagher*, that he aſſembled his friends, with a reſolution to aſſaſſinate *Wasîf*, and depoſe *Al Moſta'in*, in order to elevate in his place another *Khalif* that ſhould be more favourable to him. But this conſpiracy being diſcovered, the *Khalif* cauſed *Bagher* to be arreſted in the imperial palace; of which the *Turks* being apprized, they immediately took up arms, under the pretext of delivering their

[i] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p 631. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup.

[k] D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. ABULFED. ubi ſup. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. apud JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi ſup. p. 6. PHIL. CLUVER. Sicil. antiq. lib. ii. p. 357.

gene-

general out of his enemies hands. This obliged *Al Moſta'in* to hold an extraordinary council, at which aſſiſted *Wasîf* and *Bogâ*, two of the other *Turkiſh* commanders; who, being intereſted in *Bagher*'s deſtruction, adviſed the *Khalîf* to put him to death. This advice was readily liſtened to, *Al Moſta'in* thinking by that execution to appeaſe the ſeditious ſpirit of the *Turkiſh* ſoldiery. But it produced a quite contrary effect. For the *Turks*, being rendered more furious by the death of their chief, pillaged the city of *Sarra Manray*, and threatened to ſet fire to the palace, if *Wasîf* and *Bogâ*, who had been the authors of their general's death, were not immediately delivered into their hands. Thoſe officers ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſuch an extremity, could find no other expedient at that critical juncture, to avoid the fury of their own troops, than to carry off their maſter with them to *Baghdâd*; which they accordingly did. The mutineers being informed of what had happened, repented of the violence they had committed, and ſent deputies after *Al Moſta'in* to intreat him to return to his capital. But *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*, being extremely pleaſed that he had got the *Khalîf* in his hands, and hating the *Turks*, as did alſo both the gariſon and people of *Baghdâd*, received them very ill, and obliged them to return to *Sarra Manray* without having ſeen the *Khalîf*. This ſo irritated the *Turks*, that they had again recourſe to arms, by their own proper authority depoſed *Al Moſta'in*, and placed *Al Mo'tazz*, *Al Montaſer*'s brother, whom they took out of priſon for that purpoſe, upon the *Moſlem* throne. Some of the *Arab* authors call *Bagher Yaaz*, and inform us, that he was maſſacred by *Wasîf*, *Bogâ*, and other perſons of diſtinction, becauſe he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the imperial palace with a deſign to aſſaſſinate both them and *Al Moſta'in*. This year the *Chriſtians* worſted the *Moſlems* in an action by ſea, off of *Syracuſe*, and took four of their ſhips. It was with great difficulty that the *Khalif Al Moſta'in* made his eſcape in a ſmall veſſel from *Sarra Manray*, ſeated on the eaſtern bank of the *Tigris*, to *Baghdâd* [1].

Al Moſta'in's abdication, and death.

THE *Khalif Al Mo'tazz*, after he had ſettled himſelf upon the *Moſlem* throne, ſent his brother *Ahmed Ebn Mottawakkel* with an army to lay ſiege to *Baghdâd*. *Ahmed* began his march from *Samarra*, or *Sarra Manray*, on the 23d of the month *Al Moharram*, and, upon his arrival at *Baghdâd*, beſieged the place in form. His army, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, was not extremely numerous, the principal part of it conſiſting of no more than 5000 *Turkiſh* and *Faraonian*, or *Egyptian*

[1] KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABARI AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 156, 157. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 458——461. Chronic. Sicul. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. et CARUS. ubi ſup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 230, 231.

tian horſe, and 2000 *Magrebians*, or weſtern *Arabs*; though, if we will believe *Abu'lfeda*, it amounted to 50,000 men. *Al Moſta'in* for ſome time defended himſelf with great bravery, made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies on the beſiegers, and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of their men. Nay, he would, in all probability, have forced *Ahmed* to abandon the ſiege, had he not been betrayed by thoſe in whom he was obliged the moſt to confide. For, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, the commandant of *Baghdâd*, in order to provide for his own ſecurity, thought fit to propoſe an accommodation to *Ahmed*; which was at laſt concluded upon the following terms, *viz.* that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* ſhould remain in peaceable poſſeſſion of his government; and that *Al Moſta'in*, on condition his life was granted him, ſhould abdicate the *Khalifat*. Some of the *Arab* hiſtorians relate, that *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* being apprized, that *Al Moſta'in* had engaged *Bogâ* and *Waſif* to aſſaſſinate him, came to an immediate reſolution to deſert the party of that prince. Be that, however, as it will, as ſoon as *Al Mo'tazz* had ſigned and ratified the aforeſaid treaty, *Al Moſta'in* formally renounced all pretenſions to the *Khalifat*, and contented himſelf with living a private life in the magnificent palace of *Haſan Ebn Sohal* at *Baghdâd*, which was aſſigned him for his reſidence. This happened in the year of the *Hejra* 252. He was afterwards removed to *Al Haſan Ebn Waheb*'s palace at *Baſra*, and there ſtraitly confined. From thence he was ſent to *Wâſet*, and committed to the cuſtody of *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*; who, as ſome will have it, murdered him by the *Khalif*'s command, in the month of *Shawâl*, the ſame year. Others affirm, that *Sa'id*, *Al Mo'tazz*'s principal chamberlain, diſpatched him at *Kâdesia*, cut off his head, and immediately ſent it as an agreeable preſent to his maſter. And, laſtly, others believe that he was cut off by *Sa'id*, *Al Mo'tazz*'s *Viſir*, ſoon after his abdication, in the imperial city of *Sarra Manray*. Thoſe who make *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn* his executioner relate, that his head was tranſmitted to the *Khalif* at *Sarra Manray*; and that when the meſſenger appeared with it in that prince's preſence, he was playing at cheſs, and would not vouchſafe to look at it till he had finiſhed his game; after which, he for ſome time beheld it with great pleaſure, and then ordered it to be buried. *Al Moſta'in* reigned three years, nine months, and a few days, if we will believe the *Arab* hiſtorians; tho' his reign has likewiſe been extended by *Khondemir* to the length of almoſt four complete years. With regard to his perſon, *Al Moſta'in* was fat, of a comely aſpect, and had a black beard. As to his diſpoſition, he was mild, indolent, extremely fearful, and intirely governed by the people

people about him. His firſt *Viſir* was *Atâmeſh*, and his ſecretary of ſtate *Ahmed Ebn Al Khasîb*. His favourites *Wasîf* and *Bogâ*, who at laſt deſerted him, had an uncommon aſcendant over him. His general *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* abandoned his intereſts in the manner already related. His judges *Ahmed Ebn Abu'l Shawârib Al Amawi* and *Mohammed Ebn Wazîr Al Wâſeti* made no very conſiderable figure. In the laſt year of his reign, one *Sanitius* is ſaid to have been advanced to the patriarchate of *Alexandria*, and to have preſided over the church there eleven years. In the firſt year of his *Khalifat*, *Theodorus*, called by the *Arabs Al Moklâti*, was alſo conſtituted patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and ſat in that ſee nineteen years. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Al Moſta'in*'s abdication was atteſted by his own judges, and all the principal citizens of *Baghdâd* [m].

THE ſame year, that is, the 252d of the *Hejra*, *Al Haſan Ebn Zeid Ebn Mohammed Ebn Iſmael*, of the poſterity of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, rebelled againſt the *Khalif* in *Tabreſtân*, and made himſelf maſter of that province. Several ſmart actions happened between him and *Solimân Ebn Abd'allah*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah*, *Tdaher*'s lieutenant there. But at laſt *Solimân* intirely defeated him, put a vaſt number of his followers to the ſword, and obliged him to fly with great precipitation into *Deylam* [n]. *A rebellion in* Tabreſtân.

NOT long after, another pretender, an *Arab* of *Al Thalabiya*, named *Al Haſan Ebn Ahmed Ebn Iſmael Ebn Ibrahim*, one of *Ali*'s deſcendants, ſet up for himſelf in *Deylam*, routed the forces ſent againſt him, and poſſeſſed himſelf of their camp. Not content with this, he penetrated to *Medina*, drove the governor out of the town, and obliged the inhabitants to open their gates to him. From *Medina* he marched at the head of his troops to *Mecca*, and beſieged that city two months; but finding himſelf not able to carry the place, he retired to *Jodda*, cut off all communication between the *Meccans* and that port, and ſo infeſted the roads that it was not ſafe to perform the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. However, he ſoon returned thither, maſſacred great numbers of the citizens who were aſſembled on mount *Arafat*, on the ninth of *Dhu'lhajja*, in order to perform their devotions there, and forced many others, after he had plundered them, to abandon the place before they had gone through the preſcribed ceremonies. But death ſoon put an end to all his towering projects, and diſperſed his numerous followers in ſuch a manner, that not the fainteſt traces of this rebellion ever afterwards appeared [o]. *Another in* Deylam *and* Arabia.

SECT.

[m] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 157, 158, 159. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi ſup. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 631, 632. [n] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 157. [o] ABU JAAFAR

SECT. XXXIV.

Al Mo'tazz *elected* Khalif.

UPON the abdication of *Al Mosta'in*, *Mohammed Abu Abdallah Al Mo'tazz Ebn Al Motawakkel* was unanimously acknowledged emperor of the *Moslems*, on the fourth of *Al Moharram*, in the year of the *Hejra* 252; both the *Turks* and the *Arabs*, without the least scruple, recognizing his authority. His mother's name was *Fatiha*. When he was fixed upon the throne, without any danger of a competitor, he called his brother *Al Mowaiad* again to the succession; tho' he soon after, upon a bare suspicion only, deprived him of his right, and sent him to prison. 'Tis true, *Al Mowaiad* had a strong party in the empire, that would undoubtedly have declared for him, had he intended to undertake any thing against the *Khalif*. But as to the rest, he was guilty of no crime; which was the case of *Al Mowaffek*, another of his brothers, who soon after fell under the same disgrace [p].

He orders his brother to be privately murdered in prison.

THE news of *Al Mowaiad*'s confinement no sooner transpired, than the whole body of the *Turkish* troops began to be in motion, and gave out publickly that they would release him. This so excited *Al Mo'tazz*'s jealousy, that he ordered him to be privately murdered in prison; which was done in such a manner, that no marks of violence could be discovered upon him. So that when the body was exposed to the view of the judges, doctors of the law, nobleſſe, and *Turkish* officers, they readily agreed that this prince died a natural death [q].

The new Khalif *caresses the* Turks *out of fear.*

THE *Khalif*, upon his accession, confirmed *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thaher* in the possession of the territories assigned him, and the government of *Baghdad*, in conformity to the promise he had made him before his elevation to the *Khalifat*. He likewise came to a resolution to cut off the chiefs of the *Turkish* soldiery, whose exorbitant power had proved so fatal to his three immediate predecessors. But he was dissuaded from carrying that design into execution by *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thaher*, who represented to him the dangerous consequences of it in so strong a light, that, instead of punishing *Wasif*, *Bagher*, and the other *Turkish* commanders, as he had intended, he heaped new favours upon them, and gave them several additional employments, that greatly augmented the power they had already acquired. He likewise deprived *Yezid Ebn Abd'allah* of the government of *Egypt*, which post he had enjoyed about eleven years, and sent

[p] AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 157, 158. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 100. [q] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 159. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 460, 461. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 268. [r] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 269. *Ma-*

Mazâhem Ebn Khâkân to preſide over that country in his room. About this time, according to *Abulfeda*, died *Mohammed Ebn Baſhar*, and *Mohammed Ebn Al Motſhan*, of *Baſra*, two of *Al Bokhâri*'s doctors, and *Al Moſta'in* was whipt to death by *Sa'id Ebn Sahel*. We muſt not forget to remark, that the *Moſlems* retook *Neetum*, or *Noto*, in *Sicily*, after it had fallen again to the *Chriſtians*, the preſent year [r].

THE following year, being the 253d of the *Hejra*, the *Turkiſh* troops in *Sarra Manray* mutinied for their pay; upon which, *Wasîf*, their general, in order to appeaſe the ſedition, expoſtulated with them about their breach of duty in very ſharp terms. But this was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that it proved fatal to him. Thoſe inſolent troops firſt gave him ill language, for his laudable attempt to bring them back to a ſenſe of their duty by words only; and then ſome of the moſt guilty of them, ruſhing upon him all at once, cut him inſtantly to pieces [s]. *The* Turks *mutiny, and cut to pieces their general.*

THE ſame year, the *Khalif Al Mo'tazz* baniſhed his brother *Ahmed Ebn Al Motawakkel*, called by ſome writers *Al Mowaffek*, and by others *Abu Ahmed*, to *Wâſet*, or, according to *Eutychius*, to *Baſra*, becauſe he ſeemed to take to heart his brother *Al Mowaiad*'s death. He afterwards, however, permitted him to reſide in the eaſtern part of the territory of *Baghdâd*. The famous general *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* departed this life at *Baghdâd*, the 14th of *Dhu'lkaada*; and the following night, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, there happened a remarkable lunar eclipſe. The *Moſlems* of *Sicily*, if we will believe the *Cambridge Chronicon*, reduced a ſecond time the city of *Raguſa*, the preſent year [t]. Al Mo'tazz *baniſhes his brother* Ahmed.

THE 254th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 1ſt, 868, had like to have proved fatal to the *Khalif Al Mo'tazz*. *Bogâ*, the *Turk*, ſurnamed the *Elder*, in order to diſtinguiſh him from a younger officer of the ſame name, obſerving an alteration in the *Khalif*'s conduct towards him, according to the writers followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, left the court abruptly, and retired to *Mawſel*. But he was no ſooner gone, than a party of the *Khalif*'s guards pillaged his houſe. Upon receiving advice of this, *Bogâ* marched at the head of a body of troops he had raiſed towards *Sarra Manray*, under the pretext of chaſtiſing the ſeditious ſoldiers in that capital, but in reality with a reſo- Bogâ *rebels againſt the* Khalif, *and is put to death.*

[r] Aut. Lobb Al Tawarikh, Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. Abulfed. ad an. Hej. 252. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabr. et Joan. Bapt. Carus. ubi ſup p. 6.

[s] Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Al Makin, ubi ſup. [t] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. Eutych. ubi ſup. Abulfed. ad an. Hej. 253. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantab. et Carus. ubi ſup.

lution.

lution to be revenged on the *Khalîf*. That prince, who was not ignorant of the *Turk*'s ill deſigns, commanded *Al Walîd*, the *Magrebian*, or weſtern *Arab* (ſo the *African Moſlems* were called) to meet him with a powerful army, and give him battle wherever he ſhould find him. The *Magrebian* executed his maſter's orders with ſuch bravery, that, after a ſharp engagement, he defeated the rebels, and took *Bogâ* himſelf priſoner. The news of this ſignal victory no ſooner reached *Al Mo'tazz*, than he diſpatched an expreſs with orders to *Al Walîd* to cut off his priſoner's head [u].

Bogâ *the younger alſo put to death by the* Khalîf.

THE ſame year, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* and *Abulfeda*, *Al Mo'tazz* put *Bogâ* the younger alſo to death at *Sarra Manray*; which excited great murmurings amongſt the *Turkiſh* troops, and paved the way to the depoſition of that prince. About this time died *Abu'l Haſan Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Al Hoſein*, one of *Ali*'s deſcendants, the ninth *Shiite Imâm*, and *Mazâhem Ebn Khâkân*, after he had been two years governor of *Egypt*. The latter of theſe was ſucceeded in his poſt by his ſon *Ahmed*, or *Mohammed*, as he was by *Arjûz Ebn Olugh Ebn Tarkan*, the *Turk*, and *Arjûz* by *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, an officer of *Turkiſh* extraction, then about thirty-four years of age, in the month of *Ramadân*. This *Ahmed* was born at *Baghdâd*, and, by the influence of the *Turks* at the *Moſlem* court, had the government of *Egypt* conferred upon him; tho' his father *Tolûn* had been only one of the *Khalîf Al Mamûn*'s *Turkiſh* ſlaves. He was a faſt friend to the *Turks* on all emergent occaſions, conſidering them as his friends and countrymen; though he is ſaid to have deſpiſed the barbarous cuſtoms and genius of that nation. He has been repreſented as a perſon of uncommon greatneſs of ſoul, and of a very amiable character, by *Abu'l-Faraj* [w].

Al Mo'tazz *depoſed, and ſtarved.*

THE next year, being the 255th of the *Hejra*, the *Turks* perceiving every day that the *Khalîf* was reſolved to get rid of them as ſoon as poſſible, they were determined to be beforehand with him. For this purpoſe, they elected *Saleh*, the ſon of *Waſîf*, whom they had formerly aſſaſſinated, their general. After this election, they marched in a body to the houſe of *Ahmed Ebn Iſrâîl*, who was then *Al Mo'tazz*'s *Viſir*, and pillaged it. Not content with this, they went afterwards, with their new general, and *Mohammed Ebn Bogâ*, whoſe father had been beheaded by the *Khalîf*'s order, at their head, directly to the imperial palace; which they immediately inveſted, and in an inſolent manner demanded their pay. The *Khalîf*, at

[u] KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. art. *Motaz*, p. 643.

[w] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 160. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 269. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 254. EUSEB. RENAUDOT. hiſt. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 320. Pariſ. 1713.

that

that time not being in a condition either to satisfy their demands, or to resist their violence, was dragged out of his palace, and at last constrained to abdicate the *Khalifat*, in the presence of *Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, and other proper witnesses, either on the 2d, the 28th, or the last, day of *Rajeb*, in favour of *Mohammed Abu Abd'allah Ebn Al Wâthek*, who afterwards assumed the name of *Al Mohtadi*. After this unexpected revolution, *Al Mo'tazz* was sent under an escorte to *Baghdad*, where he died of thirst, according to *Khondemir*, or rather was starved to death with hunger, if we will believe the *Arab* historians. He reigned about four years and seven months, if we compute from his public inauguration at *Sarra Manray*; but a year less, if we make his *Khalîfat* to commence immediately after the abdication of *Al Mosta'in*. His funeral service was performed by his successor *Al Mohtadi*. His prime ministers, or *Visirs*, were *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar*, *Isa Ebn Farhanah*, *Ahmed Ebn Isrâil*, or, as he is called by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, *Abu Mohammed Jaafar Ebn Isrâil Al Anbâri*; his generals, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, *Solimân Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*, and finally *Obeid'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher*; his chief judge *Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*; and his chamberlains *Wasîf*, *Boga*, *Bâcbâc*, or *Bâkbâk*, and *Saleh Ebn Wasîf*, all *Turks*; the last of which had the principal hand in his deposition, as well as his death, that soon after followed. As to his person, *Al Mo'tazz* had an elegant head of hair, and so handsome a face, being of a fair complexion, that he has been represented as the most beautiful person in his dominions. Nor was he at the time of his death, if we will believe *Eutychius*, above twenty-two years of age. With regard to his disposition, he was so attached to pleasures of various kinds, that he intirely neglected the government of his vast empire, and frequently acted beneath the dignity of his sublime station. The patriarch *Sanitius*, or *Sanitius* converted several unbelievers, who denied the reality of our Saviour's passion, in this prince's reign; which gave no small pleasure to the pious patriarch of *Antioch*, according to some of the *Christian* writers. The same *Sanitius* likewise, in the lieutenancy of *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, was at the expence of making several subterraneous aqueducts, by means of which the city of *Alexandria* was plentifully supplied with excellent water. If any credit may be given to *Eutychius*, the *Khalif Al Mo'tazz* appointed *Bâkbâk*, the *Turk*, to preside over *Egypt*; who bestowed his daughter in marriage upon *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, and constituted him his deputy in that country. And, in the month of *Ramadan*, according to the same writer, in the year of the *Hejra* 254, *Ahmed* entered *Egypt* as *Bâkbâk*'s deputy only; which runs counter to what has been related by *Abu'l-Faraj* and *Abu*

Jaafar Al Tabari. *Abulfeda* relates, that when the *Turkiſh* militia found *Al Mo'tazz* not able to produce the money demanded of him, they offered to accept of only 50,000 *dinârs*; but that the *Khalif* having applied to his mother *Kabihah*, who was immenſely rich, in vain for that ſmall ſum, they came to a reſolution, in conjunction with the *Faraônians*, or *Egyptians*, and the *Magrebians*, or weſtern *Arabs*, to depoſe him. After which, continues this author, they dragged him to his chamber-door, beat him, expoſed him without the palace to the burning rays of the ſun, where for ſome time he remained in exquiſite torture, buffeted him in a barbarous manner, and finally obliged him to abdicate the *Khalifat*, in the preſence of proper witneſſes, and particularly of *Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, the *Kadi* of *Baghdâd*. Not content with this cruel treatment, they permitted none of his ſubjects to bring him any nouriſhment for three days together, hurried him into a ſubterraneous vault, out of which iſſued a noxious and peſtilential vapour, that put a period to his days, and depoſited his remains in a tomb, near thoſe of *Al Montaſer*, at *Sarra Manray*. We muſt not forget to remark, that *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'alrahmân Al Darâni*, the author of the *Mojaſſemian*, or *Corporeal*, traditions, *Abu Omrân Amru Ebn Bahr Al Jabeth*, who left many learned works behind him, and *Mohammed Ebn Kerâm Al Sejeſtâni*, whoſe followers not only admitted a *reſemblance* between GOD and created beings, but declared GOD to be *corporeal*, and from thence received the denomination of *Mojaſſemians*, or *Corporealiſts*, died the preſent year [x].

Some farther particulars relating to this Khalif, *and his mother* Fatihah, *or* Kabihah.

EBN SHOHNAH writes, that the *Atrâk*, or *Turks*, the *Faraônah*, *Faraônians*, or *Egyptians*, and the *Magâreba*, *Magrebians*, or weſtern *Arabs*, as the *African Moſlems* were called, aſſembled in a body before the imperial palace, entered it by force, and dragged *Al Mo'tazz* by his feet from the throne. After which, they beat him with clubs, and expoſed his body ſtretched out at length to the ſolar rays, then extremely hot, in order to force him by ſuch barbarous indignities to ſign the reſignation they had cauſed to be drawn up for that purpoſe. The ſame author relates, that this *Khalif*'s mother's name was *Kabihah*, and not *Fatiha*, *Fatihah*, or *Fatihat*, as *Erpenius* reads it in the text of *Al Makin*; which imports *homely*, or *ugly*, and was given her by her huſband *Al Motawakkel*, by way of joke, ſhe having been one of the moſt beautiful women of the age. This lady amaſſed vaſt treaſures during her huſband's reign, and buried them in the earth after that prince's death. But the *Khalif Al Mohtadi*, after his acceſſion, obliged her to put them into

[x] KHONDEMIR, ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 160, 161. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup p. 462—466. ABULFED. ad ann. 255. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup.

his

his hands. This writer farther relates, that thoſe treaſures conſiſted of 1,000,000 *dinars*, a *makûk*, or buſhel, of emeralds, and another of pearls, together with a *kilajah* of rubies of the colour of fire. Every *kilajah* contained three *Arabic* pounds and three quarters, and every *makûk* three *kilajah's*; ſo that the latter amounted to eleven pounds and a quarter *Arabic* weight. Whenever *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* mentioned this princeſs, he ſaid, *Kabbah* ALLAH *Kabihat*, i. e. GOD *makes ugly*, i. e. *curſes, this woman, who bears the name of* ugly, *notwithſtanding ſhe is extremely beautiful. For, though ſhe was miſtreſs of ſuch immenſe treaſures, ſhe ſuffered her ſon* Al Mo'tazz *to be depoſed and murdered, rather than part with only* 50,000 dinârs, *which ſmall ſum would have ſatisfied the* Turkiſh *ſoldiery that mutinied for their pay.* After *Al Mohtadi* aſcended the *Moſlem* throne, *Kabihah* quitted *Sarra Manray*, and retired to *Mecca*, where ſhe curſed *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* in her turn, and vented her complaints againſt him in the following terms: *Hatak ſetri*, that is, *He has torn my vail*; which in modeſt language imports, *He has enjoyed me, he has killed my ſon, he has driven me from my native country, and has at laſt left me, in order to follow a common proſtitute*[y].

Remarkable events in this prince's reign.

WE are told by ſome of the *Arab* writers, that the *Greek* emperor *Michael* was aſſaſſinated in the *Khalîfat* of *Al Mo'tazz*, by his general *Baſilius*, in an iſland of the *Propontis*, whilſt he was performing his devotions; and that, after this prince's death, the aſſaſſin mounted the imperial throne. The principal reaſon aſſigned by thoſe writers for that execrable action is, that *Baſilius* was forced by the emperor to marry a beautiful woman, in order to cover an intrigue that prince was carrying on with her, and keep it from the empreſs's ears; ſo that not being permitted to cohabit with her, he was reſolved to diſpatch the perſon who had made ſo egregious a dupe of him. The *Arabs* ſettled in *Crete*, of whom we have already given ſome account, ſeem to have made a deſcent about this time upon *Thrace*, penetrating far into the country, and committing everywhere dreadful ravages. In the 255th year of the *Hejra*, *Ebn Sofiân*, the *Moſlem Emîr* in *Sicily*, was murdered by an *Arab* ſoldier, who afterwards made his eſcape to the *Chriſtians*; after which, his ſon *Mohammed Ebn Khafajah* was elected *Emîr* by the *Sicilian Moſlems* in his room. This election was confirmed by *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Aglabi*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, and the *Emîr* ſo confirmed enjoyed the government of the *Moſlem* conqueſts in *Sicily* two whole years. The *Roſſi*, a barbarous *Scythian* nation, ſeated in a tract to the north of mount *Taurus*, and the anceſtors of the *Ruſſians*, after having reduced the city of *Conſtantinople* to great ſtraits, returned

[y] EBN SHOHNAH. Vide etiam ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup.

home, and were converted to the *Christian* faith, not far from the beginning of *Al Mo'tazz*'s reign [z].

SECT. XXXV.

Al Mohtâdi *succeeds him.*

UPON the deposition of *Al Mo'tazz*, who was obliged by the *Turkish* troops to declare himself unequal to the government of the *Moslem* empire, *Mohammed Abu Abd'allah Al Mohtadi Ebn Al Wâthek* was saluted *Khalif* at *Sarra Manray*, and all the people of that metropolis took the oath of allegiance to him. His mother *Korb*, or *Karb*, one of *Al Wâthek*'s concubines, is supposed, or rather affirmed, to have been a *Christian* by some of the *Arab* historians. *Al Mo'tazz* himself was the first, tho' this ought to be considered as the effect of compulsion, who acknowledged him *Khalif*, and gave him the surname of *Al Mohtadi Bill'ah*. This prince has been represented by the *Moslem* writers as a great lover of justice, which he distributed daily in person to all his subjects. He prohibited the use of wine, as well as gaming of all kinds, so expressly forbidden by the *Korân*, and banished from the court all singers, soothsayers, jesters, and buffoons. He also sent away the lions and hounds that had been kept by his predecessors in the imperial palace. In order to ingratiate himself with the people, he suppressed part of the tribute that lay so heavy upon them; inspected the conduct of the judges, as well as the public accounts; and set apart two days every week, *viz. Monday* and *Thursday*, for the hearing and redressing the grievances of that part of his subjects which then appeared before him [a].

A farther account of Kabihah.

AFTER *Al Mo'tazz*'s violent death, his mother *Kabihah* had her life given her, tho' on condition that she discovered her immense treasures, and even deposited them in the hands of the new *Khalif Al Mohtadi*. The money found therein is said by *Abu'l-Faraj* to have amounted to 1,300,000 *dinârs*. Her son *Al Mo'tazz*, in his great distress, applied to her for only the sum of 50,000 *dinârs*, in order to appease the turbulent minds of the *Turkish* militia; which she refused him, telling him at the same time, that she was in possession of no money at all. This afterwards drew upon her a great number of curses and execrations, one of which has already been taken notice of. This year, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, the *Saffarian*, made himself master of the provinces of *Kermân* and

[z] EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 460—463. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 161, 162. ABULFED. ubi sup. CUROPALAT. GEORG. CEDREN. histor. compend. p. 550—552. JOAN. ZONAR. annal. lib. xvi. p. 162.

[a] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 162. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 466, 467. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 270. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. AL KOR. MOHAMMED. sur. ii, v. L'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohtadi*, p. 618.

Fârs,

Fârs, and seized upon the city of *Shîrâz*. We must not forget to observe, that *Sâbûr Ebn Sahel*, the principal physician of the hospital at *Jondîsâbûr*, a man of vast erudition, who had distinguished himself by his learned writings, and particularly by a book treating of all the compound medicines used in hospitals, and prepared by the apothecaries, departed this life, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the present year [b].

The Zenjians make an irruption into the Mostlem empire.

In the beginning of *Al Mohtadi*'s reign, towards the end of the 255th year of the *Hejra*, the *Zenjians*, or *Zinjians*, a people of *Nubia*, of *Ethiopia*, and of the country of the *Cafres*, called at this day by the moderns *Zanguebar*, according to M. *D'Herbelot*, having penetrated into *Arabia*, advanced from thence into the neighbourhood of *Basra* and *Cûfa*. *Abulfeda*, however, seems to intimate, that these *Zenjians* were originally seated in the district called *Al Sabak*, or the sandy tract in the neighbourhood of *Basra*; tho', it must be owned, *Abu Jaafar Al Taari*'s description of them not a little countenances what has been advanced by M. *D'Herbelot*, in relation to the parental country of these barbarians. The chief of this gang of robbers, who, according to some of the *Arab* historians, were little better than wild beasts, *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, one of the descendants of *Abd'alkais*, gave out falsely, that he was of the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*. This made such an impression upon the *Shiites* in those parts, that they flocked to him in vast numbers; which enabled him to seize upon the cities of *Ramla* and *Basra*, and even to pass the *Tigris*, at the head of a powerful army, which spread terror where-ever it moved. This *Ali*, who was an astrologer and a *Shiite*, as well as an impostor, began first to be taken notice of in the year of the *Hejra* 249, and at last became so formidable, that the *Khalif*'s forces could not make head against him. He, therefore, reduced most of the fortresses of *Irâk*, and a considerable part of *Arabia*; in the possession of which conquests he maintained himself fourteen years, notwithstanding all the efforts of *Al Mohtadi* and his successors to dislodge him from thence. After he had dismembered the *Khalifat* in this manner, he assumed the title of *Saheb Al Zenj*, *the prince of the* Zenjians, in order to ingratiate himself with those barbarians, of which the greatest part of his army was composed. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Erpenius* calls this people *Ribi*, or *Ribans*, in his *Latin* version of *Al Makîn*; and that this mistake arose from a wrong reading of the punctuation of the *Arabic* letters, as the forms of the characters of the word *Rih*, without the diacritical points of the

[b] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 269, 270. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup.

first and last of them, are the same with those of the letters constituting the word *Zenj* [c].

The Vizir *is murdered.*

THE following year, being the 256th of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 9th, 869, and not the preceding year, as we find intimated by M. *D'Herbelot*, who, in this point perhaps, has followed the *Persian* historians, *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, general of the forces of the *Khalifat*, who had been employed in the expedition undertaken against *al Hasan Ebn Yezid*, having been apprized of the death of the *Khalif Al Mo'tazz*, who had been cut off soon after his abdication, returned from *Tabrestân* and *Ray* with his army into *Irâk*. Soon after his arrival there, being informed that *Saleh Ebn Wasif* was the new *Khalif*'s *Vizir*, he quitted the camp he had formed in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, and marched directly to *Sarra Manray*; declaring publickly his intention to take vengeance of those who had been concerned in the late revolt. This declaration was chiefly levelled at *Saleh Ebn Wasif*, who had been principally instrumental in the death, as well as the deposition, of *Al Mo'tazz*. *Saleh*, conscious of his guilt, and not having a sufficient number of troops to oppose *Mûsa*, hid himself at his approach. But being soon discovered, he was brought before the general, who commanded his head immediately to be struck off; and, the day following, it was carried, by *Mûsa*'s order, through the streets of *Sarra Manray*; the person carrying it at the same time crying out with a loud voice, *This is the head of a traitor, who has imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign* [d].

The Khalif *is deposed, and slain.*

THE murder of *Saleh* greatly incensed the *Khalif*, who thereupon came to a resolution to repress the insolence of the *Turkish* troops; which so excited their hatred, that *Bânkiâl* and *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, their chiefs, conspired his destruction. This conspiracy, however, was not kept so secret, but that some news of it transpired; upon which, the *Khalif* ordered *Bânkiâl*, who was to have acted the principal part in it, to be put under arrest. This so exasperated the *Turks*, that they assembled in a tumultuous manner about the imperial palace, and demanded the release ment of their chief. The *Khalif*, far from being intimidated by their riotous behaviour, instead of complying with their demand, ordered *Bânkiâl*'s head to be instantly cut off, and thrown amongst them out of the palace. But this instance of severity was so far from appeasing the sedition, that it rendered the *Turks* more furious and intractable; insomuch that a fierce conflict

[c] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 162, 163. J M. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 6:8.

[d] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 163. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mohtadi*, ubi sup.

ensued

enſued between them and the *Magrebians*, who defended the *Khalif*, before the palace, in which about 4000 on both ſides were ſlain. The *Turks*, however, returning to the charge with a body of 10,000 men, under the conduct of *Tagarbâ*, *Bânkiâl*'s brother, put the *Magrebians*, who had been reinforced by a body of *Faraônian* troops, to flight, and purſued *Al Mohtadi* himſelf into the houſe of *Mohammed Ebn Mardâd*. Being taken from thence, he was conducted to that of *Ahmed Ebn Khâkân*; where ſome of the mutineers began to ſpit in his face, and to beat him, in order to force him to abdicate the *Khalifat*. But he refuſing to do this, they barbarouſly trampled upon his privities till he expired; which happened on the 16th of the month *Rajeb*, before he had quite completed the firſt year of his reign. Some authors relate, that *Al Mohtadi* received two wounds in the laſt action between the *Turkiſh Magrebian* and *Faraônian* troops; and that he was finally diſpatched by one of *Bânkiâl*'s relations, who, after his death, drank a draught of his blood. He was buried at *Sarra Manray*, and *Jaafar Ebn Abd'allah Al Hâſhemi*, his judge, ſaid the funeral ſervice at his interment. He was about thirty-eight, or thirty-nine, years of age at the time of his death. With regard to his perſon, *Al Mohtadi* was of a middle ſtature, ſomewhat bald, and of a ſwarthy complexion. He had, however, a handſome face, a portly gate, and a long black beard. As to his diſpoſition, he was abſtemious, devout, a lover of juſtice, of a ſweet temper, and exemplary life, and in his manners greatly reſembled the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz*. His *Viſirs* were *Saleh Ebn Wasîf* and *Abu Ayûb Ebn Ahmed*; his judges *Al HaſanEbnAbu'l Shawârib* and *Jaafar Ebn Abd'allah Al Hâſhemi*; the captain of his guards *Obeid'allah Ebn Abd'allah*; and his chamberlains *Bânkiâl* and *Mûſa Ebn Bogâ*. The firſt and laſt days of his reign were *Tueſday*, and the inſcription of his ſeal, *He who tranſgreſſes the rules of juſtice, or exceeds what is right, goes aſtray* [e].

SECT. XXXVI.

AFTER the barbarous murder of *Al Mohtadi*, the aſſaſſins created *Ahmed Abu'l Abbâs Al Mo'tamed Ala'llah Ebn Al Motawakkel Khalif*. His mother's name, according to ſome writers, was *Fynân*, or, as others affirm, *Kynân*. He took for his principal counſellor, or *Viſir*, *Abd'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkân*, who, if we will believe *Eutychius*, had ſerved his father *Al Motawakkel* in the ſame capacity; tho' his brother *Al Mowaffek* had ſo great an aſcendant over him, and uſed Al Mo'tamed *created* Khalîf.

[e] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 163, 164. KHONDEMIR, EUTYCH. ubi ſup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, D'HERBEL. & ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup.

the authority he gave him in so absolute a manner, that he seemed to be master of the *Khalifat*. Nay, he had so much influence over his brother's councils, that he excluded *Al Mo'tamed*'s son from the succession, and caused his own to be elevated to the *Moslem* throne in his room, as will be seen in the sequel of this history [f].

The progress of the rebel Al Habîb.

THE same year, that is, the 256th of the *Hejra*, *Ali*, or *Al Habîb*, as he is called by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, prince of the *Zenjians*, who was now become extremely formidable, made incursions almost to the very gates of *Baghdâd*, doing irreparable damage where-ever he moved. The *Khalif*, therefore, sent *Jalân*, one of his generals, with a considerable army against him. But the *Zenjian* overthrew him with very great slaughter, made himself master of twenty-four of the *Khalif*'s largest ships in the bay of *Basra*, put a vast number of the inhabitants of *Obolla* to the sword, and seized upon the town. Not content with this, he set fire to it, and soon reduced it to ashes; the houses consisting for the most part of the wood of a certain plane-tree denominated by the *Arabs Saj*. From thence he marched to *Abâdân*, which likewise surrendered to him. Here he found an immense treasure in money, which enabled him to possess himself of the whole province of *Ahwâz*. In fine, his army being now increased to 80,000 strong, the greatest part of the citizens of *Basra* abandoned the place; which struck with terror all the inhabitants of the adjacent territories, and even the court of the *Khalif* itself [g].

Al Habîb *continues victorious in the year* 257;

THE next year, being the 257th of the *Hejra*, beginning *November* 29th, 870, *Al Habib* attacked *Sa'id Ebn Jaafar Ebn Dinân*, at the head of the *Khalif*'s forces, and intirely defeated him; killing many of his men upon the spot, and more in the pursuit. He also routed several other armies sent against him by the *Khalif*, reduced *Basra*, and put 20,000 of the citizens to the sword, before the conclusion of the campaign. The people of *Toledo* rebelled about this time against *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, the *Khalif* of *Spain*, and chose one *Mohammed Ebn Lûb* for their general; but, upon the approach of the *Khalif* with a powerful army, they thought fit to submit to him, and sent hostages for their future good behaviour to *Corduba*. We must not forget to remark, that *Amajûr* drove *Isa Ebn Sheikh* out of *Syria*, where he had set up for himself against the *Khalif*, the preceding year; and that, about the same time, the famous *Imâm Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Ismael*, surnamed *Al Jofi*, as deducing his origin from the tribe

[f] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 164, 165. KHONDEMIR, GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, & EUTYCH. ubi sup.

[g] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. 256. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motamed*.

of

of *Jofah* in *Yaman*, tho' generally called *Al Bokhâri*, died at *Kharſhak*, or *Khartank*, a ſmall town about two paraſangs from *Samarkand*. In the 257th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Haſan Ebn Zeid*, one of *Ali*'s deſcendants, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Tabreſtân*, ſeized likewiſe upon *Jorján*; and *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, the *Saffarian*, made himſelf maſter of *Balkh* and *Câbûl*. Before the cloſe of the ſame year, died *Abu'l Abbâs*, a famous grammarian, known by the name of *Al Rayaſh*. *Mohammed Ebn Khafajah*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, according to *Abulfeda*, was murdered by ſome of his eunuchs, who were afterwards taken and put to death, and ſucceeded by *Ahmed Ebn Yakûb*, ſent over by *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Aglabi*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, for that purpoſe, and *Malta* was conquered by the *Sicilian Moſlems*, the preſent year [h].

DURING the courſe of the following year, *Al Habib*, the *Zenjian* prince, ſtill remained victorious over the *Khalif*'s troops. *Al Mo'tamed*, ſupported by his brother *Al Mowaffek*, had formed a deſign to confine within narrower bounds, at leaſt, if not directly to annihilate, the power of the *Turkiſh* ſoldiery, which had proved ſo fatal to ſeveral of his predeceſſors; they having, for a conſiderable time, given law to the *Khalifs*, and elevated or depoſed them as they pleaſed. But the *Zenjians* made ſo rapid a progreſs this year in *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and *Irák*, that he was obliged to ſuſpend the execution of that deſign, and even to ſend the *Turkiſh* troops to join thoſe commanded by his brother *Al Mowaffek*, in order to oppoſe them. The firſt of the *Khalif*'s generals overthrown by *Al Habib* was one *Mohammed*, whoſe army was worſted in ſeveral engagements, and at laſt intirely cut to pieces by the rebels. This year, *Al Mo'tamed* called his brother *Abu Ahmed Ebn Al Motawakkel* to the ſucceſſion, gave him the ſurname of *Al Mowaffek*, together with a moſt ſumptuous veſt, and appointed him to preſide over *Diyâr Rabia*, *Al Iawſel*, *Al Awâſem*, and *Egypt*. He alſo cauſed his own ſon *Jaafar*, whom he ſurnamed *Al Mofawed*, to be publickly declared the heir apparent to the crown, and aſſigned him the prefecture of the weſt. After this, he ſent *Al Mowaffek* and *Moſleh*, with a numerous army, to reduce the rebel *Al Habib*; who, in purſuance of their orders, came up with him, and attacked him with very great bravery. But *Moſleh* being killed with an arrow, *Al Mo'tamed*'s troops were at laſt obliged to leave the field of battle to the *Zenjians*, and re-

and in the year 258.

[h] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 165. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. hiſt. Arab. cap. xxviii. p. 24. ISM. ABULFED. excerpt. ex cod. MS. Biblioth. D. Laurent. Eſcur. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup. p. 18. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup.

tire, after having ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs. However, *Al Mowaffek* ſoon rallied his forces, that were put into diſorder by the death of *Moſleh*, and drew them up in ſuch order, that the enemy durſt not renew the attack. Some time after, there happened a very ſharp action between the *Khalif*'s forces and the rebels, commanded by *Yahya Ebn Mohammed Al Azrâk*, who was dangerouſly wounded and taken priſoner. Several other battles were fought between the contending parties before the concluſion of the campaign, from whence no great advantages accrued to either ſide. But at laſt ſome contagious diſtempers carrying off conſiderable numbers of *Al Mowaffek*'s men, he found himſelf obliged to agree to a ſort of truce, or ceſſation of arms, with the enemy, and to retire to *Wâſet*, in order to refreſh and repoſe his troops. As for *Yahya Ebn Mohammed*, who had fallen into his hands before, he had ſent him under an eſcorte to *Sarra Manray*; where, ſoon after his arrival, he received two hundred ſtripes, had his hands and feet chopt off, and was cut to pieces by a detachment of the *Khalif*'s guards. The body was afterwards reduced to aſhes, and thrown into the *Tigris*, in the preſence of an infinite number of ſpectators, of all ranks and degrees, who attended the execution [1].

The war continues between the Khalif *and* Al Habîb.

In the year of the *Hejra* 259, commencing *November* 7th, 872, the war ſtill continued between the *Khalif* and *Al Habîb*. *Al Mowaffek*, upon his arrival at *Baghdâd*, ſent *Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Al Mowalled*, with a powerful army to act againſt the *Zenjians*; but he could not hinder them from ravaging the province of *Ahwâz*, cutting off there about 50,000 of the *Khalif*'s ſubjects, and diſmantling the city of the ſame name. However, *Al Mo'tamed* commanded *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moſleh* to march with a body of troops to *Ahwâz*, *Iſhak Ebn Daraj* with another to *Baſra*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Simâ* with a third to *Dawrad*. But, notwithſtanding all the *Khalif*'s efforts, or rather thoſe of his generals, his forces could gain no conſiderable advantage over *Al Habîb*, tho' ſeveral battles were fought. About this time, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit* made himſelf maſter of *Niſabûr*, and threw *Mohammed*, the *Thâherian*, who had before enjoyed the ſovereignty of the province of *Khoraſân* under this *Khalif*, with all his family and domeſtics, into priſon. About the ſame time, died *Mohammed Ebn Mûſa Ebn Shaker*, one of the mathematicians employed by the *Khalif Al Mamûn* to diſcover the true ambit, or circumference, of the earth. This year, a body of the *Sicilian Moſlems* ſeized upon the city of *Salerno*, but were ſoon after all cut to pieces there [k].

[1] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 165, 166. Khondemir, Abulfed. ad ann. 258. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 468, 469. [k] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi

THE following year, being the 260th of the *Hejra*, the *Arabs* cut to pieces *Manjûr*, the governor of *Hems*, and ſubſtituted *Bectimâr* in his room. About the ſame time, *Al Haſan Al Aſkari*, the eleventh *Shiite Imâm*, *Al Haſun Ebn Sabah Al Zafarâni*, one of *Al Shâfei*'s followers, and *Honain Ebn Iſhak Al Ebadi*, a famous phyſician, who tranſlated the *Elements* of *Euclid*, *Ptolemy*'s *Almageſt*, and ſeveral other pieces, out of *Greek* into *Arabic*, departed this life. This year the *Khalîf*'s generals likewiſe made ſeveral attempts to drive the *Zenjians* out of the *Moſlem* territories; but without effect. For, *Al Habîb* maintained himſelf in his conqueſts, notwithſtanding there happened ſeveral vigorous actions between his troops and the *Khalîf*'s forces, in which many brave men fell on both ſides [1]. *And in the year* 260.

IN the 261ſt year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 16th, 874, *Mohammed Ebn Wâſel*, who had killed the *Khalîf*'s governor of *Fars*, and afterwards made himſelf maſter of that province, engaged ſeveral times the *Zenjian* forces commanded by *Al Habîb*, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; but with what ſucceſs, we have not been told by that author. The *Khalîf*, having been apprized of the ſtate of affairs on that ſide, annexed the government of *Fârs*, *Ahwâz*, *Baſra*, and *Bahrein*, to the prefecture he had aſſigned *Mûſa Ebn Bogâ*, whom he looked upon as one of the beſt generals he had. *Mûſa*, ſoon after his nomination to that ſublime poſt, diſpatched *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moſleh* as his deputy to *Ahwâz*, and joined to him, as his collegue and aſſiſtant, *Tîſam* the *Turk*. But *Mohammed Ebn Wâſel*, then at the head of his troops in *Ahwâz*, refuſing to obey the orders of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moſleh* and *Tîſam*, a fierce conflict enſued; in which the latter were overthrown with very great ſlaughter, and *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Moſleh* taken priſoner. After the end of the action, *Mohammed Ebn Wâſel* advanced to *Eſtakhr*, in order to attack *Mûſa Ebn Bogâ*'s forces, incamped at a ſmall diſtance from that place. But *Mûſa*, having received intelligence of his deſign, retired at his approach; and, finding that he could not take poſſeſſion of his new government, nor fix his deputies in the provinces aſſigned them, without a vaſt effuſion of *Moſlem* blood, he recalled them from thence, and made the beſt of his way to *Sarra Manray*. After which, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, who had before diſpoſſeſſed of the province of *Khoraſân* the family of *Thâher*, that had for a conſiderable time enjoyed the ſovereignty of it, made an irruption into *Ahwâz*, defeated *Mohammed Ebn Wâſel*, and ſeized upon his palace, in which he found *The military operations in* 261.

ubi ſup. p 166. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 259. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup. [1] ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 260. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup.

a ſum

a sum of money amounting to 40,000,000 *dirhems*. Some authors write, that *Al Mo'tamed* declared *Jaafar*, his son, the heir apparent to the crown, and called *Al Mowaffek*, his brother, to the succession after him, the present year. But in this point we chuse to follow *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who is of a contrary opinion. The dynasty of the *Samanians*, in *Khorasan*, according to *Ebn Shohnah* and *Abulfeda*, commenced the present year. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwan*, died in the former *Jomâda*, after he had reigned twenty years, five months, and fifteen days. He was succeeded by his brother *Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*, who extended the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*, and gained several signal victories there [m].

The Khalif's forces defeat Yakûb Ebn Al Leit;

THE next year, being the 262d of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 5th, 875, the rebel *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, called *Yakûb Ebn Leith* by the *Persian* historians, being grown formidable by the acquisition of *Ahwâz*, and a considerable part of *Fârs*, at least of *Al Jebâl*, or the *Persian Irâk*, without having openly declared against the *Khalif*, pulled off the mask, and advanced at the head of a powerful army into the neighbourhood of *Beghdâd*. In order, therefore, to put a stop to the progress of so dangerous an enemy, who had already made himself master of *Wâset*, *Al Mo'tamed* sent *Al Mowaffek* with the forces of the empire against him. That general, in pursuance of his orders, advanced first to *Baghdad*, whither he was attended by the *Khalif*, and at last came up with *Ebn Al Leit* at a village named *Katûl*. Here, after a bloody engagement, he overthrew him with incredible slaughter, plundered his camp, and pursued him into *Khorasan*; where meeting with no opposition, he entered *Nisabur*, and released *Mohammed* the *Thaherian*, who had been detained in prison by *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit* three whole years. As for *Ebn Al Leit* himself, who was the first prince, or *Sultân*, of the race or dynasty of the *Saffarians*, he made his escape with great difficulty after the late defeat, though he and his family maintained themselves several years in the possession of many of the conquests he had made. The war waged by the *Khalif* against *Ebn Al Leit* proved a seasonable diversion in favour of *Al Habib*, who routed all the troops sent by *Al Mo'tamed* to reduce him to his obedience, and ravaged the district of *Wâset*, the present year [n].

But are over-

THE following year, being the 263d of the *Hejra*, beginning *September* 24th, 876, the *Khalif*'s forces, under the

[m] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 166, 169. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 637, 638. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 271. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

[n] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi

command of *Ahmed Ebn Lebúna*, gained two considerable advantages over *Al Habíb*'s troops; but being at last drawn into an ambuscade, they were almost intirely destroyed. *Ahmed*, their general, himself, with great difficulty, made his escape [o].

thrown by Al Habíb.

In the 264th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *September* 13th, 877, the *Arabs* made an incursion into the imperial territories, under the conduct of *Abd'allah Ebn Rashíd Ebn Kâwús*, with a body of 4000 horse, put a considerable number of the emperor's subjects to the sword, and committed dreadful ravages in the provinces through which they moved. But the *Greeks* came up with them at a small distance from the *Badandún*, cut the greatest part of them in pieces, and took *Abd'allah Ebn Rashíd* himself prisoner. After which, they sent him under an escorte to *Constantinople*. About the same time, *Amajúr* the *Khalíf*'s governor of *Damascus*, *Kabíhah*, the *Khalíf Mo'tazz*'s mother, *Abu Ibrahim Al Mazâni*, and *Yunás Ebn Abd'alala*, two scholars of the famous *Al Sháfei*, departed this life. This year, a detachment of *Al Habíb*'s troops advanced to *Wâset*, drove the inhabitants out of the town, and then laid it in ashes; carrying off with them from thence an immense quantity of spoil. One of the *Arab* writers mentions several smart engagements between the *Zenjians* and the *Khalíf*'s forces after that tragical event; but does not inform us that any thing decisive happened on either side. *Músa Ebn Bogá*, the best of the *Turkish* officers in *Al Mo'tamed*'s service, dying about this time, the influence his nation had at the *Moslem* court was intirely lost; insomuch that the *Turkish* troops now intirely obeyed the *Khalíf*'s orders independently on their chiefs [p].

The Arabs *make an incursion into the imperial territories.*

The next year, being the 265th of the *Hejra*, beginning *September* 3d, 878, *Ahmed Ebn Tolún* rebelled against the *Khalíf*, and set up for himself in *Egypt*. Having assembled a considerable force, he marched to *Antioch*, and besieged *Simâ*, the *Khalíf*'s governor of *Haleb*, or *Aleppo*, and all the provinces known amongst the *Arabs* by the name of *Al Awâsem*, in that city. As the besieged found that he was resolved to carry the place by assault, they thought fit, after a short defence, to surrender to him, and to put *Simâ* into his hands. *Ahmed* no sooner found himself in possession of that officer, than he struck off his head, and advanced to *Aleppo*, which opened its gates at his approach. Soon after, he reduced *Dimishk*, or *Damascus*, *Hems*, *Hamath*, *Kinnisrin*, and *Al Rakka*, situated upon the eastern bank of the *Euphrates*. This rebellion so

Ahmed Ebn Tolún *rebels against the* Khalíf.

[o] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makín, ubi sup. p. 169. Aut Liber Al Tawarikh, Khondemir, Abulfed. ad an. Hej. 262. D'Herbel. Bibl. orient. p. 638.

[p] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al

exaſperated *Al Mo'tamed*, that he commanded *Ahmed* to be publickly curſed in all the moſques of *Baghdâd* and *Irâk*; and *Ahmed*, on his part, ordered the ſame ſolemn malediction to be thundered out in all the moſques within his juriſdiction againſt the *Khalif*. The ſame year, *Yakûb Ebn Al Leit*, having ſet on foot a powerful army, moved a ſecond time towards *Baghdâd*; but was ſeized with a violent cholic on his march, of which he died, after eleven years reign, if we will ſuppoſe it to have commenced when he firſt entered *Perſia* in a hoſtile manner, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Amru Ebn Al Leit*. A detachment of *Al Habîb*'s troops penetrated into *Irâk*, and made themſelves maſters of four of the *Khalif*'s ſhips, laden with corn, the preſent campaign. They alſo advanced to *Al Nomânia*, laid the greateſt part of it in aſhes, and carried off with them ſeveral of the inhabitants priſoners. They likewiſe poſſeſſed themſelves of *Jarjarâyâ*, where they found many priſoners more, and deſtroyed all the adjacent territory with fire and ſword. About the ſame time, died *Ibrahim Ebn Hani Al Niſabûri*, a celebrated *Mohammedan* ſaint. The *Moſlems* of *Sicily* fixed themſelves this year in *Syracuſe*, and ſeized upon all the dependencies of that place. 'Tis worthy obſerſervation, that there were three powers at this time in the *Moſlem* empire independent on the *Khalîf*, beſides the houſe of *Aglab* in *Africa*, and that of *Ommiyah* in *Spain*; namely, one in *Syria* and *Egypt*, another in *Khoraſân*, and another in *Arabia* and *Irâk* [q].

The moſt memorable events that happened in the year of the Hejra 266.

In the 266th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *Auguſt* 23d, 879, *Al Habîb* reduced *Râmhormoz*, burnt the ſtately moſque there to the ground, put a vaſt number of the inhabitants to the ſword, carried many of them away with him priſoners, and acquired an immenſe quantity of ſpoil. In *Sicily*, *Kriſâf* was killed this year. *Al Haſan Ebn Al Abbâs* was alſo ſent from *Kairwân* to that iſland in quality of *Emîr*; who, ſoon after his arrival, ravaged the *Chriſtian* territories in a dreadful manner. *Mohammed Ebn Aba'alrahmân* ordered a good number of ſhips to be conſtructed at *Corduba*, or *Cordova*, *Seville*, and other maritime towns, where materials for ſhipping were to be found. But theſe being afterwards almoſt intirely deſtroyed by tempeſts and ſtorms, the ſailors on board them for the moſt part drowned, and *Abd'alamid*, his admiral himſelf, narrowly eſcaping with his life, that prince laid aſide his deſign of making a figure by ſea [r].

[q] Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 169. Khondemir, Abulfed. ad an. Hêj. 264 D'Herbel. Biblioth orient. ubi ſup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 169, 170. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 252. Ism. Abulfed. ad an Hej. 265. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup.

[r] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 170. Chron. Sic.

THE 267th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Auguſt* 12th, 880, produced ſeveral actions of éclat between the *Zenjians* and the *Khalif*'s troops. *Al Mowaffek*, attended by his ſon *Abu'l Abbâs Al Mo'tadhed Bi'lla*, took the field with an army conſiſting of ſome infantry and a body of ten thouſand horſe. On the other ſide, *Al Habîb* appeared at the head of an army, to oppoſe him, amounting to an hundred thouſand men. But, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, the *Arabs* overthrew the *Zenjians* in ſeveral pitched battles, recovered moſt of the towns they had taken, together with an immenſe quantity of ſpoil, and releaſed 5000 *Moſlem* women that had been detained in priſon by thoſe barbarians. After theſe victories, *Al Mowaffek* took poſt before the city of *Al Mabiy'a*, that had been built by *Al Habîb*, and was the place of his reſidence, burnt all the ſhips in the harbour, thoroughly pillaged the town, and then intirely diſmantled it. Here he likewiſe found treaſures of exceeding great value. After the reduction of *Al Mabiy'a*, he purſued the flying enemy, defeated ſeveral bodies of the *Zenjian* troops, put to the ſword *Ebn Al Sa'râb*, *Ebn Jâni'*, and others of their chiefs, and advanced to *Al Mokhtara*, a city that had been ſtrongly fortified by *Al Habîb*. As the *Zenjian* had collected all his forces into a body, and was poſted at no great diſtance from the town, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, with an army of 300,000 men, and the place was almoſt impregnable; *Al Mowaffek* plainly perceived, that it would ſuſtain a very long ſiege. He therefore built a fortreſs oppoſite to it, in which he erected a moſque, and coined both *dirhêms* and *dinârs*. The new city, from its founder, was called by the *Arabs Al Mowaffekia*, and ſoon rendered conſiderable by the ſettlement of ſeveral wealthy merchants in it. By this means, *Al Mowaffek* thought to ſtarve *Al Mokhtâra* to a ſurrender, and actually reduced it to very great ſtraits; which occaſioned an incredible deſertion amongſt *Al Habîb*'s troops. However, *Al Mowaffek* having, with his battering engines, made a practicable breach in the walls, took the place by ſtorm, after a great reſiſtance on the part of the beſieged, in the latter *Jomâda*, and gave it up to his ſoldiers to be plundered till the month of *Shaabân*. After which, he put to flight *Al Habîb*'s numerous forces, and diſperſed them in ſuch a manner, that the *Zenjian* found it impoſſible to rally them during the remainder of the campaign. Two perſons were ſtruck dead by lightning by *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*'s ſide in a moſque at *Corduba*, and a general earthquake hap-

The military operations of the year 267.

Sic. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. excerpt. ex Cod MS. Biblioth. D. Laurent. Eſcurial. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup. p. 19. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup.

pened

pened in *Spain*, whose dreadful concussions were felt in every part of that country, the present year [s].

Al Mowaffek *gains other advantages over* AlHabîb;

THE following year, being the 268th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mowaffek* penetrated a second time to *Al Mabiy'a*, demolished again the fortifications of that place, which he carried by assault, though *Al Habîb* and his troops that defended the town disputed every inch of ground. This year, one *Lûlu* began to rebel against his master *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn* in *Egypt* [t].

and takes his capital a third time.

IN the 269th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *July* 21st, 882, *Al Mowaffek* attacked *Al Habîb* with unparalleled bravery, and had intirely defeated him, had he not been wounded in the breast by an arrow, which obliged him to retire out of the heat of the action, and to sound a retreat. However, as soon as he was cured of his wound, he advanced a third time to *Al Mabiy'a*, made himself master of that metropolis, threw down the walls that had been raised again by the *Zenjian* prince, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried a vast number of them away with him into captivity. The same year, *Lûlû* went over to *Al Mowaffek*, and engaged upon certain conditions to act against his former master *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*. Soon after which, *Al Mowaffek* caused *Ahmed* to be publickly cursed in all the mosques of *Baghdâd* and *Irâk* [u].

Al Mowaffek *gives* AlHabîb *a total overthrow, takes him prisoner, and cuts off his head.*

THE next year, being the 270th of the *Hejra*, beginning *July* 11th, 883, *Al Mowaffek* penetrated again to *Al Mabiy'a*, possessed himself of that city, demolished *Al Habîb*'s palace there, seized upon his family, and sent them to *Sarra Manray*; tho' that rebel and usurper, who had made such havock in the *Moslem* empire, himself found means to escape. However, *Al Mowaffek* pursued him into the province of *Ahwâz*, and intirely defeated the shattered forces that he had rallied there. As for *Al Habîb* himself, he now fell into the hands of the victor, who ordered his head to be cut off, and carried upon the point of a lance through a great part of the region whose repose he had so long disturbed. After which, he sent it by his son *Al Mo'tadhed Bi'lla* to *Baghdâd*, where it was exposed to public view, and then fixed upon one of the gates of the city. As *Al Habîb* first appeared in arms against the *Khalif* the 26th of *Ramadân*, in the year of the *Hejra* 255, and was put to death the second of *Safar* 270, he reigned over the *Zenjians*, that had rendered themselves so formidable to two

[s] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 170, 171. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 267. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. Chronic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup.

[t] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 171. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 470—473.

[u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 171, 172. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ABULFED. ad an. 269.

Kha-

Khalifs, about fourteen years and four months. By the last victory, which was complete, *Al Mowaffek* acquired the glorious title of *Al Nasir Lidni'llah*, or *Al Nasser Ledinillah*, that is, the protector of *Islâm*, or *Mohammedism*; which was given him by the *Khalif Al Mo'tamed*, his brother; and he continued to govern the *Khalifat* under that title to the time of his death[w].

THE same year died *Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, on the 18th of *Dhu'lhajja*, or, as some will have it, the 18th of *Dhu'lkaada*, in *Egypt*. It has been observed by *Al Makin*, that, when he was at the point of death, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, "O LORD! forgive thy servant, whose load of guilt is "too great for him to comprehend, and shew thyself merciful "to him at the time of his death." He left behind him 33 sons, one of which, named *Khamarawiyah*, succeeded him in the dynasty he had founded. He is said to have been a strict observer of justice, and of so charitable a disposition, that he gave away every month in alms 300,000 *dinârs*. He distributed likewise every month amongst the ecclesiastics of the best repute 1000 *dinârs*, and spent the same sum in his kitchen every day. Some authors write, that, during the time he presided over *Egypt*, he sent to *Baghdâd*, to be distributed amongst men of learning and probity, as likewise the poor and the sick, no less than 2,200,000 *dinârs*. He left in the treasury at his death 10,000,000 *dinârs*; which, considering the money he spent and gave away in his life-time, was a prodigious sum. His servants and slaves amounted to 7000, his horses to the same number, his mules and camels to 8000, and his war-horses to 300. All this was his own peculiar property, and bore no relation to the public. The revenue of *Egypt* in his time, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, did not fall short of 300,000,000 *dinârs*. Notwithstanding his good qualities, he is reported to have been extremely cruel, and guilty of a vast effusion of human blood; having either put to death, or starved in prison, at least 18,000 persons. Seventeen sons, and as many daughters, not thirty-three sons, as some writers affirm, survived him, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Al Hasan Ebn Zeid*, one of *Ali*'s descendants, who had reigned near twenty years in *Tabrestân*, and was succeeded by his brother *Mohammed Ebn Zeid*, *Mohammed Ebn Ishak Ebn Jaafar Al Sagâni*, and *Dawd Ebn Ali Al Esfahâni*, a celebrated *Imâm*, who denied any assimilation of GOD to created beings, died likewise this year[x]. IN

Ahmed Ebn Tolûn *dies*.

[w] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 172, 173. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 441. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 468, 469. ABULNED. ad an. 270. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

[x] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 173. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 472—475.

The Khalif's *forces defeated by those of* Khamarawiyah.

In the 271st year of the *Hejra*, commencing *June* 29th, 884, a sharp and bloody engagement happened between the *Khalif*'s forces, commanded by *Al Mowaffek*'s son, and those of *Khamarawiyah*, who had made an irruption into *Syria*. This battle was fought between *Al Ramla* and *Dimishk*, or *Damascus*. *Khamarawiyah* was charged so hotly in the beginning of the action, that his men began to give way; upon which he fled with great precipitation even to the borders of *Egypt*, taking for granted that every thing was lost. But his troops, not having been apprized of their general's flight, afterwards rallied, and gained a complete victory. This year, died *Túrán Bint Al Hasan Ebn Sahel*, the wife of the *Khalif Al Mamún*, as we learn from *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* y.

Nothing remarkable happened the following year.

The following year, being the 272d of the *Hejra*, produced no memorable event in the *Moslem* empire. *Khamarawiyah* having won the hearts of his subjects by his mild and gentle administration, though he was now but twenty-two years of age, and kept on foot a large body of troops that he could intirely depend upon, *Al Mowaffek* found it impossible to make any impression upon *Egypt* the present year. Before the conclusion of it, a person of distinction was sent from the imperial court, to ransom the *Syracusans* that had been taken prisoners by the *African Moslems* about six or seven years before z.

Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân *dies in* Spain.

During the whole course of the 273d year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Mo'tamed* gave himself up intirely to indolence and pleasure; so that *Al Mowaffek* alone held the reins of the *Moslem* empire. However, he could neither regain *Khorasân*, nor *Egypt*. *Abu Dawd Solimân Al Sejestâni* and *Mohammed Ebn Yezid Ebn Majah Al Kazwini*, two famous *Sonnite* authors, as also *Khâled Ebn Ahmed*, who had been governor of *Khorasân*, departed this life, the present year. About the same time, died *Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, the *Khalif* of *Spain*, at *Corduba*, in the 60th, or, according to *Abu'lfeda*, who stiles him the *Emir* of *Andalusia*, in the 65th, year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. Being walking in his royal gardens, a little before his death, one of the soldiers of his guards said to him, "What fine gardens are these that we "walk in, how beautiful is the present day, and what a de-"lightful age would this be, were it possible to avoid being "arrested by death!" To which the *Khalif* replied, "Thou

D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, p. 272. apud Joan. Swintonum, A. M. Oxon. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 270. y Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 271. z Eutych. ubi sup. p. 476——479. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

"art

" art miſtaken in thy laſt remark; ſince, had it not been for " death, I ſhould never have ſwayed the *Moſlem* ſceptre of " *Spain.*" He left thirty-three ſons behind him. *Al Mondar*, his ſucceſſor, one of them, was at the baths of *Almeria* when the *Khalif* expired; but, upon receiving advice of his father's deceaſe, he poſted away with all poſſible celerity to *Corduba*, and aſcended the throne there in the 43d year of his age [a].

THE next year, being the 274th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Mo'tamed* purſued the ſame courſe of life, and left the government of the *Khalifat* intirely to his brother *Al Mowaffek*. This year, there was an action in *Sicily* between the *Chriſtians* and the *African Moſlems*, as we learn from the *Cambridge Chronicon*; but whether or no any advantage accrued from thence to either of the contending parties, we are not certainly informed [b]. *An action between the Chriſtians and the Moſlems.*

IN the 275th year of the *Hejra*, *Khamarawiyah* received advice, that one *Mohammed Ebn Diwadâd*, called by ſome authors *Abu'l Saj*, had taken poſt at *Damaſcus* with a powerful army; upon which, he aſſembled all his forces, and made the proper diſpoſitions for a march, in order to attack him. This year, *Al Mowaffek* ſent his ſon to priſon, and confined him there, till he was ſeized by that ſickneſs which put a period to his days. About the ſame time, *Abu Sa'id Al Hoſein Ebn Al Haſan Ebn Abd'allah*, a famous grammarian and philologer, departed this life. The machine of government at *Sarra Manray* was moved in the ſame manner this year as the preceding. *Al Mondar* behaved with great liberality and munificence to his ſubjects in *Spain*, and even remitted the taxes, or tenths, paid by the people of *Corduba*; notwithſtanding which, they rebelled againſt him. This ſo exaſperated him, that he reſolved to take vengeance of them for their ingratitude, as well as their diſobedience. But he died on his march to their city, before he could carry his deſign into execution. He reigned only two years, and left ſix ſons and ſeven daughters behind him. However, the army elected *Abd'allah*, his brother, in prejudice to his eldeſt ſon, to ſucceed him. As ſoon as the people of *Corduba* were apprized of this, they opened their gates to the new *Khalif*, and met with a favourable reception from him. After which, he buried his brother, the deceaſed *Khalif*, in a manner ſuitable to his high rank, and preſided above twenty-five years over the *Moſlems* in *Spain* [c]. *The tranſactions of the following year.*

[a] KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 273. [b] KHONDEMIR, Chronic. Sic. Cantabrienſ. ubi ſup. [c] EUTYCH. ubi ſup. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 275. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. c. XXIX. p. 25.

And those of the year 276.

THE following year, being the 276th of the *Hejra*, *Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolún* led his army against *Mohammed Ebn Diwadâd*, or *Abu'l Sâj*, and overthrew him in a great battle at *Al Bathnia*, not far from the city of *Damascus*; after which, he advanced to *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, and made himself master of that place. Having annexed several large provinces to his former dominions, and left some of his friends that he could confide in to preside over them, he returned into *Egypt*, the principal part of his empire, which now extended from the *Euphrates* to the borders of *Nubia* and *Ethiopia*. The cities of *Lisboon*, *Seville*, &c. in *Spain*, rebelled this year against *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, there, at the instigation of *Omar Ebn Al Hasan*, who headed the troops of those rebellious cities. But *Abd'allah* having assembled a numerous army, in order to reduce them to his obedience, they thought fit to lay down their arms; upon which, *Abd'allah* received them into favour, and pardoned *Omar Ebn Al Hasan*, who had first excited them to a revolt. The civil dissensions and intestine broils that reigned in *Seville*, which had occasioned no small effusion of blood, greatly facilitated the submission and reduction of that place. About this time, died *Abd'almâlec Ebn Mohammed Al Rakashi*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Moslem*, a celebrated *Mohammedan* author. The *African Moslems* made themselves masters of an imperial fleet, and put 5000 imperialists to the sword, at *Melazzo* in *Sicily*; after which, the inhabitants of that town fled to *Reggio* in *Calabria*, the present year [d].

A rebellion in Spain.

THE next year, being the 277th of the *Hejra*, *Al Mowaffek* presided over the *Khalifat* in the same manner as he had done the preceding years; *Al Mo'tamed* not concerning himself at all in the affairs of government. *Omar Ebn Al Hasan* rebelled again in *Spain*; cutting off the heads of several commandants of towns, and committing other outrages in various parts. However, he was at last driven by *Abd'allah* out of the *Moslem* territories, and obliged to fly to the *Christians* for refuge; when, in order to ingratiate himself the more with them, he is said by *Roderic* to have been baptized, and made profession of the *Christian* faith. We are told by the *Cambridge Chronicon*, that the *Sicilian Moslems* fell upon the *Africans*, and cut to pieces *Al Tâwali*, one of their chief commanders, in *March*, this year [e].

[d] D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 638. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi sup. Chron. Sic. Cant. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 7.

[e] KHONDEMIR, RODERIC. TOLETAN. et Chronic. Sic. Cantabr. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

THE

THE following year, being the 278th of the *Hejra*, beginning *April* 15th, 891, *Al Mowaffek Bi'llah* departed this life at *Sarra Manray*, on *Wednesday*, the 21st of the month *Safar*, and was succeeded by his son *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Mowaffek*, surnamed *Al Mo'taded Bi'llah*, in his post of prime minister, or *Visir*. With regard to his character, *Al Mowaffek* has been greatly celebrated by the *Arab* historians, who represent him as a person of superior magnanimity, naturally brave, liberal, and thoroughly versed in the art of government. He used to say, "I always behold my friends in the same light as my "brothers, and would, if it could be done with sufficient "propriety, confer upon them the same appellation." *Al Mo'taded Billah* had as great an ascendant over the *Khalif* as his father; so that it is no wonder he should be able so easily to exclude *Al Jaafar*, *Al Mo'tamed*'s son, from the succession, and, after his nominal master's death, to fix himself upon the *Moslem* throne [f]. Al Mowaffek *dies.*

THE *Karmatians*, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the *Mohammedans*, began first to raise disturbances in the empire this year. Their origin is not so well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call *Karmata*, came from *Khûzestân* to the villages near *Câfa*, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that GOD had injoined him to pray fifty times a day; pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain *Imâm* of the family of *Mohammed*: and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. He also assumed the title of prince, and obliged every one of his earlier followers to pay him a *dinâr*. But *Al Haidam*, the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and, having put him in prison, swore that he should die; which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and, having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown; and the accident being publickly known raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that GOD had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him *The* Karmatians *first raise disturbances in the* Moslem *empire.*

[f] EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 478, 479. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 272. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 173, 174.

hurt; notwithſtanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into *Syria*, and was not heard of any more. During his abode in that country, he is ſaid to have been entertained by a man called *Karmatiah*, from whom his name *Karmata* was derived. Others, however, relate, that the *Karmatians* wrote very cloſe and in exceeding ſmall characters, contrary to the manner of the *Arab Moſlems*, amongſt whom the *Cûfic* character prevailed, who uſed large letters, and left a conſiderable ſpace between their lines; and that from this cuſtom they derived the name of *Karmatians*; *Karmath*, or *Karmat*, amongſt the *Arabs*, denoting that manner of writing. Be that, however, as it will, this ſect continued and increaſed, after the founder of it diſappeared; pretending that their maſter had manifeſted himſelf to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer uſed by the *Moſlems*, and introduced a new kind of faſt; and that he had alſo allowed them to drink wine, and diſpenſed with ſeveral things commanded by the *Korân*. They likewiſe turned the precepts of that book into allegory; teaching that prayer was the ſymbol of obedience to their *Imâm*, and faſting that of ſilence, or concealing their dogms from ſtrangers. They alſo believed fornication to be the ſin of infidelity; and the guilt thereof to be incurred by thoſe who revealed the myſteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are ſaid to have produced a book, wherein was written, amongſt other things, *In the name of the moſt merciful* GOD. Al Faraj Ebn Othmân *of the town of* Naſrâna *faith, that* CHRIST *appeared to him in a human form, and ſaid*, "*Thou art the in-*" *vitation: thou art the demonſtration: thou art the camel:* "*thou art the beaſt: thou art* John *the ſon of* Zacharias: *thou art the* HOLY GHOST." The ſect of the *Karmatians*, according to ſome writers, firſt began to appear in the *Khalîfat* of *Harûn Al Raſhîd*, or, as others will have it, in that of *Al Mamûn*; but their leader having then ſoon diſappeared, they kept themſelves concealed; neither acknowledging any particular *Imâm*, nor any other chief. *Ebn Shohnah* relates, that they firſt excited ſome commotions in the villages and towns near *Cûfa*, in the 275th year of the *Hejra*; and that they were headed by a man named *Kerſa*, who often changed his ſituation and place of abode, and was ſo effectually concealed by his followers, that he could never be diſcovered by any of the *Khalif*'s officers who were ſent in queſt of him. *Khondemir* writes, that, in many particulars, this ſect agreed with that of *Iſmael Ebn Jaafar Al Sadek*, the ſixth *Imâm*; that they did not ſcruple eating many things forbidden by the *Mohammedan* law; and that they believed angels to be the friends, directors, and guardians of mankind, and evil demons their moſt

moſt inveterate enemies, that were continually meditating their deſtruction. The *Karmatians* pretend, that CHRIST revealed to the above-mentioned *Al Faraj Ebn Othmân*, that the prayer before ſun-riſe ought to be performed with two ingeniculations, and that before ſun-ſet with two more; and that they ought to faſt twice a year, *viz.* on the days *Mihijân*, or *Mihrjân*, and *Al Nîrûz*, that is, the 16th day of the *Perſian* month *Mihr*, and the firſt day of the year. From the year of the *Hejra* 278, the *Karmatians*, under ſeveral leaders, gave almoſt continual diſturbance to the *Khalifs*, and their *Mohammedan* ſubjects, for ſeveral years; committing great diſorders and outrages in *Chaldea*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Meſopotamia*, and at length eſtabliſhing a conſiderable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of *Abu Dhâher*, famous for his taking of *Mecca*, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined ſoon after his time, and came to nothing. *Mowaffek* died of the leproſy, or elephantiaſis, according to *Abulfeda* and *Abu'l-Faraj*, a little before the *Karmatians* began to diſturb the repoſe of the *Moſlem* empire. He could not forbear ſaying, in his laſt illneſs, that of 100,000 men, whom he commanded, not one was as miſerable as himſelf. After that general's deceaſe, his ſon *Abu'l Abbâs Al Mo'taded* ſucceeded him, with the unanimous approbation of all the officers of the army, who likewiſe acknowleged his right to the crown after *Al Mo'tamed*, by the expreſs command of the *Khalif*. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Al Tâbi*, prince or chief of the *Karmatians*, obliged every one of his ſubjects, or followers, to pay him yearly, by way of tribute, a *dinâr* [z].

THE next year, being the 279th of the *Hejra*, commencing *April* 3d, 892, the *Khalif Al Mo'tamed* died at *Baghdâd*, the 19th of *Rajeb*, being then about fifty years of age. The day before, he had drank to great exceſs, and at night eaten a much larger ſupper than uſual; which proved fatal to him, as before morning he expired. Some of the authors, however, followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, relate, that he died of a ſquinancy, and that he was, at the time of his deceaſe, fifty years and ſix months old. This *Khalif* was extremely attached to his pleaſures; ſo that he left the management of his affairs intirely to others. He was paſſionately fond of muſic, and not unacquainted with letters. He quitted the city of *Sarra Manray*, and fixed his reſidence for ſome time at *Baghdâd*; tho' he was

The Khalif Al Mo'tamed *dies.*

[z] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 274, 275. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 174, 175, 176. EBN SHOHNAH, ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 277. KHONDEMIR, Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, p. 276. apud JOAN. SWINTON. A. M. OXONIENS. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Carmath*, p. 256, 257.

buried, according to the beſt of the *Arab* writers, at the former of thoſe places. During the courſe of twenty-three years reign, *Al Mowaffek* and his ſon *Al Mo'taded* deprived him abſolutely of his authority, leaving him only the bare name of *Khalif*; inſomuch that when he once aſked of his brother 300 *dinârs*, that ſmall ſum was refuſed him. However, the *Moſlems* in general were very well pleaſed with *Al Mowaffek*'s adminiſtration. *Al Mo'tamed* was a little ſwarthy, of a good ſtature, had a comely face, a large head, a long beard, and a forehead a little pitted with the ſmall pox. Both his hair and his beard were greyer than uſual in one of his age. He loved gaming and chearful converſation, as well as eating and drinking, to a great degree; whence 'tis no wonder he ſhould have been too indolent to apply himſelf to the affairs of government. In this *Khalif*'s reign flouriſhed *Jaafar Ebn Mohammed Abu Maaſhar Al Balkhi*, commonly known by the name of *Albumaſar*, *Al Mowaffek*'s aſtrologer, who attended him when he beſieged a body of the *Zenjian* troops in *Baſra*. This *Abu Maaſhar*, when he lived at *Baghdâd*, was an enemy to *Abu Yuſef Yakûb Ebn Iſhak Al Kendi*, and endeavoured to prejudice the people of that city againſt him, becauſe he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy. But *Al Kendi* having found a perſon who prevailed upon him to learn arithmetic and geometry, which he left for the ſake of aſtrology, before he had made a very conſiderable progreſs in them, he ceaſed to perſecute, or give any farther moleſtation to, that celebrated ſcholar. *Abu Maaſhar*, a man of fine parts, and an excellent diſpoſition, arrived at great ſkill in aſtrology, tho' a ſtranger even to the rudiments of that art when he was forty-ſeven years of age, and wrote ſeveral treatiſes upon it, held in vaſt repute amongſt the *Arabs*. The *Khalif Al Moſt'ian* ordered him to be ſeverely whipt, becauſe an event that he had foretold actually came to paſs; which not a little chagrined him. He lived to be above 100 years of age, and died at *Wâſet*. He was accuſed of drunkenneſs, and generally troubled with an epileptic diſorder at the full moon. With regard to *Al Kendi*, he was of noble extraction, and born at *Baſra*. His father *Iſhak* had been governor of *Cûfa* in the *Khalifats* of *Al Mohdi* and *Harûn Al Raſhid*. This *Yakûb Al Kendi* was ſo ſingularly well verſed in phyſic, natural philoſophy, arithmetic, dialectic or logic, muſic, geometry, and aſtronomy, and wrote ſo many famous books in moſt of thoſe ſciences, that he infinitely excelled all the *Moſlems* of his age in the knowlege of thoſe branches of literature, and was the only one of them that merited the honourable title of philoſopher. *Koſtâ Ebn Lûkâ Al Baalbeki*, a *Chriſtian* philoſopher, and his cotemporary, rendered himſelf exceeding famous

mous by travelling over a considerable part of the imperial territories, and purchasing of the *Greeks* a multitude of books, which he brought with him first into *Syria*, and afterwards into *Irâk*, where he was employed in translating some of the most useful of them out of *Greek* into *Arabic*. Several pieces written in a compendious, though most excellent, method by this learned author were extant in the days of *Abu'l-Faraj*. We are also told, that *Senhârîb* invited him into *Armenia*, where he kept him till his death, and afterwards erected over him a mausoleum, or stately monument, in order to demonstrate to future ages the high regard he had for him. In fine, he was looked upon as the greatest scholar of the age, and famous for expressing his vast flow of sentiments in a concise and engaging manner [h].

An inscription in unknown characters discovered.

It appears from an oriental historian, that, in the reign of this *Khalif*, and the year of the *Hejra* 276, there were found in a place of *Syria* called *Tel Shâif*, that is to say, *the lover's hill*, as also *Tel Alsekkah*, *the hill of contracts*, seven tombs, every one of which contained a body extremely well preserved, whose shroud seemed quite new, and emitted a very grateful odour. Amongst these seven bodies there was one that had belonged to a young man, whose visage, and particularly the lips, appeared as fresh as those of a living person who had just drunk a draught of water. Near these tombs a stone was discovered that greatly resembled one of those which are used to sharpen or whet any iron instrument upon. This stone exhibited an inscription drawn up in characters that nobody could decipher; tho' the *Khalif* ordered a large number of men of all nations, sects, and religions, that lived within the limits of the *Moslem* empire, to be assembled for that purpose [i].

Several remarkable events, not hitherto mentioned, in this Khalif's reign.

In the first year of the *Khalîfat* of *Al Mo'tamed*, *Stephen* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and died on the very day of his consecration. He was succeeded by *Tadûs*, who sat in that see twenty years. In the tenth year of his reign, *Eylia Ebn Mansûr* was advanced to the patriarchate of *Jerusalem*, and presided over the church there twenty-nine years. *Mikhâiyel Ebn Bacâm*, the patriarch of *Alexandria*, died in the 256th year of the *Hejra*, was buried in the city of *Bûrah*, and succeeded by another *Michael*, of *Greek* extraction, who continued patriarch of *Alexandria* thirty-four years. *Basilius*, the

[h] Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 175. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 478, 479. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 272, 273, 274. Ism. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 279. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, p. 274. apud Joan. Swintonum, A. M. Oxoniens. D'Herbel. Bibloth. orient. art. *Mo'tamed*, p. 638.

[i] Tarikh Al Abbas.

Greek

Greek emperor, likewise died in this prince's reign; which made way for his son *Leo* to the imperial throne, who has been dignified by *Eutychius* with the honourable title of a wise man and a philosopher. In the 8th year of *Al Mo'tamed*, or the 263d of the *Hejra*, *Sa'id Ebn Batrîk*, who had completed the 60th year of his age when he was promoted to the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, and, after that event, assumed the name of *Anbâ Eutychius*, or *Eftyshîûs*, was born. *Basilius* departed this life in the 259th year of the *Hejra*, according to some authors cited by *Al Makîn*, and his son *Leo* ascended the imperial throne the same year. *Al Mo'tamed*'s principal counsellors were successively *Abd'allah Ebn Khâkân*, *Solimân Ebn Waheb*, *Al Hasan Ebn Mokhalled*, three times, *Sa'id Ebn Mokhalled*, and *Abu'lsakar Ebn Ismael Ebn Mâlec*; his judges *Al Hasan Ebn Sahal Ebn Abu'l Shawârib* and *Ahmed Ebn Alî*; and his chamberlains *Mûsa Ebn Bogâ*, and his brother *Jaafar*. The inscription of his seal was, *Happy is he who receives instruction from another man's example* [k].

SECT. XXXVII.

Al Mo'taded *proclaimed* Khalîf.

THE same day that *Al Mo'tamed* died, *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Al Mo'taded Bi'llah Ebn Al Mowaffek*, in consequence of his having been called to the succession after that prince, was saluted *Khalîf*. His mother's name was *Darâr*, or *Derâr*. She had been one of his father *Al Mowaffek*'s concubines; but to what country she originally belonged, we have not been told. A profound tranquillity took place throughout the empire, immediately after his accession; so that there was a vast plenty of provisions and necessaries of all kinds in every province. Some writers pretend, that *Al Mo'taded*, before his elevation o the *Khalîfat*, saw a person in a dream plunge his hand into he *Tigris*, and instantly pull it out again; upon which, that river was immediately dried up, as tho' he held all the water of it in his hand; which when he opened, it returned to its former course. This person then asked him whether he knew him? and, upon his answering him in the negative, discovered himself to be *Ali*, desiring him at the same time to be kind to his family, after he had ascended the *Moslem* throne. *Al Mo'taded*, continue these authors, promised him he would, and was afterwards as good as his word. For, the descendants of that celebrated *Imâm* enjoyed a large share of this prince's favours, during the whole course of his reign [l].

THE

[k] Eutych. ubi sup. p. 470——479. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 175, 176 [l] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup.

THE ſame year, *Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn* ſent *Al Hoſein Ebn Abd'allah*, commonly called *Ebn Al Jaſſas*, as his embaſſador, with very valuable preſents, to the *Moſlem* court, in order to propoſe a match between his daughter *Ketralnada* and *Al Mo'taded*'s ſon *Ali*; but the *Khalîf*, having probably received a pleaſing account of the young lady's charms, demanded her in marriage for himſelf. To this *Khamarawiyah* not only gave his conſent, but teſtified likewiſe his approbation of his miniſter's conduct in tranſports of joy. About the ſame time, died *Naſr*, or *Naſſer*, *Al Samâni*, in *Khoraſân*, and *Abu Iſa Ebn Mohammed Ebn Iſa Ebn Sawda*, a celebrated *Imâm*, and the author of the great collection of traditions. *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân* governed his ſubjects with great lenity and juſtice this year, and the remaining part of his reign, in *Spain* [m].

The Khalîf demands Khamarawiyah's daughter in marriage.

THE following year, being the 280th of the *Hejra*, died *Jaafar*, the ſon of *Al Mo'tamed*; and *Hamdân Ebn Hamdûn Ebn Al Hâreth Al Ta'labi*, one of the *Arab Emîrs* ſettled in *Diyar Rabîa*, and the adjacent territories, either directly revolted againſt the *Khalîf*, or, by joining a body of *Curds*, gave umbrage to him. That prince, therefore, towards the cloſe of the year, ſet a conſiderable army on foot, in order to reduce him [n].

Al Mo'taded *makes preparations to reduce* Hamdan;

IN the 281ſt year of the *Hejra*, beginning *March* 13th, 894, the *Khalîf* came to an open rupture with *Hamdân*. Being informed of his hoſtile intentions, and of the junction of his forces with a body of *Curds*, he advanced to *Mawſel* at the head of his troops, and, in his march, defeated a large body of the enemy, killed a great number of them upon the ſpot, and drove moſt of the reſt into the *Zâb*, a river that, at a ſmall diſtance from *Mawſel* and *Hadîtza*, unites its ſtream with that of the *Tigris*; who, not being able to reach the oppoſite bank, were all drowned. From *Mawſel* he marched to *Mâredîn*, or *Mâradîn*, a place of ſome ſtrength belonging to *Hamdân*, in which he had poſted his ſon with a gariſon to defend it; who ſurrendered to the *Khalîf* at diſcretion, the day after he preſented himſelf before it. *Al Mo'taded*, having poſſeſſed himſelf of this fortreſs, ordered every thing valuable in it to be carried out, levelled it with the ground, and then returned with his army to *Baghdâd*. In the mean time, *Hamdân* thought fit to retire to *Hoſeinîa*, a large city ex-

and gets him into his hands.

ſup. p. 176, 177. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 478——481. ISM. ABULFED. ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Motadhed*, p. 634, 635. [m] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 177. ISM. ABULFED. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi ſup. ROD. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. [n] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup.

tremely

tremely well fortified, and defended by a garison of ten thousand men, commanded by *Shadâd*, one of his friends. However, the *Khalîf* found means to make himself master of that fortress also, and to get *Hamdân* into his hands. Some authors write, that *Hamdân* had three sons, *Al Hosein*, *Abd'allah*, and *Dawd*; and that the *Khalif* gave *Al Hosein* the command of a body of his troops. Be that, however, as it will, *Abd'allah Abu'l Hija*, *Hamdân*'s second son, was one of the *Khalîf Al Mo'ctasi*'s generals. Some writers make *Saifo'ddawla* the son of this *Abd'allah*, and others of *Hamdân* himhimself. He was born, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, the preceding year [o].

The Khalif *marries* Ketralhada, Khamarawiyah's *daughter.*

THE next year, being the 282d of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 2d, 895, *Khamarawiyah*'s daughter *Ketralhada*, attended by a splendid equipage, was sent by her father to *Baghdâd*, in the month of *Al Moharram*, and received by the *Khalîf* himself, her future spouse, at the gates of that city; from whence he conducted her to the imperial palace there, with great pomp and magnificence, the 24th of the latter *Rabî*. About this time, died *Abu Hanîfa Ahmed Ebn Dawd Al Dainawari*, the author of a natural history of plants, *Al Hâreth Ebn Abi Osâma*, the author of the *Masnad*, or body of traditions, and *Abu'l Aina Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem*, a disciple of the famous *Al Asmai*. The same year, *Khamarawiyah* was assassinated by one of his domestics in bed, the 3d of *Dhu'lhajja*, at *Damascus*; after which, the army substituted his son *Jaish*, or *Jeish*, in his room. As soon as this prince had mounted the throne of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the troops demanded his uncle's head; which he thereupon ordered to be cut off, and thrown to them, without delay. In a short time after his accession, he quitted the city of *Damascus*, where his father had fixed his residence, left a governor there, and returned with all possible expedition into *Egypt* [p].

The transactions of the year 283.

THE 283d year of the *Hejra* proved fatal to *Jaish*, or *Jeish*; who, together with his mother, was massacred by the soldiery, after he had presided about eight months over *Syria* and *Egypt*. After his death, the mutineers demolished his palace in *Mesr*, and placed his brother *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah*, a child of ten years old, upon the throne. This happened in the month of *Rajeb*. The *Khalîf Al Mo'taded*, having received advice of *Harûn*'s accession, wrote him a letter, wherein he acquainted him, that he had conferred the

[o] Iidem ibid. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 281. Vide etiam GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 305, et alibi pass.

[p] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, EUTYCH. et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 282.

pre-

prefecture of *Egypt* upon him, and impoſed on him an annual tribute of 1,500,000 *dinârs*; which *Harûn* promiſed to pay him out of the public revenues of *Egypt*. The *Sclavi*, or *Sclavonians*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, either this or the following year, made an irruption into *Thrace*, put a vaſt number of people to the ſword, beſieged *Conſtantinople* itſelf, and ravaged all the country about that capital. The *Greek* emperor not being able to make head againſt the barbarians with his own troops, continues this author, armed the *Moſlem* ſlaves, or priſoners, on this occaſion, in order to make a vigorous ſally upon the beſiegers, and drive them from before the town. Which having done, principally by the bravery of thoſe ſlaves, he again diſarmed them, and diſperſed them over the provinces of the empire; fearing leſt, if they remained in a body with their arms, after they had ſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves, they might meditate ſome enterprize againſt him. Soon after this, a cartel was ſettled between the *Chriſtians* and the *Moſlems*, who were continually making incurſions into each others territories, for an exchange of priſoners: by which means, 2504 *Moſlems*, men, women, and children, recovered their liberty. The ſame year, that is, the 283d of the *Hejra*, a phantom, or apparition, frequently, for a conſiderable time, preſented itſelf before the *Khalîf*, notwithſtanding all the doors of his palace and his apartments were ſhut, in different manners, poſtures, and ſhapes. Sometimes it would appear to him in the habit of a merchant, at others in that of a ſoldier, and at others in that of a derviſe. Its viſage alſo changed its colour often; for ſometimes it was white, and incircled with rays of light, at others brown, and at others pale and wan. The fame of this apparition was ſoon ſpread over the city of *Baghdâd*, and people reaſoned differently upon it. Some took it to be the devil, whom the Divine Juſtice ſent to this prince to torment him. Others believed it to be one of thoſe wanton ſpirits called by the *Arabs Jin*, or *Genii*, which participate both of the nature of ſpirits and that of men. Others imagined, that it was an angel ſent by GOD to reform this prince, and diſpoſe him to forſake the vicious habits he had contracted. But the moſt ſenſible part of his ſubjects apprehended, that theſe pranks were plaid by ſome of his domeſtics, aſſiſted herein by a perſon well verſed in the occult ſciences, in order to carry ſome deſign he had formed into execution. Nevertheleſs, the truth of the fact could never be diſcovered; which excited the *Khalif* to uſe ſeveral of his domeſtics, whom he ſuſpected of having a hand in this affair, ill on that account. About this time, died at *Manbij*, or *Aleppo*, *Al Walîd Ebn Obeidah*, and *Ali Ebn Al Abbâs*, two celebrated *Arab* poets.

poets. This year, a truce, or ceſſation of arms, in *Sicily* was agreed upon between the *Chriſtians* and the *Moſlems* [q].

Several wonderful phænomena in Egypt.

In the year of the *Hejra* 284, beginning *February* 8th, 897, a wonderful phænomenon, or rather ſeveral ſuch phænomena, were ſeen in *Egypt*. On *Holy Thurſday*, or *Aſcenſion-day*, which this year fell on the 28th of the former *Rabi*, a high wind aroſe towards the evening, which blew till midnight; when on a ſudden it became ſo dark, the night having been pretty light before, that not the fainteſt traces of any viſible object could be diſcerned. This thick darkneſs was ſucceeded by a ſtorm, or tempeſt, much more violent than the former wind, which threw down a vaſt number of houſes, and did incredible damage. During this ſtorm, a large quantity of a ſort of red ſand fell upon people's heads in their houſes, to their great terror and aſtoniſhment, and the whole hemiſphere ſeemed to be covered with pillars of fire. This continued till towards the approach of the morning, when the tempeſt ſomewhat abated, and the heavens appeared of an exceeding red colour, which they communicated to the earth, mountains, trees, men, and every other object of ſight, for the ſpace of two hours; the wind blowing all the time extremely freſh. Then this ſurprizing redneſs turned into a yellowiſh colour, which continued till noon, and was ſucceeded by a thick black cloud, that remained till the middle of the next day; ſo that, for a day and an half, the face of the heavens was totally obſcured, this cloud, and the aforeſaid phænomena, all that time abſolutely intercepted the ſolar rays. After the diſſipation of the thick black cloud, the boiſterous weather above-mentioned immediately ceaſed. As the red meteor, or vapour, here mentioned not a little reſembles that ſeen by the writer of this hiſtory at *Oxford*, *December* 5th, 1737, which the famous Dr. *Halley* told him he never ſaw any celeſtial appearance like, through the whole courſe of his obſervations, nor ever met with an account of any ſimilar to it in hiſtory; we thought our curious readers would not be diſpleaſed to find the preceding article, extracted from *Eutychius*, inſerted in this place [r].

[q] Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 480——483. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 177, 178. Ism. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej. 283. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 277. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſup. p. 634, 635. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. apud Joan. Bapt. Carus. ubi ſup. p. 7.

[r] Eutych. ubi ſup p. 480—485. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 180. Philoſoph. Tranſact. for the years 1737, 1738. vol. xl. p. 437, 438. See alſo the Philoſoph. Tranſact. abridged, from the year 1732 to the year 1734, by John Martyn, F. R. S. p. 527—539. Lond. 1747.

The

THE same year, some of the *Arab* astrologers predicted a general inundation, which should be occasioned by a long course of continual rains, and by which *Mesopotamia* and all the neighbouring countries, except the territory of *Baghdâd*, should be laid under water. But the reverse of this happened. For, by reason of a long uninterrupted drought, the waters of the *Tigris*, and other rivers, were lower than ever had been known in the memory of man; insomuch that they frequently offered up prayers to heaven for rain, in the public mosques, at *Baghdâd*. About this time, the *Khalîf*, excited thereto by his affection for *Ali* and his descendants, would have issued an order to curse publickly the name of *Moâwiyah* I. of the house of *Ommiyah*, in all the mosques of the empire, for the solemn malediction that prince caused to be published against *Ali* and his family. But *Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân*, his *Visir*, dissuaded him from this, by representing to him, that it would make him incur the hatred of a very considerable part of his subjects; and, by raising the credit of the race of *Ali*, then dispersed all over the empire, would make them lift up their heads, and perhaps enable them to embarrass his affairs. Before the conclusion of this year, the *Karmatians*, a sect of which we have already given our readers some account, began to be in motion [s]. *Other occurrences this year.*

THE following year, being the 285th of the *Hejra*, commencing *January* 28, 898, one *Abu Sa'îd* appeared for the first time at the head of a body of *Karmatian* and *Arab* troops in *Bahrein*. Having taken several towns in that province, he advanced to *Al Katîf*, and even threatened to pay the *Moslems* a visit at *Basra*. This induced the *Khalîf* to surround that city with a wall, which cost him 14,000 *dinârs*. About the same time, died *Ibrahim Ebn Ishak*, a famous traditionist of *Baghdâd*. An action happened this year in *Sicily*, the consequences of which are not known [t]. *The* Karmatians *commit hostilities in* Bahrein.

THE 286th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *January* 17th, 899, produced several military operations. The *Khalîf Al Mo'taded* laid siege to *Amid*, or *Amida*, a city of *Mesopotamia*, seated upon the *Tigris*, with a powerful army. For some time, *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Shaikh*, who commanded in the town, defended it with great bravery. But *Al Mo'taded* having, by the application of his catapults thereto, made a practicable breach in the walls, and being upon the point of carrying the place by storm, the commandant found himself *The* Khalif *reduces* Amid.

[s] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 284. KHONDEMIR, D'HERBEL. ubi sup. p. 635.

[t] GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 278. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 285. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96.

obliged to surrender, on condition his life should be granted him. *Kinnisrîn* also and *Al Awâsem* submitted to the *Khalif*. After which, he took *Ebn Shaikh* into favour, gave him a sumptuous vest, and carried him with him to *Baghdâd* [u].

The Karmatians *penetrate into* Yamâma.

THE same year, *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, with a body of the *Karmatian* forces, penetrated into *Yamâma*, and laid siege to *Hajr*, the capital of the district of the same name. But as the place was strongly fortified, and rendered almost impregnable by its situation, he found himself obliged to draw off, and abandon the siege. However, after this repulse, he sat down before *Al Ahsâ*, a town about two miles north-west of *Hajr*, and ravaged all the adjacent territory; which enabled him to form again the siege of *Hajr*, and carry it on with more vigour than before. But, notwithstanding all his efforts, he could not make himself master of that fortress this campaign [w].

The Khalif *prepares to march against them.*

THE *Khalif*, receiving advice that the *Karmatians* had overran a considerable part of *Arabia* and *Irâk*, pillaging all the country through which they moved, and putting all the *Moslems* they could meet with to the sword, assembled a considerable army, to stop their farther progress; which he ordered to advance towards the frontiers of those provinces, though none of the troops of which it was composed could enter upon action this campaign. About this time, *Al Mo'taded* granted *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*, at his request, the perpetual prefecture of *Awâsem*, and *Kinnisrin*, which he annexed to that of *Egypt* and *Syria*, on condition that he paid him an annual tribute of 45,000 *dinârs*. About the same time, died *Abu'l Abbâs Mohammed Abd'allah Ebn Yezid*, a celebrated grammarian and philologer, who wrote a great number of excellent books. Another battle was fought this year in *Sicily*, the particulars of which have not been handed down to us by any historian [x].

His forces are overthrown with very great slaughter.

THE next year, being the 287th of the *Hejra*, *Al Abbâs Ebn Omar*, the *Khalif*'s general, took the field with a powerful army against the *Karmatians*, who continued still to make terrible havock in *Arabia* and *Irâk*. That general soon brought *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, who commanded them, to a general action; wherein the *Khalif*'s troops were overthrown with

[u] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 178. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 239—242. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup.

[w] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 96, 97. See also Mr SALE's map of Arabia, prefixed to his prelim discourse.

[x] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 480——483. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

great

great slaughter, and 700 of them, amongst whom was *Al Abbâs Ebn Omar* himself, taken prisoners. The *Karmatian* general, however, dismissed *Al Abbâs Ebn Omar*, on condition that he should represent to the *Khalif* the fatal consequences of continuing the war against the *Karmatians*, who were inured to all kinds of hardships and fatigues, and would therefore always prove superior to the forces of that prince, to whom they were resolved never to give quarter; as likewise to endeavour to prevail upon him, by all proper motives that he could think of, to desist from that war. This he accordingly did, and it had such an effect upon the *Khalif*, that he sent no forces against them the following year. We must not forget to observe, that *Abu'l Abbâs* landed a considerable body of *Moslem* troops from *Africa* at *Mazara*, or *Mazaria*, in *Sicily*, the 24th of *July*, the present year [y].

The remarkable events of the year 288.

The following year, being the 288th of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 26th, 900, the plague made such dreadful havock in *Adherbijân*, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead; insomuch that they were obliged to leave them exposed on the highways in great numbers. About the same time, the *Greeks* made an irruption into *Kaisûm*, ravaged it, and carried off about 15,000 *Moslems* prisoners. The whole hemisphere was filled with those meteors called falling-stars, the ninth of *Dhu'lhajja*, from midnight till morning, to the vast surprize of the beholders, in *Egypt*. *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, the *Karmatian* general, took *Hajr* in *Yamâma*, having starved the garison to a surrender, and forced them to feed upon dogs and other unclean animals, either the beginning of this, or towards the conclusion of the preceding year. After he had put all the inhabitants to the sword, and distributed every thing valuable belonging to them amongst his troops, he abandoned the town. *Abu'l Abbâs*, with the *African* troops, took *Palermo September* 8th, 901, and massacred a great number of the citizens at the reduction of that place [z].

The insolence of a Karmatian officer.

The next year, being the 289th of the *Hejra*, beginning *December* 16th, 901, *Al Mo'taded*, receiving advice that a body of the *Karmatian* troops had taken post in the neighbourhood of *Cûfa*, sent a detachment of his forces to reconnoitre them. The officer, who commanded the detachment, was so lucky as to surprize one of their parties, and to carry off one of their principal chiefs, whom he immediately con-

[y] Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 178, 179. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

[z] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p 278. Eutych ubi sup. p. 484, 485. Al Makin, ubi sup. p 178—181. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup.

ducted to the imperial palace at *Baghdâd*. As soon as the *Karmatian* was brought before the *Khalîf*, that prince asked him whether they believed that the spirit of GOD resided in their bodies, or not? To which he made answer, *Suppose the spirit of* GOD *should reside in us, what hurt does this to you? or if the spirit of the devil should have taken up his residence in us, of what advantage is this to you? Mind your own business, and concern yourself not with other men's affairs.* "What then," said the *Khalîf*, "do you think of me and my dignity in par-"ticular?" The *Karmatian* boldly replied, *Your ancestor* Al Abbâs *was alive at the time of the prophet's death, and yet did he either aspire to the* Khalifat, *or had he it offered him by any of the* COMPANIONS? *Was not* Abu Becr *unanimously elected his successor? After that prince's decease,* Omar *was called to the succession, not the least mention having been made in his predecessor's will of* Al Abbâs. Omar *nominated six persons, a little before he expired, to elect a new* Khalif, *without permitting* Al Abbâs *to be one of their number. What title, therefore, can you have to the* Khalifat, *when your great ancestor* Al Abbâs *himself was excluded from that high dignity by the* COMPANIONS? *Al Mo'taded* was so incensed at this insolent discourse, that he instantly ordered the executioner, then present, to disjoint all his bones, to cut off his hands and his feet, and finally to strike off his head [a].

The Khalif Al Mo'taded *dies.*

THE same year, the *Khalîf Al Mo'taded* died at *Baghdâd*, the 22d of the latter *Rabî*, after he had obliged his subjects to take an oath in favour of his son *Al Moctafi*, whom he had declared his successor. Some authors relate, that his death was occasioned by immoderate coition, and others that he was poisoned by *Ismael Ebn Málec*. He reigned about nine years and nine months, and died either in the 47th, 48th, or the 50th, year of his age. His judge *Abu Omar* said the prayer usual on such occasions, when he was interred. As to his person, he was lean, swarthy, of a proper stature, just beginning to grow grey, had a handsome face, together with a long beard, died black, and was of a strong robust constitution. With regard to his disposition, he is said to have been a person of great sagacity and penetration, to have been thoroughly versed in the art of government, happy and expeditious in hitting upon expedients, at all critical conjunctures, and a prince of great justice and moderation. On some occasions, however, he was rigorous and severe in his punishments, which made him feared by his domestics, though on others his lenity was unparalleled. He was also naturally brave, an encou-

[a] GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 278, 279. D'HERBEL Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 635.

rager

rager of learned men, and sometimes extremely liberal, though he has been represented by *Eutychius* and *Abu'l-Faraj* as a lover of money. His experience and excellent genius for government rendered him every way qualified for the sublime post he so worthily filled. In fine, if we will believe some of the eastern writers, he excelled all his predecessors of the house of *Al Abbâs*, except the *Khalif Al Mansûr*, in the happiness of his administration. But the true disposition of this prince will more clearly appear from the following instances of his affection for the descendants of *Ali*, as well as of his justice, severity, and moderation, which have been recorded by the oriental historians [b].

An instance of his affection for the house of Ali.

THE provost of *Baghdâd* having one day stopped in the hands of a merchant the sum of 30,000 *dinârs*, sent by *Mohammed Ebn Zeid*, prince of *Mazanderân*, or *Tabrestân*, of the race of *Ali*, to the chiefs of the descendants of that *Imâm*, according to annual custom, residing there; they immediately carried their complaint to the *Khalif*. That prince very generously gave them the money that had been seized, and, in order to justify this action, which appeared strange to the *Sonnites*, or orthodox *Moslems*, who considered the followers of *Ali* as heretics, he related to them the following dream [c].

" I thought," said he, " that I formerly saw in a dream a " man standing at the end of a bridge that I was to pass, who " seemed at first to have an intention to oppose my passage; " but afterwards, all of a sudden, he approached me, and " presented to me a spade that he held in his hand; command- " ing me at the same time to break with it the ground on which " we stood. I obeyed his order, and after I had given some " strokes with the spade, he told me he was *Ali*, and that as " many of my sons should enjoy the *Khalifat* as I had given " strokes upon the ground with the spade. Then he injoined " me to be kind to his family, and particularly those mem- " bers of it that lived under my government. In conse- " quence, therefore, of the promise I made him, as well as " in point of justice, I ought to restore the 30,000 *dinârs* to " the descendants of that *Imâm*, to whom they properly be- " long [d]."

Two instances of his severity.

THE severity of this *Khalif* on some occasions was exceeding great, as will appear from the two following examples.

[b] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 179, 180. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 289. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 279. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486, 487. KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, TARIKH AL ABBAS.

[c] MOHAMMED EBN ABD'ALWAHED, in TARIKH AL ABBAS.

[d] Idem ibid. AHMED EBN MOHAMMED ABD'ALJAAFAR AL KAZWINI, in NIGHIARISTAN.

A ſoldier having once by force picked ſome bunches of grapes off a certain *Moſlem*'s vine, the man immediately carried his complaint to the *Khalif*; who commanded both the ſoldier and his captain to appear before him, in order to receive the puniſhment he ſhould think fit to inflict upon them. Some of the people about him demanding what crime the captain had committed? he anſwered, "I ſaw him kill a man unjuſtly in "my uncle's reign, and then made a vow to puniſh him for "ſo enormous a crime, if ever the *Khalifat* ſhould fall into "my hands, and he ſhould be found guilty of any other "fault [c]."

An eaſtern writer relates, that a merchant having lent one of the principal lords of the *Khalif*'s court a large ſum of money, after he had applied for the payment of it ſeveral times in vain, and given it up for loſt, reſolved to trouble himſelf no farther about it, but to quit the court, in order to go a voyage. This deſign he communicated to a friend, who adviſed him by all means to have recourſe to *Sheikh Khaïath*, for the recovery of his money. The *Sheikh*, upon the application of theſe two gentlemen to him, for his aſſiſtance in this affair, went directly to the lord, and no ſooner repreſented to him, with a tone of authority, as he very well knew how to do, the iniquity of his conduct, than he paid the merchant the ſum he was indebted to him. The great reputation, or rather authority, of this *Sheikh Khaïath* was acquired by a very ſingular action, an account of which has been preſerved by one of the oriental hiſtorians. A *Turk* attempting to raviſh by force a girl in the city of *Baghdad*, ſhe found herſelf obliged to call in all her neighbours to her help. At the cries of this girl, *Sheikh Khaïath* ran to her relief, and begged the *Turk* in the moſt preſſing terms not to offer her any violence. But the brute was ſo far from paying any regard to his intreaties, that he inſulted him, and treated him in a very injurious manner. The *Sheikh*, not being able to think of any other expedient, to prevent him from accompliſhing his wicked deſign, mounted the *minâret*, or ſteeple, of the great moſque, and from thence called the people together to prayer, though it was then out of the ſtated times of prayer, in order to excite the *Moſlems* ſo aſſembled to ſuccour the poor girl, and deliver her effectually out of the hands of the inſolent *Turk*. The *Khalif*, having been apprized of the action, but being ignorant of the motive to it, commanded the *Sheikh* to be brought before him, and ſeverely reprimanded him for convening the people to prayer at an unlawful hour. But being afterwards informed of the whole affair, he ordered the *Turk* to be puniſhed ac-

[c] D'Herbel. ubi ſup. p. 636.

cording

cording to his demerit, and at the ſame time commanded the *Sheikh*, as often as he ſhould ſee any violence or injuſtice committed, to publiſh it in the ſame manner, that by this means the author of it might meet with the treatment he deſerved. 'Twas this action that gave ſo great a degree of credit to the *Sheikh Khaïath*, that there was no perſon in *Baghdâd*, neither great nor ſmall, who did not pay the higheſt regard to his admonitions, for fear he ſhould aſſemble the people as before, make public the crimes he was willing to expoſe, and bring the authors to condign puniſhment for them [f].

Some other remarkable particulars relating to him.

ANOTHER author relates a fact of this *Khalîf*, that our curious readers will not be diſpleaſed to find inſerted here. Being deſirous of borrowing a conſiderable ſum of money of one of his ſubjects, who had been repreſented as in very affluent circumſtances to him; the man ſaid, as ſoon as he was brought into his preſence, *Take as much of my money as you pleaſe*. "But," replied the *Khalîf*, "what ſecurity do you "require for it?" GOD, returned the man, *has truſted you with the government of his lands and his ſervants, of which you have ſhewn yourſelf worthy by your excellent adminiſtration; and ſhall I be afraid to truſt you with my money?* Theſe words ſo affected the *Khalîf*, that he is ſaid to have ſhed tears, and to have told the man that he would not finger a *dirhêm* of his money, but that if hereafter he ſhould become indigent, all the public revenues of the empire ſhould be at his ſervice. This was the more remarkable at that time, as he was in great want of money to pay the forces; which, in another reign, might have produced very diſmal effects. He alſo eaſed the people of the burden of ſome of their taxes, and remitted the tribute paid by the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina*. Beſides which, other inſtances of his preferring the welfare of his ſubjects to pecuniary conſiderations, even when he ſtood in need of money, and his finances were at a pretty low ebb, have been handed down to us by ſome of the beſt oriental writers [g].

His lenity to his ſervants.

WITH regard to this *Khalîf*'s lenity and mildneſs to his ſervants, on ſome occaſions, a very remarkable ſtory of him has been preſerved by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Abd'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb*, his *Viſir*, being one day with him, a ſervant, whilſt he endeavoured to drive away the flies with a fly-flap in his hand, ſtruck off the *Khalîf*'s cap; which greatly confounded the *Viſir*. But the *Khalîf*, unmoved with the accident, only ſaid, *This boy is exceeding careleſs*. This ſo aſto-

[f] MOHAMMED EBN ABD'ALWAHED, in TARIKH AL ABBAS.

[g] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 179. ISM. ABULFED. in chron.

nished the *Visir*, that he could not forbear falling prostrate on the ground, and saying *O emperor of the faithful! is it possible there should be so much lenity in so great a prince?* The *Khalif* replied, "What other notice ought to be taken of such "an accident as this? I knew that if the poor boy had done "this designedly, he must have been out of his senses; and "certainly where no ill is intended, no action ought to be "imputed to any one as a crime [h]."

Other authors represent him as cruel on some occasions.

OTHER authors, however, relate, that, at certain intervals, he was cruel, and took great delight in spilling human blood; insomuch that he punished with death the most trifling faults. The same writers also affirm, that whenever any of his domestics incurred his displeasure, he ordered him to be buried alive; which made them all to stand in the greatest awe of him. In fine, from what has been observed of this *Khalif* it clearly appears, that different authors have represented him in different lights, at least as inconsistent with himself, and acting differently at different times; so that we must consider him on certain occasions as adorned with some of those virtues, the exercise of which appears most amiable in a very great prince, and on others as deformed by their opposite vices [i].

His favourites and Visirs.

His principal counsellors, or *Visirs*, were *Abu'l Sakar Ebn Ismael Ebn Málec*, *Abd'allah Ebn Solimán Ebn Waheb*, *Ahmed Ebn Abu'l Aubás Ebn Mohammed*, *Abu Hárim Abd'alhamid Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Selwi*, and *Yusef Ebn Yakúb*, who successively governed the *Mosiem* empire under the *Khalif*. His chamberlain *Sáleh*, and his freed-man *Badar*, enjoyed likewise a considerable share of his favour. The inscription of his seal was, *Necessity takes away all choice and free will.* The first day of his reign was *Tuesday*, and the last *Monday*; tho', with regard to the precise duration of it, authors are not perfectly agreed [k].

Some occurrences in the Greek empire, during his reign.

IN the first year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'taded*, *Simeon*, or *Sim'án*, *Ebn Zarnák* was constituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and presided over the church there twelve years. In the year of the *Hejra* 281, or of CHRIST 894, according to the *Christian* writers followed by *Al Makin*, the emperor *Leo* married his fourth wife *Zoe*, who brought him a son, called *Constantine*. This marriage being the fourth, which was then held unlawful, gave rise to great disturbances and divisions in the church of *Constantinople*. For, *Nicolaus Mysticus*,

[h] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 279. [i] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM ABULFED. & GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. [k] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 179, 180. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 486, 487.

at

at that time patriarch, not only declared against the marriage, but excommunicated the emperor; who thereupon, after having earnestly begged, but in vain, to be restored to the communion of the church, confined the patriarch in a monastery, and placed one *Euthymius Syncellus* in his room. Some of the clergy adhered to *Nicolaus*, and others to *Euthymius*; which occasioned a schism in the church. However, the pope, or bishop of *Rome*, *Michael*, or *Mikhâîyel*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, *Elias*, or *Eylîâ*, *Ebn Mansûr*, patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and *Simeon*, or *Sim'an*, *Ebn Zarnâ*, patriarch of *Antioch*, by their legates, or nuncio's, whom they sent to *Constantinople* for that purpose, if we will believe *Eutychius*, declared for the legality of that marriage, and were joined herein by a considerable number of the *Greek* bishops. But, for a farther account of this affair, we must beg leave to refer our curious readers to the *Roman*, or *Constantinopolitan*, history, to which it more properly belongs [1].

Several learned men encouraged in Al Mo'taded's reign.

During the *Khalifat* of *Al Mo'taded*, several learned men were not only countenanced, but caressed, at the *Moslem* court. Amongst these may be ranked the three sons of *Mûsa Ebn Shâker*, *Mohammed*, *Ahmed*, and *Al Hasan*, who excelled in various branches of literature. As for *Mûsa Ebn Shâker* himself, he followed the occupation of a robber, or highwayman, in his earlier years; but he afterwards became reformed, and was one of the greatest favourites of the *Khalif Al Mamûn*. After his death, that prince committed his three sons, then very young, to the care of *Ishak Ebn Ibrahim Al Mosa'bi*, who placed them under *Yahya Ebn Abi Mansûr*, in the university of *Baghdâd*. However, their circumstances then were narrow enough, as the pensions settled by *Al Mamûn* upon his favourites were but small. *Abu Jaafar Mohammed*, the eldest of them, made a very considerable progress in geometry and astronomy; though afterwards, applying himself to military affairs, he had a command given him in the army, which he kept till the *Turks*, becoming masters of every thing, filled it with officers of their own nation. *Ahmed*, the second of *Mûsa*'s sons, was inferior, in point of learning, to his brother *Mohammed*; but he had the best mechanical head of any man of the age. *Al Hasan*, the youngest son, was extremely fond of geometry, and of such prodigious parts as could be equalled by none of those of his cotemporaries. For, whatever knowledge he had came to him by dint of genius, and as it were by inspiration, not having been acquired by labour and study. When he had read only the six first books of the *Ele-*

[1] Eutych. ubi sup. p. 484——487. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 180. Univers. Hist. vol. vi. p. 575. Lond. 1742.

ments of *Euclid*, with the assistance of those, purely by force of genius, he could demonstrate any proposition contained in the books of that celebrated author he had not touched upon; as he scrupled not to tell *Al Merûzi*, when he reproached him with not having gone farther in *Euclid*, before the *Khalif Al Mamûn*. However, that prince, though giving credit to what he advanced in this particular, seems to have blamed him for his want of application. *Mohammed Ebn Mûsa* instructed in his house, or school, at *Baghdâd*, the famous *Thabet Ebn Korra*, the *Sabian*, who was born at *Harân*, or *Harrân*, in *Mesopotamia*; and introduced him to the *Khalîf Al Mo'taded*, who consulted him as his astrologer, honoured him with a greater degree of familiarity than even his *Visir* himself, and took an inconceivable liking to him. This *Thâbet Ebn Korra Ebn Merwân* composed several excellent treatises upon mathematical, physical, and logical subjects. He likewise wrote some books in *Syriac* upon the *Sabian* religion, containing an account of the *Sabians* method of wrapping up and burying their dead, of their cleanness and uncleanness, of the animals they look upon as proper or improper for sacrifices, of their stated times of public worship, and, in fine, of all their rites, precepts, and institutions. But, as we have already obliged our readers with a full and ample account of all those particulars in another place, we shall not expatiate any farther upon them here. *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Ebn Al Tiyeb Al Sarkhasi* likewise flourished in this reign. He was also an eminent *Moslem* philosopher, and penned several excellent pieces, full of various kinds of erudition, that prevailed both amongst the *Arabs* and the antients. His knowlege was very extentive, his parts admirable, his language copious and elegant, and his style extremely neat. He had first been preceptor to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, and afterwards his most intimate companion and friend; insomuch that he communicated all his secrets to him, not excepting even those of state, and consulted him upon the most important points. He is called by some writers *Abd'allah Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Merwân Al Sarakhsi*, having been born at *Sarkhas*, or *Sarakhs*, a city of the province of *Khorasân*, which also gave birth to several other learned men, and is said by them to have dedicated one of his moral treatises, intitled, *Adab Al Nefes*, to the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, his pupil, who was a great encourager of learned men. Another of his compositions, being a comment upon the *Isagoge* of *Porphyry*, has been mentioned by those authors, as having the title of *Isagogi* prefixed to it. This piece of *Porphyry* has likewise been commented upon, and translated into *Arabic*, by *Athiro'ddin Al Eaheri*; a fine copy of which performance is preserved in the *French* king's library,

library, N° 908. We have alſo an *Arabic* verſion of the *Iſagoge* of *Porphyry*, in verſe, written by *Ibrahim Al Moſtabaſheri*, which bears the title of *Taiyah*, becauſe the laſt conſonant of every rhime is the letter *T*. This poem is likewiſe intitled *Mawzen Al Mizân*, that is, *The weight of the balance*. The word *Mizân*, which in its proper ſignification denotes a *balance*, in a figurative one is taken for *logic*. The *Arabs* generally divide their ſyſtems of logic into ten chapters, one of which comprehends the *Iſagoge* of *Porphyry*. The philoſopher *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*, named ſometimes *Abu'l Abbâs Al Sarakhſi Al Thabib*, of whom we have been ſpeaking, greatly excelled in this art. But this *Ahmed*'s learning was greater than his prudence. For, he once revealed a ſecret the *Khalif* had intruſted him with; which ſo provoked that prince, that he immediately ordered him to be put to death, in the year of the *Hejra* 286 [m].

SECT. XXXVIII.

AL Mo'TADED was no ſooner dead, than *Kaſem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb*, his *Viſir*, who ſucceeded *Yuſef Ebn Yakûb*, cauſed *Abu Mohammed Al Moctafi Bi'llah*, his ſon, to be proclaimed *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*. He alſo wrote to the new *Khalif*, who was then at *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, deſiring him to return as ſoon as poſſible to his capital, in order to take the government of the empire upon him. As ſoon as *Al Moctafi* received advice of his father's death, he obliged all the forces he commanded at *Al Rakka* to take the oath of allegiance to him, and poſted away with the utmoſt celerity to *Baghdâd*, where he arrived the 8th of the former *Jomâda*, the preſent year. Upon his arrival, he was inaugurated with the uſual formalities, and acknowleged emperor of the faithful by all his ſubjects there. His mother *Bakhtajaknah*, called by ſome writers *Khâde'*, and by others *Hibac*, or *Hibaca*, was the daughter of *Al Kaſem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb*, the prime miniſter, or *Viſir*. This we find aſſerted by *Eutychius*, though the contrary ſeems to be intimated by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*; who relates, that this *Al Kaſem*, in *Al Mo'taded*'s life-time, formed a deſign to exclude *Al Moctafi* from the ſucceſſion, to which was privy only *Badar*, or *Badir*, who had a vaſt aſcendant over that *Khalif*. *Al Kaſem*, therefore, continues the ſame author, being afraid that *Badar* would diſcover the whole affair to *Al Moctafi*, inſpired the *Khalif*

Al Moctafi *ſucceeds* Al Mo'taded *in the* Khalifat.

[m] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 279——283. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 759, & alib. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 185. Athiro'ddin Al Baheri, Ibrahim Al Mostabasheri, &c.

with

with ſentiments by no means favourable to him. As *Badar* then reſided in *Al Jebâl*, or the *Perſian Irâk*, at ſome diſtance from *Baghdâd*, and conſequently was incapable of obviating the ill impreſſions made on the *Khalîf*'s mind by his enemy's inſinuations, *Al Kaſem* eaſily prevailed upon *Al Moctafi* to ſend an army againſt him. But before this meaſure was actually purſued, the *Khalif* found means to bribe the greateſt part of *Badar*'s troops to deſert him, by privately diſtributing very conſiderable ſums of money amongſt them; which obliged that commander himſelf to retire to *Wâſet*. *Al Moctafi*, having been informed of what had happened, moved at the head of his forces to attack him. But, before hoſtilities commenced, *Al Kaſem* ſent *Al Harâm*, the principal judge, to *Badar*, to offer him a pardon, provided he would ſubmit to the *Khalif*, and lay down his arms. This being accepted by *Badar*, upon the terms preſcribed, he immediately diſbanded his troops, and ſet out with *Al Harâm* for *Baghdad*. Of which *Al Kaſem* having been apprized, he ſent a perſon to take off his head upon the road; which being done, and the head brought to *Baghdâd*, *Al Moctafi* returned to his capital in peace. This article renders it improbable, if we admit it to be true, that the new *Khalif*'s mother was *Al Kaſem*'s daughter; as it cannot well be ſuppoſed that the *Viſir* would have entered into any ſcheme that had the leaſt tendency to forward the excluſion of his grandſon *Al Moctafi* from the *Moſlem* throne [n].

The Karmatians *make an irruption into* Syria.

The ſame year, the *Karmatians*, under the command of *Yahya Ebn Zakrûna*, advanced to *Ruſâfa*, and overthrew *Shakr*, the *Deylamite*, who was ſent againſt them by the *Khalif*, in the neighbourhood of that city. *Shakr* himſelf was killed in the action, and his forces utterly diſperſed; after which, the rebels burnt the great moſque at *Ruſâfa*, and ravaged all the adjacent territory. From thence they marched into *Syria*, routed *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolûn*'s forces, under the conduct of *Ta'j Eln Hanaf*, or *Tagaj Ebn Jof Al Fargâni*, as he is called by *Eutychius*, and at laſt laid ſiege to *Damaſcus*. But *Harûn*, having ſent *Bedr Al Yamâni* with a reinforcement into *Syria*, after the junction of thoſe troops with the army commanded by *Ta'j*, his forces attacked *Yahya* with ſuch bravery, that they intirely defeated him, killed him upon the ſpot, with a vaſt number of his men, and forced his camp. This blow, however, did not

[n] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 181, 182. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 486—489. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 283. Abulfed. ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Mekrizi*, p. 592.

disheartened the *Karmatians*; who thereupon elected his brother *Al Hosein*, then not above twenty-two years of age, their general, in his room. *Al Hosein*, having been joined by a body of auxiliary troops, penetrated to *Hems*, and made himself master of that city. From thence he moved towards *Damascus*, in order to form a second time the siege of that place; but the inhabitants, by paying him a large sum of money, prevailed upon him to lay aside that design. He, therefore, returned to *Hems*; from whence he advanced to *Hamah* and *Maara*, or *Maarra*, near two days journey from *Kinnisrin*, seized upon both those cities, and put the greatest part of their inhabitants to the sword. Those of *Baalbec* he served in the same manner. But *Salamiyah*, a town in the district of *Hems*, or, as others will have it, in that of *Hamah*, being a place of considerable strength, he was obliged to promise the people of it their lives, and the secure possession of all their effects, before he could persuade them to surrender it to him. Notwithstanding which, he had no sooner entered the town, than he ordered them all, without distinction of sex or age, together with their cattle and domestic animals, in open defiance of the capitulation, to be put to the sword [o].

And commit dreadful devastations there.

It must be here observed, that this *Al Hosein*, now at the head of the *Karmatians*, pretended to be *Ahmed*, the son of *Mohammed*, the son of *Ismael*, the son of *Jaafar*, surnamed *Al Sadik*, or *the Just*, the sixth *Imâm*; and, in order to render this the more credible, he shewed a mole, or wart, on his face, which, as he affirmed, resembled that of his father *Mohammed* in the same place. Hence he had given him, by way of derision or ridicule, the surname of *Saheb Al Samah*, and the general that commanded under him that of *Saheb Al Khal*; the words *Samah* and *Khal* in *Arabic* denoting the same thing. About two years before this irruption of the *Karmatians* into *Syria*, *Ali Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Bagawi* died at *Mecca*. After the surrender of *Salamiyah*, *Al Hosein* destroyed a great number of towns and villages in *Syria*, killed many of the *Khalif*'s subjects there, carried others of them into captivity, and, in fine, laid the most considerable part of that fine country waste with fire and sword [p].

The military operations

A little before this time, the *African Moslems*, having equipped a mighty fleet, reduced the island of *Lemnos*, and, ravaging without controul the coasts of *Asia*, threw the imperial city

[o] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 182. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 490, 491. Greg Abu'l-Faraj et D'Herbel. ubi sup. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 126, 127, 276, &c.

[p] Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Ism. Abulfed. et D'Herbel. ubi sup.

itself

between the Moslems *and the* Greeks.

itself into a great consternation. The *Arab* fleet in this expedition was commanded by *Leo Tripolites*, a renegado, who made himself master of *Thessalonica*, cutting to pieces the greatest part of the garison, and taking *Chatzilacius*, the imperial governor, prisoner. However, the place was afterwards redeemed with a large sum by *Simeon*, one of the emperor's secretaries, who was on that account raised to the rank of patrician. *Leo* then sailed to *Crete*, and distributed part of the plunder he had met with at *Lemnos*, which he abandoned soon after it fell into his hands, *Thessalonica*, and on the coasts of *Asia*, amongst the *Moslems* there. After which, he returned home, without having sustained any considerable loss. The emperor, not being able to make head against the *Moslems* by sea, sent *Andronicus Ducas*, and *Eustathius Argyrus*, into the East, in order to attack them by land; which they did with great success, having gained several victories over them. This we learn from the *Greek* writers only, not the least mention being made of such an eastern expedition by any of the *Arab* historians q.

The Khalif's *forces not able to reduce the* Karmatians.

The following year, being the 290th of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 5th, 902, the *Khalif Al Moctafi* sent *Al A'z*, one of his commanders, with a body of 10,000 men, to attack the *Karmatians*. As soon as that general came up with the rebels, his men immediately threw off their cloaths, and charged them with great fury. But the *Karmatians*, animated by *Al Motawek*, who commanded them, routed the *Khalif*'s forces, and cut the most considerable part of them in pieces; *Al A'z* himself, attended by the shattered remains of his army, with great difficulty, making his escape to *Aleppo*, whither he was closely pursued by *Al Motawek*, who laid siege to the town. But the inhabitants, supported by *Al A'z*'s troops, repulsed him in all his attacks, and at last forced him to abandon the siege. The *Khalif*, receiving advice of what had happened, retired to *Al Rakka*, and sent several other bodies of troops afterwards against the *Karmatians*, but without effect. This enabled *Al Hosein* to ravage the provinces through which he moved without controul r.

The Christians *invade the* Moslem *territories.*

It seems to appear from some of the *Greek* writers, that, a little before this time, the *Moslems* in alled the imperial territories with a very numerous and formidable army; which obliged the emperor to dispatch *Himerius* and *Andronicus Ducas* against them. They were both generals of great courage, experience, and conduct, continue these authors; but a fatal misunderstand-

q Georg. Cedren. ubi sup. p. 599—602, &c. Joan. Zonar. ubi sup. lib. xvi. p. 188, 189, &c. r Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 182, 183. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. et ad an. Hej. 290.

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ing between them, which was owing to the malicious intrigues of one *Samonas*, put a stop to the progress of their arms. But the particulars of this expedition, as well as those of the former, have been passed over in silence by both the *Persian* and *Arab* historians [s].

The Khalif's troops overthrow the Karmatians.

THE next year, being the 291st of the *Hejra*, beginning *November* 24th, 903, the *Khalif*, having been informed that *Al Hosein* had pillaged several parts of *Syria*, and put the rest under contribution, took the field with an army of 100,000 men, in order to reduce him. He advanced first to *Al Rakka*, upon the *Euphrates*, and from thence detached *Mohammed Ebn Solimân*, with a large body of troops, to go in quest of the rebels, who retired at his approach; but at last he came up with them, and attacked them with such bravery, that he intirely defeated them, without having sustained any considerable loss. A great number of the rebels perished in the action, and *Hosein* himself, together with the general who acted under him, and 360 of his men, fell into the hands of one of the *Khalif*'s officers, who conducted them under an escorte, as prisoners, to *Baghdâd*. It appears from *Abulfeda*, who in this particular has followed *Sharîf Al Abed*, an author that lived before him, that the battle was fought at a place called *Tamna*. After this victory, which was complete, and gained in the 291st year of the *Hejra*, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, and not in the 290th, as is suggested by M. *D'Herbelot*, the *Khalif* entered triumphantly his capital, and ordered the hands and feet of all the *Karmatian* prisoners, not excepting those of *Al Hosein* himself, to be first cut off, and afterwards their heads. Our readers will not be surprized, that we should prefer the authority of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, stiled by Mr. *Ockley* the *Livy* of the *Arabians*, in the point before us, to that of any other writer followed by M. *D'Herbelot*, after we have informed them, that the *French* author himself asserts, in the most positive and express terms, that the *Tarikh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* is allowed by the *Mohammedans* themselves to be the very basis and foundation of the *Mosiem* history [t].

The Turks make an irruption into Mawarâ'lnahr.

THE same year, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, the *Turks* made an irruption into *Mawarâ'lnahr* with a prodigious army; no less than 700 officers of superior rank having, amongst the rest, pitched their tents in that province. However, the

[s] GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi sup. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 183. SHARIF AL ABED, apud Hm. Abulfed. in chron. ad an. Hej 291. ut et ipse ISM. ABULFED. ibid. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient p. 592, 866, et alib. OCKLEY, vol. ii. introd. p. 39.

[t] ABU

Khalif's

Khalif's forces fell upon this vaſt multitude early in the morning, put them to flight, and made a terrible ſlaughter of them. Soon after which, the *Greeks*, according to this author, entered the *Moſlem* territories with an army of 100,000 men, divided into ten bodies, which burnt ſeveral towns and villages, carried off a pretty large number of priſoners, and then retired of their own accord, without having done any thing very conſiderable. This may poſſibly be the expedition mentioned in the preceding page; but that it really is ſo, we muſt not preſume to aſſert. Be that, however, as it will, as it has been but juſt taken notice of by *Abu'l-Faraj*, who has ſcarce touched upon any particulars relating to it, we can ſay nothing farther of it here. *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Yahya Ebn Zeid*, a famous grammarian and philologer of the univerſity of *Cûfa*, departed this life the preſent year, at *Baghdâd*. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, died in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, in *Sicily*, the preſent year. The body was carried out of that iſland to *Africa*, and interred at *Kairwân*. This *Ibrahim* was a perſon of great penetration, famous for his wonderful memory, extremely devout, charitable to the poor, and, in fine, one of the beſt and moſt excellent princes of the family of *Al Aglab* [u].

The Moſlems *take* Seleucia.

IF we will believe *Eutychius*, the *Moſlems* took *Seleucia* from the *Romans*, in the month of the latter *Rabi*, either this or the preceding year, and ſent a vaſt number of the enemy, whom they had made priſoners on this occaſion, in the month of *Rajeb*, into *Egypt*. The ſame author writes, that, in the ſecond year of the *Khalifat* of *Al Moctafi*, the *Nile* did not riſe above thirteen cubits, notwithſtanding the prayers of the *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, and *Mohammedans*, to implore from heaven a farther increaſe of the waters of that river. About this time, one *Eylia*, or *Elias*, was conſtituted patriarch of *Antioch*, and remained in that ſee twenty-eight years. Beſides which, nothing material, as far as can be collected from the *Arab* writers, happened in the *Moſlem* empire, the preſent year [w].

The Khalif's *forces conquer* Syria *and* Egypt.

THE 292d year of the *Hejra*, in a great meaſure coincident with the 905th of the *Chriſtian* æra, proved fatal to the houſe of *Tolûn* in *Syria* and *Egypt*. The *Khalif Al Moctafi*, flushed with the good ſucceſs that had attended his arms the preceding campaign, reſolved to attempt the intire reduction of thoſe provinces. To this he was farther excited by the great loſs ſuſ-

[u] GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. excerpt. ex cod. Arab. MS. in Biblioth. D. Laurent. Eſcurial. Vide etiam JOAN. EBN CARD. ubi ſup. p. 19.

[w] EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 488—491.

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tained by *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolún* in the *Karmatian* war, two or three years before, wherein all his beſt commanders were cut off, and the flower of his forces periſhed. He, therefore, ſent *Mohammed Ebn Soliman* with a powerful army to make himſelf maſter both of *Syria* and *Egypt*; who firſt attacked and defeated a large body of the *Karmatian* troops near *Hems*, and took 700 of them priſoners. Soon after which, one of his parties came up with *Al Nâjem*, the general that commanded them, who had made his eſcape out of the battle, at a village called *Al Dâlia*, ſeized him, and brought him to *Mohammed Ebn Soliman*, who ſent him, together with the 700 priſoners, under a ſtrong eſcorte, to the *Khalif*, then at *Al Rakka*. Upon their arrival, that prince ordered them all to be conducted to *Baghdâd*; where *Al Najem* was firſt tortured, and afterwards beheaded, and the others put to death, without mercy. The bodies of *Al Nâjem* and the other principal *Karmatian* captives were, after theſe executions, hung upon gibbets erected for that purpoſe without the gates of the city. From *Hems*, which after this victory immediately ſurrendered to him, *Mohammed Ebn Soliman* marched to *Damaſcus*; the gates of which city *Badr Al Jamâni*, *Harûn*'s commandant there, opened to him at his approach. After the ſurrender of *Damaſcus*, *Mohammed* led his army through *Paleſtine*, in order to reach with all poſſible expedition the borders of *Egypt*. *Harûn*, receiving advice of *Mohammed*'s march, advanced with his forces to the frontiers, to diſpute the paſſage into his kingdom with him. By the advice of his generals, he took poſt in a place called *Al Abbâsia*, in that part of *Egypt* known by the name of *Al Hâf*, where he waited for *Mohammed Ebn Soliman*. In the mean time, *Damianus*, or *Damîân*, a *Greek*, the *Khalif*'s admiral, appeared with that prince's fleet off the coaſts of *Egypt*, and landed a body of troops, that routed a large detachment of *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah*'s forces at *Tanûbah*. *Shaibân Ebn Ahmed Ebn Tolún*, imagining that a favourable opportunity now offered of ſetting up for himſelf, aſſaſſinated his nephew *Harûn Ebn Khamarawiyah* on *Sunday* the 18th of the month *Safar*, and for ſome days was conſidered as the ſovereign of *Egypt*. But the officers of the army having an utter averſion to the aſſaſſin, wrote a letter to *Mohammed Ebn Soliman*, preſſing him to haſten his march, and aſſuring him that they were ready to ſubmit to the *Khalif*, provided that prince would take them under his protection. *Mohammed*, having granted their requeſt, and ſent them ſuch an anſwer as ſatisfied them in every particular, entered *Egypt* the 28th of *Safar*, without oppoſition. After which, he advanced with his army drawn up in order of battle

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to *Al Riyah*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Meſr*, where he was met by *Shaibân* himſelf, and ſeveral of his brothers, who ſubmitted to the *Khalîf*; upon which, an unlimited pardon and amneſty were granted them by *Mohammed*, in his maſter's name, both for their lives and effects. However, that general ordered all the officers and ſecretaries that had been in the ſervice of the family of *Tolûn* to leave *Egypt*, and retire with their effects, the poſſeſſion of which was ſecured to them, to *Baghdâd*. As for *Mohammed* himſelf, he exacted of thoſe to whom he had granted the *Khalîf*'s protection, and others, the ſum of 1,000,000 *dinârs*, remained ſix months at the head of the adminiſtration in *Egypt*, and then, after he had ſubſtituted in his room *Iſa Al Nûſheri*, to govern the province, went to *Irâk*. Here he alſo collected another ſum, drawn out of various provinces, amounting to 1,000,000 *dinârs*, for the uſe of the *Khalîf*. But that prince having been informed, that *Mohammed* had imbezzled a conſiderable part of the public revenues of *Egypt*, and amaſſed to himſelf vaſt ſums of money there, put him under arreſt, and even loaded him with irons, in order to oblige him to refund what he had purloined in that opulent country. After *Mohammed*'s arrival in *Irâk*, *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Khalîj*, one of *Horûn*'s commanders in *Syria*, who had remained for ſome time with *Mohammed Ebn Solimân* there, revolted againſt the *Khalîf*, and poſted himſelf with a body of troops he had aſſembled at *Al Ramla*, threatening to make an irruption into *Egypt*. The news of *Al Khâlîj*'s deſign reaching the ears of *Iſa Al Nûſheri*, he and *Al Hoſein Ebn Ahmed Al Máderâni* put themſelves at the head of the forces in *Egypt*, and advanced towards the frontiers, in order to meet him, and give him battle; but receiving advice of his approach, and being informed that his army was much more numerous than had before been given out, they retired with great precipitation to *Al Foſtat*. Not thinking themſelves ſafe there, they fled, after a ſhort ſtay, to *Al Jiza*; burning two bridges in their flight, to prevent *Al Khalij* from coming up with them. In fine, they were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they never continued long in one place, but moved about the country as if they had been purſued by an enemy of ſuperior ſtrength. This threw the inhabitants of *Al Foſtât*, now intirely abandoned, and left without a governor, as well as thoſe of the adjacent diſtrict, into ſuch a conſternation, that *Al Khalij* ſeized upon *Meſr*, which he entered on *Thurſday* the 16th of *Dhu'lkaada*, the preſent year, without oppoſition, and reſided there eight months. After the expiration of that ſhort term, he was driven out of *Egypt* by the *Khalîf*'s troops, as will more clearly appear

pear from our enumeration of the principal transactions of the following year [x].

THE next year, being the 293d of the *Hejra*, commencing *November* 2d, 905, *Al Mo'ctafi* sent an army into *Egypt*, under the command of *Fâtec*, his freed-man, and *Badr Al Fadl Jamámi*, to reduce the rebel *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Khâlij*. The *Khalif*'s forces found him posted near *Al Fostât*, and, after a sharp engagement, intirely defeated him. *Al Khâlij* himself, however, found means to make his escape, though he was soon after taken out of the lurking-place where he had lain concealed, and brought to *Isa Al Nûsheri*; who sent him, with a great number of rebel officers, in the month of *Rajeb*, to the *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*. Upon their arrival there, *Al Mo'ctafi* ordered them to be loaded with irons, and thrown into prison. He also recalled *Fâtec*, after he had made a triumphant entry into *Al Fostât*, and appointed *Isa Ebn Mohammed Al Núsheri* to preside over the province of *Egypt* [y]. *And defeat* Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Khalij *there.*

THE same year, the *Karmatians*, under the command of *Zakrûna Ebn Mahrûna*, seized upon *Adhraât* and *Basra*, pillaged those two cities, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. After which, they advanced to *Damascus*, slew *Saleh Ebn Fadl*, the governor's deputy there, and plundered the adjacent district. But they were repulsed, in a sally, by the garison, who drove them from the place, after they had destroyed abundance of their men. Notwithstanding which, *Zakrûna* marched to *Tiberias*, called by the *Arabs Tabariyah*, where he was met by *Yusef Ebn Ibrahim*, with a body of the *Khalif*'s forces, who gave him battle, intirely defeated him, and pursued him into the desart as far as *Al Sawân*. Here, however, *Zakrûna* waited for *Yusef*, overthrew him in his turn, with very great slaughter, and made himself master of his camp. The place where this battle was fought is called by some authors *Sabian*, and said to be in the neighbourhood of *Kadesia*, a city of the *Babylonian Irâk*, about fifteen parasangs off *Câsa*. Be that as it will, so unexpected a blow as this could not but greatly embarrass the *Khalif*'s affairs. About this time, died *Ahmed Ebn Yahya Ebn Ishak*, the *Rawandian*, who wrote a great number of impious books, according to *Shahab'eddin*, at *Rahabah*. We must not forget to observe, that the *Greeks* invaded the *Moslem* territories, took the city of *Cyrrhus*, or *The* Karmatians *and the* Greeks *invade the* Moslem *empire.*

[x] EUTYCH. ubi sup p. 490---499. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 283, 284. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 292. [y] EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 498, 499. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. D'HERBEL. Bibl. orient. ubi sup. p. 592.

Kûrûs, burnt the great mosque there, massacred most of the inhabitants, and carried off the rest with them prisoners, the present year [z].

The Karmatians *plunder a caravan going to* Mecca, *and are routed by the* Khalîf's *troops.*

THE following year, being the 294th of the *Hejra*, the *Karmatians*, who still remained in the desart, fell upon a caravan going to *Mecca*, plundered it, and put about 20,000 pilgrims to the sword. This so inraged the *Khalîf*, that he immediately sent *Wasîf*, one of his generals, with a considerable body of his troops, to take vengeance of them for so daring an affront. *Wasîf*, in pursuance of his orders, soon came up with them, and attacked them, loaded and incommoded with the spoils they had taken, so opportunely, that, after an obstinate resistance, he put them to the rout. *Zakrûna*, their chief, was taken prisoner in the action, and died of a contusion he had received, that hurt his brain, five days after; notwithstanding which, *Wasîf* sent his body, attended by his wife, domestics, and a great number of *Karmatian* prisoners, to *Baghdâd*. Upon their arrival there, the body, preceded by *Zakrûna*'s wife, was carried in triumph through the principal streets of the city, and all the prisoners put to a cruel death. This year, *Ismael Ebn Ahmed Al Samâni*, the *Khalîf* of the *Transoxana* and *Khorasân*, died at *Samarkand*. The last defeat so humbled the *Karmatians*, that they did not attempt to disturb the repose of the empire for several years [a].

The Khalif Al Moctafi *dies at* Baghdâd.

IN the 295th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *October* 12th, 907, the *Khalîf Al Moctafi* departed this life at *Baghdâd*. Some authors relate, that he died the 13th of *Dhu'lkaada*, and others the 13th of *Dhu'lhajja*, after he had reigned either six years, six months, and twenty days, or six years, nine months, and two days. With regard to his age, the *Arab* writers likewise differ; some of them making him a little above thirty-one, and others thirty-three, years old at the time of his death. He was short of stature, had a handsome face, large eyes, and a long beard. He was likewise religious, munificent, and had a natural aversion to the effusion of human blood; though he found it absolutely necessary, on some occasions, to punish rebellion and other capital crimes in a proper manner. He left behind him immense riches, and a numerous army; tho' he could not re-annex to the empire all the provinces that had been lost by some of his predecessors. He bore an uncommon affection for the family of *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb*, as his father had done before him. His principal favourites were *Al Abbâs*

[z] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 184. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. ubi sup. p. 592, et alib. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 284. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 293. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 133, 213, et alib. [a] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, et D'HERBEL. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 294.

Ebn

Ebn Al Hoſein and *Fâtec*, his freed-man; his *Viſirs Al Kaſem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Soliman Ebn Waheb* and the above-mentioned *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Hoſein Ebn Ayûb*; his judges *Yuſef Abu Harem Ebn Yakûb*, *Abu Omar*, and *Ali Ebn Abu'l Shawârcb*; and his chamberlain *Hafif Al Samarkandi*. The inſcription of his ſeal was ALI *the ſon of* AHMED *puts his truſt in* GOD. The famous phyſician *Yuſef*, ſurnamed *Al Sâher*, that is, *the watchful*, or *the vigilant*, and *Al Kas*, that is, *the elder*, or *the antient*, flouriſhed in this *Khalif*'s reign. Some authors relate, that he ſeldom ſlept above four hours, and ſpent all the reſt of the night in ſtudy; from whence he received the appellation of *Al Sâher*. Others ſay, that he was deprived of his natural reſt by a cancer, and derived from thence the firſt of his ſurnames; and, in confirmation of this ſentiment, it clearly appears from ſome of his works, that he was troubled with ſuch a diſorder. About nine months before *Al Moctafi*'s death, *Iſmael Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni*, the ſovereign of *Mawarâ'lnahr* and *Khoraſân*, departed this life; as did *Mohammed Ebn Naſr Al Merûzi*, a celebrated author, the preceding year, at *Samarkand*. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that, according to the eaſtern hiſtorians, *Al Mondar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, notwithſtanding what has been advanced to the contrary by *Roderic* of *Toledo*, died, the 16th of the month *Safar* this year, in *Spain* [b].

SECT. XL.

UPON the death of *Al Moctafi*, *Jaafar Abu'l Fadhl Al Moktader*, ſurnamed *Bi'llah*, in common with his two immediate predeceſſors, aſcended the *Moſlem* throne. He was inaugurated at *Baghdâd* the very day on which his brother *Al Moctafi* died; being then, if we will believe *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, not quite fourteen years of age. His mother's name was either *Sa'f*, or *Sha'b*, and his own at large *Jaafar Abu'l Fadhl Al Moktader Bi'llah Ebn Al Mo'taded*. This year, *Abu Naſr Ahmed Al Sammâni* ſucceeded his father *Iſmael Ebn Ahmed Al Sammâni* in the ſovereignty of *Khoraſan* and *Mawarâ'lnahr*; as did *Abd'allah* his brother *Al Mondar* in that of *Andaluſia*, or *Spain*. About a month before the laſt event happened, died *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Naſr Al Termedi*, a famous *Sonnite* theologer of the ſect of *Al Shâfei*. An *Emir* arrived in *Sicily*, from *Africa*, with ſome *Moſlem* troops,

And is ſucceeded by Al Moktader Bi'llah.

[b] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 184, 185. KHONDEMIR, ABULFED. in chron. ad ann Hej. 295. Vide etiam EUTYCH. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et D'HERBEL. ubi ſup.

troops, in the month of *May*; and, being reinforced by a body of the *Sicilian* forces, made himſelf maſter of *Taormina*, the *Tauromenium* of the antients, called by the *Arabs Tabermîn*, the firſt of *Auguſt*, which happened to be on *Sunday*, the preſent year [c].

Al Mortadi Ebn Al Mo'tazz *is placed upon the* Moſlem *throne, and, after 24 hours reign, depoſed.*

THE next year, being the 296th of the *Hejra*, commencing *September* 30, 908, *Al Abbâs Ebn Al Hoſein*, *Al Moktader*'s *Viſir*, and *Fâtec*, were cut to pieces by the ſoldiery, commanded by *Al Hoſein Ebn Hamdân*, who aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, the twentieth of the former *Rabî*, and, not content with that outrage, afterwards depoſed the *Khalif* himſelf, whom they deſpiſed on account of his tender age. The *Moſlem* throne being by this means become vacant, they placed thereon *Abd'allah Ebn Al Motazz*, ſurnamed by them *Al Mortadi Bi'llah*, who appointed *Mohammed Ebn Dawd* his *Viſir*. But *Al Mortadi* being immediately deſerted by many of thoſe who aſſiſted him in his elevation to the *Khalifat*, *Al Moktader*'s forces proved ſuperior to thoſe of the new *Khalif*, and intirely diſperſed them. However, *Al Mortadi* made his eſcape into the deſart, after he had reigned about twenty-four hours, where he lay a ſhort time concealed. But being ſoon taken, he was inſtantly brought to *Al Moktader*; who ordered him to be ſtrangled, together with *Mohammed Ebn Dawd Ebn Al Harâh*, his *Viſir*, and *Sawdar Ebn Al Haſâs*, who had concealed him. After theſe executions, *Al Mortadi*'s body was carried out of the imperial palace, and interred in a ſpot of ground oppoſite to his own houſe, the 2d of the latter *Rabî*; *Al Moktader*'s adherents giving out every-where, that he died a natural death. *Al Mortadi*, at the time of his tragical exit, is ſaid to have been about 49 or 50 years of age. During this ſtate of confuſion, the mob committed great diſorders at *Baghdâd*; but the ringleaders were ſoon after ſeized, and brought to condign puniſhment, and all commotions appeaſed, both there and in every other part of the empire. As for *Al Hoſein Ebn Hamdân*, though he had been the chief author of the late revolt, and the principal fomenter of all the diſturbances conſequent thereupon, the *Khalif*, at his brother *Ibrahim*'s interceſſion, did not only pardon him, but likewiſe made him a preſent of a ſumptuous veſt, and conferred upon him likewiſe the government of *Komm* and *Káſhán*. This year, there fell ſuch an immenſe quantity of ſnow, in one day, at *Baghdad*, that it was four feet deep

[c] ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ISM. ABULFED. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, et EUTYCH. ubi ſup. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moctader Bi'llah*, p. 590. Chronic. Sic. Arab Cantarigienſ. ubi ſup.

in

in every part of the district of that metropolis; which before had never been known in the memory of man. This was followed by a most severe frost; during which the cold was so intense, that it destroyed most of the palm-trees and vegetables in the territory of *Baghdad*. Nay, not only water, vinegar, and all other liquors, but likewise eggs of every kind, were frozen up by it, and rendered unfit for use. It appears from *Eutychius*, that *Abu Abd'allah Al Mohtaseb Bi'ilah* defeated the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s forces, and drove the family of *Al Aglab* from thence, the present year; upon which, *Abu Nasr*, or *Nasser*, *Ziyâdat'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Ibrahim Ebn Al Aglab*, the head of that family, fled into *Egypt*, where he arrived in the month of *Ramadân*, and from thence retired to *Al Ramla*, in which city he spent the remainder of his days. *Abu Abd'allah Al Mohtaseb*, having thus, by the expulsion of the *Aglabites*, made himself master of *Kairwân*, placed *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, one of *Ali*'s descendants, upon the throne there, and obliged all the subjects of that *Khalifat* to take an oath of fidelity to him. This revolution in *Africa* occasioned an insurrection of the *Sicilian Moslems*, under the conduct of *Abu'l Fawâres*, against *Ebn Ziyâj*, whom they forced to abandon *Sicily*, the first of *April*, 909, and to make the best of his way to *Africa*. It must be remembered here, that the unfortunate prince *Al Mortadi Ebn Al Mo'tazz* was esteemed by his cotemporaries for his wise sayings, his even temper and tranquillity of mind, his love of divine knowledge, and his fine poetical compositions; and that some of his verses have been preserved by *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* [d].

THE following year, being the 297th of the *Hejra*, *Isa Ebn Mohammed Al Nûsheri*, *Al Moktader*'s governor of *Egypt*, died, the 10th of *Shaabân*, at *Al Fostât*; and, as soon as the news of his death arrived at court, the *Khalif* sent *Yakîn Al Harari* to preside over that province in his stead. *Abu'l Kasem Jonaid Ebn Mohammed Al Sûfi*, the famous *Imâm* of the *Sûfi's*, died the present year. About this time, *Leo* was constituted patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and sat seventeen years in that see. This year, *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, the founder of the dynasty of the *Fatemites*, assumed the surname of *Al Mohdi*, and greatly extended his conquests in *Africa*. Nay, he visited the *Aglabite* territories in *Sicily*, and

Al Mohdi, *the* Khalif *of* Kairwân, *extends his conquests.*

[d] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 285, 286. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 185, 186. ISM. ABULEED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 296. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 500-- 503. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigiens. et JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup. p. 7, 8.

exacted an oath of allegiance of the *Moslems* settled there. He also put himself at the head of the grandees, whom he convoked soon after his arrival in the island, and assisted at their deliberations. Whilst he resided in *Sicily*, *Al Isa*, the prince, or regulus of *Sejelmessa*, who had refused to recognize his authority, was brought before him, and put to death by his order. After he had spent forty days in this part of his dominions, he returned to *Africa*. He likewise caused an exact account to be taken of all his subjects properties and effects, during his residence at *Rakada*, or *Rakkada*, the seat of the later princes of the house of *Al Aglab*, and sent officers to collect the tribute demanded of them. At the same time, he dispatched governors into all the western provinces constituting the *Khalifat* of *Kairwân*; and in particular *Al Hasan Ebn Ahmed* into *Sicily*. Tho' *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah* assumed the surname of *Mohdi*, or *director of the faithful*, yet the *Moslems* believe, that this title is properly applicable to none but the twelfth *Imâm*, who is to make his appearance at the end of the world [e].

Authors' not agreed about the origin of AlMohdi.

In the 298th year of the *Hejra*, *Al Mohdi* took upon himself the title, or appellation, of *emperor of the faithful*, and gave out that he was descended, in a right line, from *Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb* and *Fâtema*, the daughter of *Mohammed*. For which reason, the *Arab* writers call him and his descendants *Fâtemites*; though some of them have handed down to us a far different account of this usurper's origin, as will hereafter be more particularly observed. He was born, as some will have it, at *Salamiyah*, or, as others with more probability believe, in *Irâk*, about the 269th year of the *Hejra*; and built a city, from him denominated *Al Mohdia*, wherein he afterwards fixed his residence, the present year. Before the conclusion of it, according to *Eutychius*, he likewise put to death *Abu Abd'allah Al Mohtaseb*, his general; but for what crime this punishment was inflicted on him, we have not been by that annalist informed [f].

He continues victorious over the

The next year, being the 299th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Moktader* having been offended by *Ali Ebn Mohammed Al Farât*, removed him from the post of *Visir*. This happened in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*; soon after which, the *Khalif*

[e] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 185. Eutych. ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. Al Kadi Shahabo'ddin Ebn Abi'ldam Alhamani, in *Tarikh*, seu histor. cui tit. *Asmodfer*, in Bibliothec. Escurial. D'Herbel. Bibliothec. orient. p. 342. Vide etiam Marcum Dobelium, apud Augustin. Inveg. in Annal. Panorm. tom. secund. & Joan. Bapt. Carus, p. 19.

[f] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 187. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 502, 503. D'Herbel. ubi sup.

threw

threw him into prison, and appointed *Ali Ebn Mohammed* (or rather *Abu Ali Mohammed*) *Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkân* to succeed him. This *Vizir* was surnamed *Dakka Sedraho*, that is, *the person beating his breast*, because he always appeared in that attitude, whenever any petition was put up to him. *Al Moktader* was now wholly governed by his women and eunuchs. *Abu'l Hasan Mohammed Ebn Ahmed*, commonly called *Ebn Kisan*, who was extremely well versed both in the grammar taught at *Cûfa*, and in that which prevailed at *Basra*, and *Ishak Ebn Honain*, a celebrated physician, died the present year. About this time, the *Moslems*, under the command of *Damiân*, the *Emîr* of *Tyre*, and *Leo* of *Tripoli*, with a fleet of 300 ships, committed dreadful ravages on the coasts, and in the islands, of the *Ægean* sea, and utterly defeated the *Greek* navy in a sea-fight near the island of *Samos*; *Himerius* himself, the *Greek* admiral, having with much difficulty escaped to *Mitylene*. The famous *Lacapenus* was at that time governor of *Samos*; but he could afford *Himerius* no considerable assistance in this naval engagement. *Al Mohdi* continued victorious over the partizans of the house of *Al Aglab*, throughout the whole course of the present year 8. Al Aglab.

THE following year, being the 300th of the *Hejra*, *Habbasah*, one of *Al Mohdi*'s generals, overthrew the *Khalif*'s forces in the neighbourhood of *Barka*, and made himself master of that city. After the reduction of *Barka*, then extremely populous, situated between *Tripoli* and *Egypt*, *Habbasah* marched directly to *Alexandria*, defeated another of the *Khalif*'s armies, drawn up in order of battle to cover the place, and then entered the town without opposition. One of his detachments likewise reduced *Al Fayûm*, taken particular notice of by *Abulfeda*, and *Al Bahnasa*. *Al Mohdi*, receiving advice of the great success that had attended his arms, sent a strong reinforcement, commanded by his son *Abu'l Kâsem*, to the victorious troops that had in a manner conquered *Egypt*. *Al Moktader* also, being informed of what had happened, dispatched *Al Kâsem Ebn Samâ*, with a body of auxiliary troops, to reinforce his army in *Egypt*, and to drive the rebels out of the western provinces; who, upon his arrival at *Al Jizah*, or *Al Jiza*, was joined by great numbers of the *Khalif*'s subjects, that flocked to him from all parts. *Al Moktader*'s army, therefore, in *Egypt*, after the junction of the forces commanded by *Yakîn* (or, according to *Eutychius*, *Takin*) *Al Harari*, the governor of that province, and *Al* *His forces under the command of* Habbasah *invade* Egypt.

8 EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 299. ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, & D'HERBEL. ubi sup. GEORG. CEDREN. ubi sup. p. 606.

Kâsem Ebn Samâ, consisted of an hundred thousand effective men. *Habbasah*, having been acquainted that the *Khalif*'s troops were in motion, advanced at the head of his army to give them battle, and at last came up with them in the island denominated by the *Arabs Ard Al Khamsîn*. Here he attacked them with unparalleled bravery, notwithstanding their force was much superior to his; but the approach of the night obliged the generals on both sides to sound a retreat. The action, therefore, was by no means decisive, though extremely bloody; *Takîn* and *Al Kâsem* having lost in it 20,000 men, and *Habbasah* 10,000. The latter, however, durst not renew the fight the next morning, but stole off in the night, and found himself obliged to return home; so that the *Khalif*'s troops remained masters of the field of battle, and, in effect, gained a victory, as they forced the enemy to abandon *Egypt*. The great church at *Alexandria*, called by the *Arabs Al Kaisâria*, or *Cæsarea*, that had formerly been a pagan temple, erected in honour of *Saturn* by the famous *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, was set on fire the third of *Shawâl*; though it does not appear from *Eutychius*, who mentions this accident, that it was then intirely consumed. The same year, died *Abd'allah Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Thâher* and *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, of the house of *Ommiyah*, who swayed the *Moslem* sceptre in *Spain*. The former of these was a brave experienced general, of consummate skill in the art of war, who had distinguished himself in many actions of éclat; and the latter was succeeded by his brother *Al d'alrahmân Ebn Al Mondar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân*, who, according to *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, first assumed the title of *emperor of the faithful* in *Spain*. *Abulfeda* stiles this prince the lord, or *Emir*, of *Andalusia*, and calls him *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alrahmân Ebn Hesham*. He also relates, that this *Abd'alrahmân* was forty-two years of age at the time of his death; that he was grey-eyed, of a middle stature, with a reddish beard, which he died black, and of a fair complexion; that he reigned almost six years, and had eleven sons, one of whom, named *Mohammed Al Mactûl*, he caused to be put to death, for some crime he had been guilty of; and that he was succeeded by *Abd'alrahmân*, this prince's son. We are assured also by *Roderic* of *Toledo*, that this *Abd'alrahmân* was the son of *Mohammed*, *Abd'allah Ebn Al Mondar*'s son, and consequently his predecessor's grandson; that he was twenty-three years of age when his grandfather died; and that he governed the *Moslems* in *Spain* about fifty years [h].

THE

[h] EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 502——507. SHARIF AL EDRISI, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 185. ISM. ABULFED. in Ægypt.

ABU

THE next year, being the 301ſt of the *Hejra*, *Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni*, the *Karmatian* general, who made an irruption into *Yamâma*, and took *Hajr* and *Al Ahſâ*, in the reign of the *Khalif Al Mo'taded*, was aſſaſſinated by one of his domeſtics in a bath, and ſucceeded in the command of the *Karmatian* forces by his ſon *Sa'id*. The new general, immediately after his election to that high poſt, ordered the fleſh of the aſſaſſin, who murdered his father, to be torn off with pincers, till he expired. The *Khalif Al Moktader*, being offended at the conduct of *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkân*, his *Viſir*, deprived him of his office, and advanced to the ſublime poſt of prime miniſter *Ali Ebn Al Jaràh* in his room. *Ahmed Ebn Iſmael Al Sammâni* was killed by his guards, the 22d of the latter *Jomâda*, and buried in the city of *Bokhâra*. This year, being the ſeventh of *Al Moktader*'s reign, *Abuna Gabriel* was conſtituted patriarch of *Alexandria*, according to ſome *Chriſtian* writers followed by *Al Makîn*, and ſat in that ſee eleven years. Theſe authors likewiſe relate, that *Koſmâ*, or *Coſmas*, was made patriarch of the *Jacobites* there about the ſame time, and preſided over thoſe of that communion twelve years. About this time, died *Al Kâdi Abu Abd'allah Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Al Mocri Al Thakifi*, and *Mohammed Ebn Yahya Ebn Nabada*, the author of the *Chronicon* of *Esfahân*. *Amrân*, the *Moſlem* prince of *Al Khams*, was murdered at *Palermo*, *January* 27th, and *Korhab* appointed *Emîr*, *May* 18th, the preſent year [i].

Abu Sa'id Al Hamâni is aſſaſſinated, and ſucceeded in the command of the Karmatian forces by his ſon.

THE following year, being the 302d of the *Hejra*, *Habaſah*, or *Habaſah*, returned with a numerous army of *Magrebians*, or weſtern *Arabs*, into *Egypt*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Alexandria*. He alſo defeated a body of the *Khalif*'s forces, commanded by *Munes*, or *Munas*, and killed 7000 of them upon the ſpot; though the remainder found means to throw themſelves into the city of *Alexandria*, that had been abandoned by the *Magrebian* troops. Soon after, *Munes* deprived *Takîn* of the government of *Egypt*; and *Dacâ Al A'war* was ſent from *Baghdâd* to ſucceed him. *Korhab*, or as he is ſometimes called *Ebn Korhab*, fitted out a fleet that deſtroyed a ſquadron of ſhips ſent by *Al Mohdi* to the coaſt of *Sicily*, under the conduct of *Abu Khazîr*, his admiral, who was killed in the action, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, this year [k].

The Magrebians invade Egypt.

ABU JAAFAR AL TABAR. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 188. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 300. RODERIC. TOLETAN. ubi ſup. p. 25. [i] EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 506, 507. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 301. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. et JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi ſup. AL MAKIN, Saracen. hiſt. l. ii. cap. xix. p. 188. 196.

[k] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 302. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup. p. 8.

THE

A rebellion extinguiſhed in Meſopotamia.

In the 303d year of the *Hejra*, beginning *July* 17th, 915, *Hoſein Ebn-Hamdân* rebelled againſt the *Khalif* in *Meſopotamia*, defeated an army ſent againſt him, under the command of *Al Ratek* the *Viſir*, took all their baggage, and even threatened the imperial city of *Baghdâd* itſelf. But he was at laſt overthrown by *Munas*, or *Munes*, the eunuch, the beſt general *Al Moktader* had; who took him and his ſon *Abd'alwahâb* priſoners, and conducted them under an eſcorte, upon a camel, with oblong caps, or turbants, upon their heads, and veſts of red hair-cloth on their bodies, through *Al Mawſel*, to *Baghdâd*; where, immediately after their arrival, they were thrown into priſon. This year, as it ſhould ſeem, the *Moſlems* made an irruption into the imperial territories, under the conduct of *Damiân*, *Emîr* of *Tyre*, and attacked a fortreſs called *Strobelon*; which they would undoubtedly have taken, had not *Damiân* been ſurprized by death whilſt he was carrying on the ſiege. According to *Abulfeda*, the *Greeks* likewiſe penetrated almoſt as far as the borders of *Meſopotamia*, and afterwards retired into their own dominions, with many priſoners, and a vaſt quantity of ſpoil, the preſent year. Soon after which, *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd'alwahâb*, the *Motazalite*, and *Abu Abd'alrahmân Ahmed Ebn Ali Shoaib Al Naiſawi*, one of the authors of the book of traditions, departed this life; and the latter of them, who died at *Mecca*, was buried between the mounts *Al Safa* and *Al Merwâ*. However, the empreſs *Zoe*, who had taken upon her the adminiſtration, in order to employ the whole ſtrength of the empire againſt the *Bulgarians*, ſent *Joannes Radenus* and *Michael Toxaras*, as her embaſſadors, to the *Khalif*'s court, to conclude a peace with that prince. Theſe probably were the embaſſadors ſaid by ſome of the *Arab* hiſtorians to have arrived from *Conſtantinople* at *Baghdâd*, in the 304th, and by others in the 305th, year of the *Hejra*, and to have been received by the *Khalif Al Moktader* with the utmoſt magnificence. The terms of the pacification being ſettled, and the treaty ſigned, the imperial miniſters, who had been treated with uncommon marks of diſtinction at the *Moſlem* court, returned home. About the ſame time, *Melih*, the *Armenian*, invaded the *Moſlem* territories, advanced as far as *Mara'ſh*, plundered all the neighbouring diſtrict, and carried off with him a vaſt number of priſoners. *Ebn Korhab*, the *Eynîr* of the *Moſlem* conqueſts in *Sicily*, loſt a conſiderable fleet, that he had fitted out againſt the *Chriſtians*, this year [1].

[1] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 286, 287. Georg. Cedren ubi ſup. p. 612. Eln Shohnah. Ism. Abulfed. ad ann. Hej 303. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cant. et Joan. Bapt. Carus. ubi ſup.

This

THE next year, being the 304th of the *Hejra*, the *Khalîf* removed *Alî Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Farât* from the office of *Visir*, sent him a second time to prison, after he had filled the post of prime minister about a year, and appointed *Hamed Ebn Al Abbâs* to succeed him. It must be remembered here, that *Alî* had been dismissed from the aforesaid employment in the 299th year of the *Hejra*, and succeeded by *Abu Alî Mohammed Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Yahya Ebn Khâkân*, who incurred *Al Moktader*'s displeasure in 301. Upon which, *Alî Ebn Al Jarâh* was advanced to the dignity of *Visir*, and deprived of his sublime office by the *Khalîf* in 303. After which, *Alî Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Farât* held a second time the reins of the empire about a year. The *Sicilian Moslems* deposed *Ebn Korhab* in the month of *July*, and sent him back to *Africa*, where he and his son afterwards died. *Abu Sa'id Al Daif* arrived likewise in *Sicily*, with a large body of troops from *Africa*, in order to bring the *Sicilians* back to a sense of their duty, the 15th of *August*, the present year. About the same time, died *Yusef Ebn Al Hosein Ebn Al Râzi*, and *Al Hosein*, one of *Alî*'s descendants, who had expelled the *Sammânians* out of *Tabrestân*, in the the year of the *Hejra* 301 [m].

The Khalif *appoints* Ahmed Ebn Al Abbâs *his* Visir.

THE following year, being the 305th of the *Hejra*, commencing *June* 24th, 917, the *Greek* emperor sent an embassy to the *Moslem* court, in order to settle with the *Khalîf*'s ministers a truce, or cessation of arms, and a ransom of prisoners. The two embassadors had first an audience of the *Visir*, and afterwards of the *Khalîf*. The first of these treated them with great marks of distinction, being most richly dressed; and the latter received them sitting on his throne, and surrounded by his guards, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. He also agreed to the emperor's demands, and sent *Munes*, one of his most experienced generals, to conduct the cartel for the redemption of prisoners on the part of the *Moslems*, and gave him 120,000 *dinârs* to redeem the *Khalîf*'s subjects that had been carried into captivity by the *Greeks*. *Ebn Shohnah* writes, that the imperial embassadors arrived at *Baghdâd* the preceding year; that the *Khalîf*'s palace was adorned on this occasion with the most valuable furniture belonging to it, and all sorts of arms disposed in a proper manner; that his guards were ranged in order of battle, to the number of 160,000 men, and received their pay out of a golden purse; that 40,000 white eunuchs and 30,000 black ones, together

An embassy from the Greek *emperor arrives at the* Moslem *court.*

[m] EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 506, 507. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 304. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigiens. ubi sup. Vide etiam JOAN. CARUS. ubi sup.

with

with 700 ushers, or door-keepers, appeared upon the avenues and at the gates of the palace; that an infinite number of vessels upon the *Tigris* presented themselves to their view, and made a most brilliant appearance; that the palace was hung within and without with 12,000 pieces of silk, 500 brocados, and 12,500 pieces of rich tapestry of admirable workmanship, and almost inestimable value; that, in the middle of the great saloon, there was exhibited a tree of massive gold, which had eighteen principal branches, on which there fluttered a great number of little birds, made likewise of gold and silver, that warbled their notes with most delightful harmony; and that the *Greek* embassadors beheld these scenes of grandeur with prodigious admiration. About the same time, *Abu'l Hijâ*, with his brethren and domestics, was delivered out of prison, where, by *Al Moktader*'s order, he had been confined. The *Sicilian Moslems* discovering no inclination to submit to *Abu Sa'id Al Daif*, he entered the port of *Palermo* with his fleet, landed a body of troops there, and laid siege to the town. The *Sicilians*, however, having made an alliance with *Ebn Ali Wâwâ Al Saari*, and been reinforced by him, defended the city with great bravery till the 12th of *March*, tho' they laboured under such a scarcity of provisions, that an ounce of salt was sold for two *taries*, or *tarens*. But, notwithstanding this vigorous resistance, the troops in garison found themselves obliged to capitulate then, and to open their gates to the victors, after they had granted them their lives, and the secure possession of all their properties and effects [n].

The Khalif *of* Kairwân's *forces surprize* Reggio.

NOTHING material happened in the *Arab* empire during the course of the 306th year of the *Hejra*; at least nothing material has been mentioned as then happening there, by the best *Moslem* historians. This year, died the celebrated *Imâm*, *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Soraih*, a follower of *Al Shâfei*, and *Al Kâdi Mohammed Ebn Hayyan Al Dhobbi*, commonly called *Al Waki*, a famous *Moslem* historian. The *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s forces, and his fleet, returned home, in the month of *September*, after they had made one *Sâlem Emîr*, or viceroy, of the *Moslem* conquests in *Sicily*. Some of that *Khalif*'s ships of war, with a body of land-forces on board, also surprized the city of *Reggio* in *Calabria*, towards the conclusion of the present year [o].

Abu'l Kâsem *invades* Egypt.

IN the 307th year of the *Hejra*, *Abu'l Kâsem*, son of the first *Fatemite Khalif* of *Kairwân*, or, as he is called by the *Cam-*

[n] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 287. EBN SHOHNAH, ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 305. Chronic. Cantabrig. ubi sup. p. 8, 9.

[o] ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 306. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabr. ubi sup. p. 9. Vide etiam JOAN. CARUS. ubi sup.

bridge Chronicon, the *Soltân* of *Africa*, invaded *Egypt* with an army of 100,000 men. The *Magrebian* forces at firſt met with extraordinary ſucceſs, and over-ran a very conſiderable part of that fine country. They made themſelves maſters of *Alexandria*, *Al Fayûm*, *Al Baknaſa*, and the iſle of *Al Aſhmaryîn*, and even penetrated into *Al Jizah*, where the *Khalif*'s army, under the command of *Munes*, had poſted itſelf, in order to oppoſe them. In the mean time, *Al Moktader*, having received advice, that the enemy had a ſtrong ſquadron on the coaſt of *Egypt*, off *Raſhid*, or *Roſetta*, conſiſting of 100 ſhips, ſent a powerful fleet, under the conduct of *Thamâl*, his admiral, to attack them. *Thamâl*, in purſuance of his orders, at laſt came up with the enemy, and fell upon them with ſuch fury, that he either took, ſunk, or burnt, almoſt the whole *Magrebian* fleet; though his naval force did not conſiſt of above 50 ſhips. The *Sicilian* and *African* priſoners taken by *Thamâl* in this action were ſpared; but the others, amounting to about 500 men, were all put to the ſword. After the deſtruction of this fleet, *Abu'l Kâſem* retired from *Alexandria* to *Al Fayûm*, and left in the former of thoſe places only a gariſon of 300 men; of which *Thamâl* having been apprized, he in a few days appeared with his fleet before the town, and carried off the remainder of the citizens to an iſland in the *Nile*, called the iſland of *Abukair*. This he did, in order to prevent *Abu'l Kâſem* from meeting with any entertainment at *Alexandria*, in caſe he ſhould think fit to return thither from *Al Fayûm*. It appears from *Eutychius*, that above 200,000 of the miſerable inhabitants of that city had periſhed ſince the beginning of the campaign. About this time, a period was put to the power of the *Edriſites*, in the weſtern part of *Africa*. A truce, or ceſſation of arms, was concluded between *Salem*, the *Emîr* of *Sicily*, and the people of *Taormina*, the *Tauromenium* of the antients, called by the *Arabs Tabermîn*, a little before the end of this year P.

THE 308th year of the *Hejra* was rendered famous by the intire defeat of the *Magrebian* army in *Egypt*. *Munes*, *Al Moktader*'s general, having come to a reſolution to give the enemy battle, quitted his fortified camp in *Al Jizah*, advanced into the neighbourhood of *Al Fayûm*, and attacked *Abu'l Kaſem*'s forces with ſuch bravery, that he overthrew them with very great ſlaughter. He alſo made himſelf maſter of all their baggage, as well as of all the plunder they had acquired. This blow intirely ruined *Abu'l Kaſem*'s affairs in *Egypt*, and

The Magrebians *defeated by the* Khalif's *troops.*

P EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 506—511. ISM. ABULFED. ad an. Hej. 307. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup. PLIN. PTOL. STRAB. OVID. CLUVER. PARUT. &c.

obliged

obliged him to fly, with the shattered remains of his army, to *Kairwân*, in the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, the present year. As for *Munes*, he remained about two months in the neighbourhood of *Al Fayûm*, after the signal victory he had obtained, and then returned to *Baghdâd*. But, before his departure, he appointed *Helâl Ebn Badar* to preside over the province of *Egypt*, that he had wrested out of the enemy's hands q.

Al Hallâj *executed at* Baghdâd.

THE next year, being the 309th of the *Hejra*, beginning *May* 12th, 921, *Abu Moghith Al Hosein Ebn Mansûr Al Hallâj* was put to death at *Baghdâd*. This extraordinary person has been considered in different lights by the *Moslems*; some of them having looked upon him as a sort of divinity, and others as a juggler and impostor. We are told, that, in summer, he could make winter-fruits appear before any number of spectators, and summer-fruits in winter; that, by stretching out his hands in the air, he could make *dirhêms* fall upon the ground, with this inscription upon them, ALLAH *ahed*, *There is but one* GOD; which he called *the* dirhêms *of omnipotence*; that he knew every particular transaction in private families; and that he could even penetrate into the most secret recesses of mens minds. A persuasion of such surprising abilities as these could not but gain him a vast number of disciples and followers amongst the vulgar; nor could even several doctors of the law themselves for some time tell what to make of him. Some writers inform us, that he frequently fasted for several days together; and that, when he broke his fast, he only took three mouthfuls of bread, and a little water. With regard to the place of *Al Hallâj*'s nativity, authors are not perfectly agreed; some asserting that he was born at *Nîsâbûr*, others at *Merû*, others at *Al Tâlakân*, and others at *Al Ray*. He came from *Khoraſân* into *Irâk*, and went from thence to *Mecca*, where he lived a year in a cave, or, as some will have it, in a place called *Al Hejra*, which was always open at top. He was seen upon mount *Abu Kobais* standing with his bare feet on a stone, and his head uncovered, being at the same time in a violent sweat. After his return to *Baghdâd*, he was much talked of there; many pretending, that the Deity resided in him, nay, that he was GOD himself. The *Visir Hamed* having been told, that he had raised several people from the dead, sent for him, in order to interrogate him about his pretensions. Upon his appearance before the *Visir*, he disclaimed the gift of prophecy, the power of working miracles, and the residence of the Divinity in him; saying, that he had nothing extraordinary in him, and that he worshipped GOD like other men. *Hamed*, therefore, must have immediately dismissed

q EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 510, 511.

him

him, had not one of his books been produced, wherein he maintained, that "if a *Moſlem* could not go in pilgrimage to "*Mecca*, he ought to perform all the preſcribed ceremonies "in ſome convenient room at home, fitted up and ſet apart for "that purpoſe, on the 9th and 10th of *Dhu'lhajja*, feed and "cloath thirty orphans, and afterwards give each of them ſeven "*dirhêms*; and that if he did this, he would from thence reap "all the benefits and advantages accruing to all *Moſlems* from "a performance of the aforeſaid pilgrimage." This poſition being manifeſtly repugnant to what has been advanced in the *Korân*, the doctors of the law unanimouſly judged *Al Hallâj* worthy of death; which deciſion being confirmed by the *Khalîf*, he was executed in the following manner. Firſt, he received 1000 ſtripes, without uttering ſo much as a groan; then one of his hands was cut off, then one of his feet, afterwards the other foot, then the other hand, and, laſtly, the fatal ſtroke was given him, which put an end to his pain. After his execution, his body was burnt, the aſhes of it thrown into the *Tigris*, and his head expoſed to public view in the market-place of *Baghdâd*. The *Kâdi* who condemned *Al Hallâj* was *Abu Omar*, who paſſed ſentence upon him, not only becauſe he endeavoured to propagate a tenet ſubverſive of the *Mohammedan* faith, but likewiſe becauſe he fathered ſo pernicious a notion upon the irreproachable doctor *Al Haſan Bakhteri*, in none of whoſe works it was to be found. It appears from ſome good authors, though he denied this to the *Viſir*, that he was thoroughly infected with the blaſphemous opinions of the *Sûfis*, and even ſcrupled not to aſſert, that GOD had taken up his habitation in him. *Abu'l Hoſein Ali Ebn Iſa*, a famous and learned doctor, who diſputed with him, found him perfectly illiterate, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, and reproved him for his great vanity and impiety. *Abu'l Haſan Ebn Al Jondi*, if we will believe the ſame hiſtorian, ſaw ſeveral of his juggling tricks, and particularly the appearance of a beautiful garden exhibited by him. Some *Arabic* verſes attributed to him, that have been preſerved by *Al Makîn*, ſeem to point at the union of the divine and human natures in CHRIST; which may have induced ſome of the *Moſlems*, as we find hinted by *Khondemir*, to have taken him for a *Chriſtian*; tho', after all, as has been obſerved by M. *D'Herbelot*, theſe verſes might only contain certain expreſſions of the *Mohammedan* myſtical theology, by which the *Moſlem* enthuſiaſts underſtood the intimate union of the divinity with the heart of man detached from the love of worldly things, and tranſported beyond itſelf. It may alſo be farther remarked, that the *Shiites* have entertained the moſt extravagant fancies of their *Imâms*, and applied particularly to *Ali* ſeveral things which are ſaid in Scrip-

Scripture of CHRIST; and that moſt of the other *Mohammedan* ſects are tainted with the ſame madneſs; there being found many amongſt them, and, amongſt the *Súfis* eſpecially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and boaſt of ſtrange revelations before the credulous people. "Matters are come to that paſs," ſays *Al Ghazáli*, "that ſome boaſt of an union with GOD, and "of diſcourſing familiarly with him, without the interpoſi- "tion of a veil, ſaying, It hath been thus ſaid to us, and "we have thus ſpoken; affecting to imitate *Al Hoſein Al Hallaj*, "who was put to death for ſome words of this kind uttered "by him; he having ſaid, as was proved by credible wit- "neſſes, *I am the truth*; or *Abu Yazid Al Baſtâmi*, of whom "it is related, that he often uſed the expreſſion, *Sobhâni*, i. e. "*Praiſe be unto me!* But this way of talking is the cauſe of "great miſchief amongſt the common people; inſomuch that "huſbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pre- "tended to the like privileges; nature being tickled with diſ- "courſes of this kind, which furniſh men with an excuſe for "leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their "ſouls, and attaining I know not what degrees and condi- "tions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the moſt ſtupid "fellows from forming the like pretenſions, and catching at "ſuch expreſſions: for whenever what they ſay is denied to "be true, they fail not to reply, that our unbelief proceeds "from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a veil, "and logic the work of the mind: whereas what they tell "us appears only within, being diſcovered by the light of "truth. But this is that truth, the ſparks whereof have "flown into ſeveral countries, and occaſioned great miſchiefs; "ſo that it is more for the advantage of GOD's true religion "to put to death one of thoſe who utter ſuch things, than to "beſtow life on ten others." *Tajo'ddîn Ali Ebn Ahmed Al Baghdádi*, who died in the 674th year of the *Hejra*, has written the life of *Abu Moghith Al Hoſein Ebn Manſûr Al Hallâj*, of whom we have here been ſpeaking, under the title of *Akhbár Al Hallâj*. *Al Ghazáli* likewiſe and *Ebn Khalecán* have been very prolix on the actions and behaviour of this extraordinary perſon. M. *D'Herbelot*, in the account he has given of *Al Hallâj*, truly calls *Gayyath Addîn Ebn Hamam Addîn*, ſurnamed *Khondemîr*, the abbreviator of *Mohammed Ebn Emir Khowánd Sháh*, commonly going under the name of *Mirkhond*; though, in another place, he wrongly intimates, that *Khondemîr* and *Khowánd Sháh* were the very ſame perſon: which falls very little ſhort of a clear and expreſs contradiction[r].

THE

[r] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 287—289. AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 188, 189. KHONDEMIR, AL GHAZALI, apud Pocockium, in

THE ſame year in which *Al Hallâj* was executed at *Bagh-dâd*, that is, the 309th of the *Hejra*, *Yakîn Al Harari* was deprived of the government of *Egypt*, and *Abu Fânus* appointed to ſucceed him in that poſt. The new governor did not remain above five days in his office, having been depoſed within that term, in order to make way for his predeceſſor *Yakîn*, or *Takîn*. The *Khalîf*, however, ſoon removed *Yakîn*, and ſubſtituted in his room *Helâl Ebn Yezîd* [s]. Yakîn *ſucceeded by* Abu Fânus *in the government of* Egypt.

THE following year, being the 310th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ebn Jorair Ebn Mowayyad Al Tabari*, the author of the hiſtory we have for the moſt part followed here, departed this life at *Baghdâd*. He was an *Imâm* of great piety, as well as of moſt extenſive reading and erudition. The *Moſlems* call his valuable work *A Târîkh Al Tabari*, and have it in ſuch high eſteem, that they look upon it as the baſis and foundation of all their other hiſtories. *Ebn Al Jûzi* writes, that his hiſtory at firſt conſiſted of a great number of volumes, and that the copies we now have of it are only an abridgment of a larger work. *Ebn Al Sobki* relates, that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari* having aſked his friends whether they could take any pleaſure in reading a hiſtory of every thing that had happened in the world to the age in which they lived, they made anſwer, that they ſhould very willingly read ſuch a hiſtory, if it could any-where be found: upon which, this author having told them, that he had actually compiled 30,000 leaves upon that ſubject, they immediately replied, that their whole life-time would not be ſufficient to read over ſo voluminous a work in. Whereupon, *Al Tabari* aſſured them, that he would abridge it as much as he could for their uſe; and this, ſays *Ebn Al Sobki*, is the abridgment that ſtill remains in our hands. *Ebn Shohnah* writes, that this hiſtory began with the creation of the world; that *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 224, was a ſtrenuous defender of the *Korân*; and that, notwithſtanding this, he was looked upon as an heretic, or *Shiite*, at *Baghdâd*. The laſt of which articles is confirmed by *Abulfeda*; who ſays, he was conſidered as heterodox by the populace of *Baghdâd*, becauſe he made not the leaſt mention of the famous *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, in the treatiſe he wrote upon the controverſies of the *Fakhis*, learned interpreters of the law, or maſters of juriſprudence. The *Târîkh* of *Al Tabari* has been tranſlated into *Perſic* by *Abu Ali Mohammed Al* Abu Jaafar Al Tabari *dies.*

in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 267. ut & ipſe POCOCK. ibid. ABU'L HASAN EBN AL JONDI, apud Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. TAJO'DDIN ALI EBN AHMED AL BAGHDADI, in *Al Akhbâr Al Hallâj*. EBN KHALECAN, EBN SHOHNAH, ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 309. D'HER. B.b. orien. art. *Hallage*, p. 423, 424. art. *Baſiham*, p. 192, 193. art. *Khondemir*, p. 994. et alib.

[s] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 189.

Yâli, who ſerved ſome of the *Sammânian* princes in the capacity of *Viſir*, in the time of *Manſûr Ebn Nûh*, and the 352d year of the *Hejra*, according to M. *D'Herbelot*. The ſame hiſtory has alſo been tranſlated into *Turkiſh* by an uncertain author, and many copies of this verſion are to be met with amongſt the *Turks*. *Abu Mohammed Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Fargâni* obliged the world with a continuation of the *Târîkh* of *Al Tabari*, and publiſhed it under the title of *Selat*. *Abu'l Haſan Mohammed Ebn Abd'almâlec Al Hamadâni*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 521, has written another ſupplement, wherein he has brought the hiſtory of which we are ſpeaking down to his own times. *Abu Jaafar* is ſaid by *Abulfeda* to have been born at *Âmû*, or *Amol*, the capital of *Tabreſtân*, and from thence to have derived the ſurname of *Al Tabari*. M. *D'Herbelot* is inconſiſtent with himſelf, when, in one paſſage of his book, he aſſerts, that *Al Tabari* concluded his hiſtory with the 300th year of the *Hejra*, and, in another, that he has preſerved the *Arabic* verſes ſpoken by *Al Hallâj* at the place of execution, in the year of the *Hejra* 309. *Abulfeda* relates, that the *Târîkh* of *Al Tabari* concludes with the year of the *Hejra* 302. However, we are inclined to believe, that our author continued his work, which he began at the creation of the world, to the day of *Al Hallâj*'s execution, if not in a manner to the very time of his own death. *Abu'l Abbás Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Sahl*, a doctor of great repute amongſt the *Sûfis*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Harûn Al Harrâni*, a celebrated phyſician, died the preceding year. We muſt beg leave to obſerve, that an imperfect MS. copy of the *Târîkh* of *Abu Jaafar Al Tabari*, in (A) *Arabic*,

(A) The MS. (1) referred to by Mr. *Ockley* is not properly a part of the *Tarîkh* of *Al Tabari*, but only *Al Makîn*'s abridgment of part of that valuable work. As the diacritical points are preſerved in this beautiful manuſcript, any perſon tolerably well verſed in the *Arabic* language may, by its aſſiſtance, not only oblige the learned world with a much more correct and accurate *Latin* verſion of part of *Al Makin*'s abridgment than that of *Erpenius*, which is a very indifferent one, but likewiſe with a continuation of that verſion. For, that part of *Al Makin*'s hiſtory, tranſlated into *Latin* by *Erpenius*, and publiſhed after his death by *Golius*, ends with the life of *Al Moſtadher* (2) the twenty-eighth *Khalif* of the houſe of *Al Abbâs*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 512; whereas the *Oxford* MS. goes on to his ſon and ſucceſſor *Al Moſtarſhed*, and the reſt of the *Khalifs* of that line, and ends with *Rucno'ddin*, or *Rocno'ddin*, the fourth of the *Bahrite*, or *Turkiſh* (3), *Mamlûks*, who died in the year of the *Hejra* 676, 20 years after the *Tartars* had made themſelves maſters of *Baghdâd*.

(1) *Laud's MSS. num.* 124. A.

(2) *Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, in hiſt. dynaſt. p.* 367, 377, *&c.*

(3) *Abulfed. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Jannâb. Al Makriz. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dakmâk, in Al Jaub. Al Tham. Mohammed Ebn Alu'l Surûr Al Sadiki, in Al Raud. &c.*

according

according to Mr. *Ockley*, has a place assigned it in the *Bodleian* library at *Oxford* [t].

In the 311th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif* removed *Helâl Ebn Yezid* from the government of *Egypt*, and appointed *Ahmed Ebn Keigalag* to preside over that province; but he soon made way for *Yakîn Al Harari*, who was again put at the head of the administration there, and continued to govern the *Egyptians* till the death of *Al Moktader*. The same year, *Abu Thâher Solimân Ebn Abu Sa'id Al Jannâbi*, who succeeded his brother *Sa'id* in the command of the *Karmatian* forces, and pretended to great skill in the occult sciences, penetrated to *Basra* with an army of 107,000 men, made himself master of that city, put all the inhabitants that fell into his hands to the sword, burnt the great mosque there, and thoroughly plundered every part of the town. However, being apprehensive of a visit from the *Khalif*'s troops, after he had possessed himself of it seventeen days, he thought fit to abandon the place. The *Khalif* constituted *Ali Ebn Ahmed* (or *Mohammed*) *Ebn Al Farât*, whom he delivered out of prison for that purpose, in the latter *Rabi*, the third time, his *Visir*. *Abu Mohammed Ahmed Ebn Al Jcrairi*, a doctor held in much esteem amongst the *Sûfis*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Al Sarî Al Zajjâj*, a famous grammarian, departed this life the present year. It appears from *Eutychius*, that the *Moslems* demolished the *Melchite* churches of *St. Cosmas* and *St. Cyriacus* in *Al Ramla*, two others in *Askalon*, *Ashkelon*, or *Askalân*, and *Cæsarea*, and another in *Tanis*, or *Tinnis*, a very antient city of the lower *Egypt*, which were all afterwards rebuilt by *Al Moktader*'s order, in the latter *Jomâda* and *Rajeb*, the present year [u].

The Karmatians *take* Basra.

The next year, being the 312th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thâher* fell in with a caravan of pilgrims, on their return from *Mecca* to *Baghdâd*, in a place called *Al Naher*, or *Al Nahr*, attacked their escorte, commanded by *Abu'l Hijâ Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân Abu Saifo'ddawla*, the governor of *Al Mawsel*, *Diyâr Rabîa*, *Dînawâr*, a city about forty parasangs of *Câsa*, and at the same distance from *Marâga* in *Adherbijân*, and *Al Jebâl* in the *Persian Irâk*, intirely defeated it, and cut to pieces the greatest part of the *Khalif*'s troops of which it was composed. As for *Abu'l*

Abu Thâher *attacks and plunders a caravan.*

[t] Al Makin, ubi sup. Ism. Abulfed. ad an. Hej. 310. Eben Al Jûzi, Eben Al Sobki, Khondemir. Vide etiam D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Tarikh Al Thabari*, p. 866, 867. et Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 194. Ockley's hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. introd. p. 39. 40. [u] Al Makin, ubi sup p. 189, 190. Ism. Abulfed. ad ann. Hej. 311. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 512, 513, 514, 515. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 140, 141, 144, 147, 148, &c.

Hijâ himself, he was taken prisoner in the action, which was extremely sharp, together with a very considerable number of his soldiers and officers, who all fell into the enemies hands. After which, the rebels plundered the caravan, and carried off most of the women and children belonging to it into captivity. The success *Abû Thâher* had met with on this occasion excited him to advance to *Hajr*, where he took post, without any obstruction from the *Khalif*'s forces, which were too weak to oppose him. Most of the people that he permitted to make their escape died of thirst, and the fatigue they were obliged to sustain, in the desart. The *Karmatian* general, who was at this time not above nineteen years of age, is said by the authors followed by *Al Makîn* to have made 2220 men and fifty women prisoners, and to have acquired a booty of 1,000,000 *dinârs* in money, together with all the rich effects and provisions of the caravan, worth at least as much more, in this successful expedition [w].

Abu Thâher *sends an embassador to* Baghdâd.

THE same year, *Abu Thâher* released *Abu'l Hijâ*, and many of the other prisoners, and sent an embassador to *Baghdâd*. The purport of this minister's commission was to desire *Al Moktader* to grant his master the sovereignty, or at least to make him perpetual governor, of *Basra* and *Ahwâz*; but this the *Khalif* peremptorily refused. However, as he was not able to reduce the rebels, he treated the embassador with marks of distinction, and made him a present of a sumptuous vest. About this time, an insurrection happened at *Damascus*, wherein the *Moslems* demolished the large and beautiful church of *St. Mary* there, on which there had been laid out 200,000 *dinârs*, and carried off all the sacred vessels, and other ornaments belonging to it, of almost inestimable value. They also plundered several monasteries and nunneries in that district, and particularly a nunnery near *St. Mary*'s church. They likewise pulled down the church of the *Nestorians*, and many of those belonging to the *Melchites*, in the month of *Rajeb*. The *Khalif* put *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Al Farât*, his *Visir*, and his son *Al Mohsen*, to death, in the former *Rabî*, this year [x].

He takes and pillages Cûfa.

THE following year, being the 313th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thâher* advanced to *Cûfa*, pillaged the town, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and carried most of the rest into captivity. He likewise took away with him from thence 4000 pieces of rich coloured stuff, or silk, and 3000 camels, besides several other effects that he found in the place, of very con-

[w] AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 190. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 312. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 222, 223. [x] AL MAKIN, ubi sup. ISM. ABULFED. ubi sup. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 514—517.

siderable

ſiderable value. About the ſame time, *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Khâkân*, *Al Moktader*'s *Viſir*, wrote to *Ali Ebn Iſa* at *Mecca*, ordering him to repair immediately to *Egypt*, and inquire into the ſtate of affairs there. *Ali*, therefore, in purſuance of the order he had received, entered *Egypt* in the beginning of *Rajeb*, and exacted tribute of all the religious ſettled in the lower part of that tract going under the name of *Al Sa'id*, particularly of the biſhops and monks in the monaſtery of *Mînâ*. Many of theſe religious, thus haraſſed, retired to *Irâk*, and carried their complaints to the *Khalîf*; who thereupon commanded the tribute that had been impoſed upon them to be remitted, removed the *Viſir* from his office, and appointed *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Al Khaſîb* to ſucceed him. About this time, *Nicolas*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, died, when he had occupied that ſee thirty-three years; after whom came one *Stephen*, an eunuch, who preſided over the church there three years. A ſurpriſing meteor, reſembling an exceeding large and bright ſtar, or comet, of a very red colour, moving with great velocity from north to eaſt, followed by a terrible flame, and attended with an infinite number of ſparks iſſuing from it, about thirty lances long, and two broad, appeared in *Egypt*, on the fifth of the latter *Rabî*, at ſun-ſet. This meteor exhibited the appearance of a fiery ſerpent, and continued about three hours; after which, not the faintеſt traces of it were to be ſeen. About this time died *Ali Ebn Mohammed Ebn Baſhar Al Zahed*, and *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abd'alaziz Al Bagawi*, in the 102d year of his age. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that a general, called *Mas'ûd*, came from *Africa*, and took the caſtle, or citadel, of *St. Agatha*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, either this or the preceding year [y].

In the 314th year of the *Hejra*, the *Greeks* penetrated to *Malatîa*, the *Melitene* of the antients, ſituated on the borders of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, took it, ſlew part of the inhabitants, and made ſlaves of the reſt. However, after they had remained there a few days, they found themſelves obliged to abandon the town. The *Khalîf Al Moktader* commanded *Yuſef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, the governor of *Adherbijân*, to advance to *Wâſet* againſt the *Karmatians*, the preſent year. About the ſame time, *Naſer*, or *Naſr Ebn Ahmed l Sammâni* poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of *Ray*; but ſoon after, being ſeized with a violent illneſs, he found himſelf obliged to relinquiſh that place. The *Cambridge Chronicon* ſeems to intimate, that the *The Greeks take Malatîa.*

[y] Al Makin, ubi ſup. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 516—517. Ism. Abulfed. ad ann. Hej. 313. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup.

chamberlain (B) of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* came over this year from *Africa*, and reduced the fortreſs of *Barîſâna*; but the particulars of this action are not known [z].

The Chriſtians *gain ſeveral advantages over the* Moſlems, *according to the* Greek *writers.*

SOME of the *Greek* authors relate, that the *Moſlems* invaded the *Chriſtian* territories ſeveral years before the aforeſaid irruption of the *Greeks* into *Cappadocia*; and that *Johannes Curcuas*, the imperial general in thoſe parts, not only drove them back with great loſs, but, having beſieged and taken the city of *Melitene*, reduced the adjoining country to the form of a province. This, however, was perhaps the expedition placed in the 314th year of the *Hejra* by *Al Makin*. It ſeems to appear likewiſe from *Zonaras*, that, about this time, *Leo* of *Tripoli*, the *Moſlem* admiral, was defeated by the *Chriſtian* fleet near the iſland of *Lemnos*, and had almoſt all his ſeamen cut to pieces, and his ſhips ſunk. But we find not the leaſt mention of theſe tranſactions in any of the *Arab* hiſtorians [a].

The Karmatians *make a farther progreſs in* Irâk.

THE next year, being the 315th of the *Hejra*, commencing *March* 8th, 927, *Abu Thâher Ebn Abu Sa'îd*, the *Karmathian* general, overthrew the *Khalif*'s forces with very great ſlaughter, and took *Yuſef Ebn Abu'l Nabâj*, who commanded them, priſoner. He alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of the city of *Cúfa*, and even threatened to penetrate to *Baghdâd*; which ſtruck the inhabitants of that capital with the utmoſt terror and conſternation. However, *Al Moktader*, taking 300,000 *dinârs* out of the treaſury, and being ſupplied by his mother with 500,000 more, raiſed a body of 10,000 horſe, which he ſent to act againſt the *Karmatians*. But the general who commanded them, not having been able to bring the enemy to a battle,

[z] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 514, 515. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 314. Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup. [a] GEORG. CEDREN. ubi ſup. p. 622——627. JOAN. ZONAR. ubi ſup. p. 188——191.

(B) In the *Latin* verſion of the *Cambridge Chronicon*, the *Arabic* word *Hâjeb* is taken for the proper name of the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, who at that time was *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah*, ſurnamed *Al Mohdi*, the founder of the dynaſty of the *Fâtemites*; whereas that word generally denotes the *chamberlain*, or ſome ſuch officer, of the *Khalifs*, in the *Arab* hiſtorians. That it is not a proper name in the paſſage here referred to, appears from hence, that neither the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* reigning at this time, nor any of either his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors, ever went by ſuch a name. 'Tis ſurpriſing that the very learned Sig. *Giuſeppe Simoni Aſſemani*, a *Maronite*, and profeſſor of *Arabic* in the college at *Rome* (1), who reviſed and corrected this *Latin* verſion, ſhould have ſuffered ſuch a miſtake to eſcape him.

(1) *Joan. Bapt. Caruſ. ad Chronic. Cantabrigienſ. præfat. p.* 3.

returned, after the concluſion of the campaign, to *Baghdâd*, without having effected any thing conſiderable. This ſo animated *Abu Thâher*, that he advanced at the head of his forces to *Anbâr*; though he ſoon thought fit to retire, without having attempted any thing againſt that place. As *Anbâr* was not above ten paraſangs of *Baghdâd*, the *Khalîf* conſidered the *Karmatian*'s retreat from thence, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, as equivalent to a victory; and therefore, with his mother and *Viſir*, returned GOD thanks, in the moſt ſolemn manner, for it; and even, by way of farther acknowledgment to the great arbiter of events, diſtributed amongſt the poor of *Baghdâd* no leſs than fifty thouſand *dinârs*. After which, *Abu Thâher* appeared with his army before *Hît*, or *Hait*, a ſtrong caſtle on the northern bank of the *Euphrates*, about twenty-one paraſangs above *Anbâr*, bordering on the deſarts of *Al Jazîra*; but, upon taking a view of it, he retired with precipitation to *Hajr*. This ſo raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the *Khalîf*, that he ordered a ſecond thankſgiving for ſo auſpicious an event, and a farther diſtribution of 100,000 *dirhems* amongſt the poor. *Abulfeda* relates, that *Abu Thâher*, with a ſmall body of troops, conſiſting of only 800 foot and 700 horſe, overthrew *Yuſef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, probably the *Yuſef Ebn Abu'l Nabâj* of *Al Makîn*, at the head of 40,000 men, when he thought himſelf ſo ſure of conquering, that he had ordered his ſecretary to write a letter to the *Khalîf*, notifying the victory his troops had gained over the rebels, before the beginning of the action. In this battle, *Yuſef Ebn Abu'l Sâj* himſelf was taken priſoner, and afterwards put to the ſword, by the *Karmatian* general; who found an immenſe quantity of wealth at *Cûfa*, defeated another of the *Khalîf*'s armies commanded by *Mûnes*, ravaged all that part of *Irâk* bordering upon the *Euphrates*, and, after having thrown the citizens of *Bagdâd* into an inexpreſſible panic, returned laden with ſpoil to *Hajr*. *Abd'alrahmân Al Naſr Ebn Mohammed*, of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, the *Emîr*, or lord, of *Andaluſia*, or rather the *Khalîf* of *Spain*, according to the ſame author, reduced alſo the city of *Toledo*, and deſtroyed a conſiderable part of it, after it had rebelled againſt him, and ſuſtained a very long ſiege, the preſent year. *Mûnes*, one of *Al Moktader*'s beſt officers, having entertained a ſuſpicion of that prince's ſiniſter intentions towards him, refuſed for ſome time to go to the imperial palace, at the *Khalîf*'s invitation; but at laſt he was prevailed upon to repair thither, and kiſs his hand, by the troops that promiſed to ſupport him. About this time, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, the *Hâjeb*, or chamberlain, of the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân* agreed upon a ſort of a truce, or ceſſation of arms, with the *Calabrians*, after he had taken from them *Aura*, or *Ura*,

the *Uria* of the antients, denominated by the moderns *Oria*; upon which, they left in his hands as hoſtages, ſays the writer of that *Chronicon*, *Leo*, biſhop of *Sicily*, and the prefect, or governor, of *Calabria*. This affair being terminated, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* diſpatched *Al Bolzami* and *Al Kolſhâni*, two grandees of his court, called by that writer *Sheikhs*, with *Ebn Sâlem* into *Sicily*, to mulct the inhabitants of that iſland for ſome diſturbances that had happened. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that the *Deylamites*, the firſt of whoſe princes was *Waſhûdân Ebn Al Marzabân*, who fixed his reſidence at *Shahreſtân*, began to make a figure, according to *Al Makîn*, in the year we are now upon [b].

Abu Thâher *takes* Rahaba *and* Karkîsîa.

THE following year, being the 316th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Thâher* ſeized upon the town of *Rahaba*, and put a vaſt number of the inhabitants to the ſword. He alſo made himſelf maſter of *Karkiſia*, or *Karkîſiâ*, in *Meſopotamia*, and afterwards retired to *Hajr*, in *Yamâma*, where he choſe for the moſt part to reſide. Here he built a palace, to which he gave the name of *Hajra*. The *Khalif* diſmiſſed firſt from his employment *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Khaſib*, his *Viſir*, and afterwards *Âli Ebn Iſa Ebn Al Jarâh*, his ſucceſſor; ſubſtituting in the room of the latter *Abu Âli Ebn Mohammed Ebn Âli*, commonly called *Ebn Moklah*, about the middle of the latter *Rabî*. After the reduction of *Rahaba*, *Abu Thâher*, according to *Abulfeda*, made himſelf maſter of *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, and treated the inhabitants of that place in a cruel manner. He likewiſe penetrated to *Sinjâr*, the *Singara* of *Ptolemy*, a conſiderable city of *Meſopotamia*, in the province of *Diyâr Rabîa*, which immediately ſubmitted to him. About the ſame time, if we will believe this author, *Mardawîj Ebn Zayyâr*, or, as he is called by *Al Makin*, *Mardawîj Ebn Ramâz*, the *Deylamite*, having cut off *Asfâr Ebn Shirûyeh*, his maſter, who had ſeized upon *Jorjân* the preceding year, ſubdued *Kazwîn*, *Ray*, *Hamadân*, *Dînawar*, or *Al Deinawar*, *Kenkewar*, *Yazdejerd*, *Komm*, *Kâſhân*, *Eſfahân*, *Jarbâdkân*, and the whole mountainous region of *Tabreſtân*. The dynaſty, therefore, of the *Deylamites*, according to *Abulfeda*, commenced the preſent year. The ſame hiſtorian farther relates, that *Johannes Curcuas*, who preſided over all the imperial territories extending from the *Helleſpont* to the frontiers of the *Moſlem* empire, obliged the citizens of *Akhlath* and *Bedlis* in *Armenia*, at this time, to erect croſſes upon the ſpots, in their reſpective principal moſques, on

[b] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 190——193. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 315. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 289. KHONDEMIR, Chronic. Sicul. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup. JOAN. CARUS. ubi ſup. GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 124, 125.

which

which the *Chriſtian* pulpits had formerly ſtood; and that the *Hâfedh Abu Awanah Yakûb Ebn Iſhak Ebn Ibrahim Al Esfarayni*, author of a *Maſnad*, or body of traditions, drawn up after the manner, and upon the principles, of the *Sahîh* of *Moſlem Ebn Al Hejâj*, died in the year of the *Hejra* 316. A body of the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*'s forces, under the conduct of an *African* general, named *Sâîn*, took the fortreſs of *Zarnîna*, or rather *Zarnîwa*, in the month of *Shaabân*, according to the *Cambridge Chronicon*, this year [c].

In the 317th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *February* 14th, 929, *Al Moktader* was conſtrained to abdicate the *Khalîfat*. *Mûnes*, his general, who was greatly eſteemed by the ſoldiery, having conceived an invincible averſion to him, entered the imperial palace, with a party of twelve horſe, the 14th of *Al Moharram*, plundered it, and carried *Al Moktader*, together with his mother, aunt, children, wives, and concubines, priſoners to his own houſe. The next day, the ſoldiers ſaluted *Mohammed Ebn Al Mo'taded*, ſurnamed *Al Kâher*, *Khalîf*. Upon his elevation to the *Moſlem* throne, the new *Khalîf* made *Abu Ali Ebn Moklah* his *Viſir*, and *Bârûk*, or, as others will have it, *Abd'allah Abu'l Hîjâ Ebn Hamdân Abu Saifo'ddawla*, his chamberlain. When the imperial palace was pillaged, *Al Moktader*'s mother loſt ſix hundred thouſand *dinârs*. After the late *Khalîf*'s abdication, letters were ſent into all the provinces, notifying *Al Kâher*'s acceſſion; and people entertained hopes, that the tranquillity of the empire would be ſettled upon a laſting foundation. But, the third day of the new *Khalîf*'s reign, the troops aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, with great inſolence demanded their pay, cut in pieces *Bârûk* the captain of the guards, drove *Ebn Moklah* the *Viſir* out of the palace, and placed *Al Moktader* again upon the throne. That prince no ſooner found himſelf repoſſeſſed of the *Khalîfat*, than he ſent for his brother *Al Kâher*, forgave him what was paſt, expreſſed an inviolable attachment to his intereſts, recalled *Ebn Moklah*, and ordered him to communicate to the provinces the news of this laſt revolution. According to *Eutychius*, not only *Mûnes*, but likewiſe *Abu'l Hîjâ*, *Nâzûk*, and other principal commanders, contributed to the abdication of *Al Moktader*, and aſſiſted at the inauguration of *Al Kâher*. However, continues the ſame author, the body of infantry, called *Al Moſâfia*, two days after that event happened, ſlew *Nâzûk* and *Abu'l Hîjâ*, and brought about the reſtoration of *Al Moktader*, without any

Al Moktader is depoſed, and re-aſcends the Moſlem throne.

[c] Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 193. Ism. Abulfed. ad ann. Hej. 316. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. 96, 97, 255, 256, &c. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 518, 519. Chronic. Sicul. Cantab. ubi ſup. p. 9, 10.

con-

conſiderable effuſion of human blood. *Abulfeda* relates, that *Al Moktader* had rendered himſelf extremely diſagreeable to the army, by permitting his women and eunuchs to govern with an abſolute ſway, and to fleece his ſubjects in a moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive manner. He alſo ſeems to intimate, that *Mûnes*, contrary to his own inclination, was forced by the ſoldiery to concur with them in the violent meaſures which were at this time purſued; but that afterwards this general not a little contributed to *Al Moktader*'s re-eſtabliſhment upon the *Moſlem* throne. About this time, *Egypt* was infeſted with ſuch ſwarms of locuſts, that they darkened the air, intercepted the ſolar rays, and devoured every thing green in all thoſe parts of that fruitful country which they traverſed. The ſame year, *Abu Thâher*, the *Karmatian* general, and prince of *Hajr*, entered *Mecca* with his troops, killed a great number of the pilgrims, on the 8th of *Dhu'lhajja*, in the temple there, demoliſhed the ſmall building and cupola that covered the well *Zemzem*, and plundered the *Caaba*. Nay, we are told by *Abulfeda*, that they filled this well with the carcaſes of thoſe going in proceſſion round the *Caaba*, whom they had maſſacred, amongſt which was that of *Ebn Al Mohalleb*, the prince of *Mecca*, himſelf. Among other profanations by them offered to that celebrated place of the *Moſlem* worſhip, they took away the famous *black ſtone*, of which we have formerly given our readers a full and ample deſcription, and could not be prevailed upon for love or money to reſtore it, though one *Yahcam*, in the name of the people of *Mecca*, offered no leſs than 5000 *dinârs* for it. However, after they had kept it above twenty-two years, ſeeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from *Mecca*, they ſent it back from *Hajr* of their own accord; at the ſame time bantering its devotees, by telling them it was not the true ſtone: but, as it is ſaid, it was proved to be no counterfeit, by its peculiar quality of ſwimming on water. The *Karmatian*, however, who was ſent to take away the golden ſpout, or pipe, that carried the rain-water from the top of the *Caaba*, broke his neck in the attempt. We muſt beg leave to remark here, that *Eutychius* calls *Abu Thâher Abu Sa'îd Al Jannâbi*; though he has been more properly named *Solimân Ebn Abu Sa'id Al Jannâbi* by *Abulfeda*. The firſt of thoſe authors alſo informs us, that, before he advanced to *Mecca*, he incamped in a place going under the name of *Tel-Arkûf*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Baghdâd*, and had ſeveral engagements with the *Khalif*'s forces; after which, he ſtopped up all the wells between that capital and *Mecca*, not permitting the caravans of pilgrims to paſs to the latter of thoſe cities, either from *Meſopotamia* or *Khoraſân*. The ſame writer alſo relates,

relates, that this *Al Jannâbi* butchered an infinite number of people both within and without the *Caaba*, as alſo in the ſtreets of *Mecca*; inſomuch that the well *Zemzem* was filled with dead bodies, as well as moſt of the houſes of the town, and the ways, vallies, deſart places, &c. in the neighbourhood of it. And, to crown all theſe misfortunes, if any perſon eſcaped out of the city with his effects, he was cut to pieces and plundered by the *Arabs* themſelves, who were aſſembled in conſiderable numbers not far from the gates for that purpoſe. Some, however, fled to *Jodda*, and made their eſcape by ſea. As the *Karmatian* general carried off all the rich furniture and utenſils, both of gold and ſilver, belonging to the temple of *Mecca*, held in ſo high a veneration amongſt the *Mohammedans*, except the ſpout, or pipe, above-mentioned, the ſpoil he acquired on this occaſion was of immenſe value: beſides which, he met with a conſiderable booty in the town; as he gave the place up to his troops to be plundered for ſeven days together. After he had committed theſe depredations, he abandoned *Mecca*, and ordered the pillage that had fallen into his hands to be conducted to *Hajr*. It has been already obſerved, that *Abu Thâher*, to whom *Eutychius* gives alſo the name of *Solimân Ebn Al Haſan*, attacked the city of *Baſra* with his forces in the year of the *Hejra* 311, carried it by aſſault, put a great number of the inhabitants to the ſword, and then of his own accord retired. All which events the laſt-mentioned author ſeems to place either in the 312th or 313th year of the *Hejra*; tho' it muſt be owned, that he ſo huddles things together there, that we cannot ſafely depend upon him in this particular. This year, a very ſharp debate was carried on at *Baghdâd* between *Abu Becr Al Merûzi*, or *Al Marwazi*, the principal of thoſe who were followers of the famous *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, with his adherents, and the members of another ſect in that metropolis, concerning the true import and meaning of a controverted paſſage in the *Korân*. The former inferred from it, that God would hereafter place *Mohammed* upon the throne of his glory near himſelf; and the latter only, that God would accept of the prophet's interceſſion for all true *Moſlems*, at the day of judgment. The minds of the diſputants on both ſides were ſo agitated and inflamed on this occaſion, that many murders were committed; inſomuch that the city of *Baghdâd*, for ſome months, became a ſcene of blood and confuſion. About the ſame time, *Naſr Ebn Ahmed Ebn Naſr Al Baſri*, a famous poet, ſurnamed *Al Khabazarzi*, departed this life. It ought to be here remarked, that *Eylîâ*, or *Elias*, the patriarch of *Antioch*, died on *Saturday*, the 13th of the latter *Jomâda*, after he had ſat in the patriarchal ſee there twenty-eight years.

It

It appears from the *Cambridge Chronicon*, that *Sâîn*, one of the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*'s generals, made an incurſion into *Italy*, and penetrated as far as the borders of the *Lower Lombardy*, that is, *Campania*, the duchy of *Benevento*, and the neighbouring tract, with a body of the *Magrebian* troops, took many priſoners, and agreed upon another ceſſation of arms with the *Calabrians*, the preſent year [d].

The tranſactions of the year 318.

THE next year, being the 318th of the *Hejra*, *Solimân Ebn Al Haſan Ebn Mokhalled* was appointed by the *Khalîf* his *Viſir*. That prince likewiſe, about the ſame time, conferred upon *Naſero'ddawla Ebn Abu'l Hîjâ Ebn Hamdân* the government of *Amed*, *Diyâr Becr*, and *Mayâfarkîn*, or *Mayyâfârakîn*; ordering him to pay annually a certain ſum of money into the exchequer at *Baghdâd*. About the ſame time, the body of infantry, termed by the *Arabs Al Moſâfia*, being grown extremely inſolent ſince the reſtoration of the *Khalîf Al Moktader*, were firſt expelled the city of *Baghdâd*, then that of *Wâſet*, and at laſt totally diſperſed. This year, *Sâîn* made an incurſion into *Calabria*, took a fortreſs in that province, named *Termûlah*, and carried with him into the *Moſlem* territories 12,000 priſoners, without having ſuſtained any conſiderable loſs [e].

Mardawîj, *the king of* Deylam, *extends his conqueſts.*

THE following year, being the 319th of the *Hejra*, *Obeid'allah Ebn Mohammed* was nominated by the *Khalîf* to act in the capacity of *Viſir*. He did not, however, continue long in that ſublime poſt to which he had been advanced; *Al Haſan Ebn Al Kaſem Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb* being appointed to ſucceed him, before the end of the month *Shawâl*. About the ſame time, died *Abu Becr Al Nahrawâni*, a noted poet, who wrote ſome celebrated elegiacal verſes upon a cat; being, at the time of his death, about an hundred years old. This year, *Mardawîj Ebn Ramâz*, or *Mardawij Ebn Zayyâr*, the king, or prince, of *Deylam*, made himſelf maſter of *Hamadân*, violated the women there, and put 30,000 of the inhabitants to the ſword. The *Khalîf*, receiving advice of the havock he had made, ſent an army, under the command of *Harûn Ebn Arab*, to reduce him; of which the *Deylamite* being informed, he advanced at the head of his troops to attack the *Khalîf*'s forces, engaged them between *Hamadân* and *Kazwîn*, and overthrew them with incredible ſlaughter;

[d] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 193, 194. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi ſup. p. 289, 290. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 518—525. AHMED EBN YUSEF, ISM. ABULFED. Poc. not. in ſpec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 119. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Abou Thaher*, p. 40. Chron. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup.

[e] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 194. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 522, 523. ISM. ABULFED. & Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. ubi ſup.

after

after which, he ravaged the country as far as *Holwân*, and the frontiers of *Irâk*, and at laſt carried the city of *Eſfahân* by aſſault. But of the great exploits of *Mardawîj Ebn Ramâz*, as well as thoſe of the other *Deylamite* princes, our readers may expect a particular and circumſtantial account in another part of this work, to which it will more properly belong [f].

The Khalif Al Moktader is killed at Baghdâd.

In the 320th year of the *Hejra*, commencing *Jan.* 13th, 932, the *Khalif Al Moktader* was killed at *Baghdâd*; of which tragical event ſome of the oriental hiſtorians have handed down to us the following particulars. *Mûnes*, the *Khalif*'s general, having entertained a ſuſpicion, that his maſter intended to throw him into priſon, left the court in diſguſt, and retired to *Al Mawſel*. Soon after his arrival there, he aſſembled a body of troops, with which he marched directly to *Baghdâd*. *Al Moktader*, having received advice of his approach, led his forces out of the city, in order to give him battle. A fierce conflict enſued between the contending parties, in which the *Khalif* was killed, ſtript, and had his head cut off by one of the barbarians in *Munes*'s army, who immediately brought it to his general. The body of that prince was buried by a *Curd*, who paſſed by it ſoon after the end of the action, and ſaw it lie naked, and expoſed to public view, on the field of battle. In this manner fell *Al Moktader*, on *Wedneſday* the 28th of *Shawâl*, ſoon after he had completed the 38th year of his age, and had ſat upon the *Moſlem* throne about twenty-five years. He conferred upon *Abu Fadl Ebn Jaafar Ebn Al Farât* the office of *Viſir*, towards the cloſe of the latter *Rabî*. After his death, his head was carried on a lance, in the midſt of a vaſt crowd of people, through the principal ſtreets of *Baghdâd* [g].

This tragical event more particularly related by Abulfeda and Abu'l-Faraj.

This affair, however, has been more particularly related by *Abulfeda* and *Abu'l-Faraj*. Thoſe authors write, that *Mûnes*, being greatly diſpleaſed with the *Khalif*'s conduct, retired towards *Al Mawſel*; of which that prince being apprized, he wrote to the head of the family of *Hamdân*, who then governed the people there, and commanded him to oppoſe the rebel with all his forces. The prince, or *Emîr*, of *Al Mawſel*, continue they, having received the *Khalif*'s letter, immediately drew together an army of 30,000 men, with which he advanced towards *Mûnes*, then attended by only a body of 800 horſe, in order to attack him. That general, however, having

[f] Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 522—525. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 191, 192. Ism. Abulfed. ad ann. Hej. 319. D'Herb. Biblioth. orient. art. *Dilem*, p. 295. et art. *Mardawige*, p. 555.

[g] Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 194. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 524—527.

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ing probably been reinforced by some fresh troops, waited for him upon a spot of ground at a small distance from *Al Mawsel*, engaged him with great bravery, and at last put him to flight; after which, he made himself master of all the towns and villages, as well as all the riches, belonging to the descendants of *Hamdân*. This victory had such an effect upon the minds of the soldiery, that a very considerable part of the *Khalif*'s forces cantoned in *Syria* and *Egypt*, and even at *Baghdâd* itself, deserted him, and joined *Mûnes*; which enabled that rebel, after nine months preparations at *Al Mawsel*, to march through *Tecrît*, at the head of a numerous army, to *Baghdâd*. Upon his arrival there, he pitched his tents before the gate *Al Shammâsîa*, and immediately invested the town. *Al Moktader*'s friends, finding their master and themselves upon the point of being closely besieged, persuaded the *Khalif* to go out of the city in *Mohammed*'s cloke, preceded by the doctors of the law, and other persons of note, with copies of the *Korân* open in their hands, in order to shew himself to the rebels; imagining that they would be touched with reverence of his person at so august a sight, and be thereby the more readily induced to return to a sense of their duty. At first he stood upon an eminence, with his attendants, and seemed unwilling to fight; but the signal at last, by his order, being given, a general action immediately ensued. The flower of his troops having already deserted him, *Al Moktader*'s men were soon put to flight, and he himself, with several of the run-aways, endeavouring to return into the town, surrounded by a party of the *Magrebian* soldiers; one of whom, after a profusion of the most opprobrious language, ran him through with his sword, and the others instantly dispatched him. After which, they cut off his head, and carried it upon a pole to the rebel general, then at *Al Rashîdia*, who had not been present in the action. The *Magrebians* likewise intirely stripped him, not leaving him so much as his breeches on to cover those parts which nature commands us to conceal, and buried him in the place where he fell. When *Al Moktader*'s head was brought to *Mûnes*, at the sight of it, he is said to have wept, and to have discovered signs of the most unfeigned grief. He also posted a guard upon the imperial palace, in order to prevent its being plundered, and commanded his men not to offer the least violence to any of the late *Khalif*'s family or domestics there [h].

The circumstance MIRKHOND, the *Persian* historian, has given us a long detail of the circumstances attending this prince's death, most

[h] ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 320. GREC. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 290, 291.

of

of which have been omitted by the *Arab* writers. *Al Moktader*, according to this author, having caused his brother *Al Kâher* to be imprisoned, for the part he had acted in the late revolt, which terminated in the elevation of that prince to the *Moslem* throne, though he sat not above two days thereon, resolved at last to put him to death. *Al Kâher*, having been informed of his brother's design, engaged a *Barbarian*, or *Magrebian*, officer, who was an excellent horseman, and intirely at his devotion, to assassinate him. In order to effect this with the greater facility, he procured the assistance of *Mûnes*, the eunuch, who was not a little disaffected to the *Khalîf*, and who consequently came into *Al Kâher*'s measures with uncommon alacrity. The *Magrebian*, charged with this commission, sought all opportunities of killing the *Khalîf*; and one day observing him seated in the place called *Shammâsîa*, to see some feats at arms and horse-races there, he presented himself before him, in order to be admitted to partake of those diversions; when he performed his part with so much dexterity and address, that the *Khalîf* made him repeat it several times, and commanded his guards to retire, that he might have a more free and extensive view in the place. The *Magrebian* thinking that a proper opportunity of carrying his design into execution now offered itself, immediately turned his horse towards the *Khalîf*, rushed upon him in an instant, and thrust his lance into his breast with such force, that he fell from his seat, and soon after died of the wound he then received. As soon as the officer had given the blow, he rode directly to the prison where *Al Kâher* was confined, in order to deliver him from thence, and put him in possession of the *Khalîfat*. But passing through the market-place, he met an ass loaded with thorns, which the people of that country make use of to heat their ovens. At this the *Magrebian*'s horse took fright, and ran with his master against a butcher's stall with such violence, that a hook belonging thereto stuck fast in his chin; the horse being by this means deprived of his rider, and leaving him hanging thereon. Soon after this accident, a party of the *Khalîf*'s guards, who observed what had been done, and closely pursued the assassin, came up with him, made a fire of the thorns on the ass's back, and burnt him therein. This is the account of *Al Moktader*'s death preserved by *Mirkhond*, an author of good repute; though, for several reasons, we prefer, as more consonant to truth, the relation of that tragical event handed down to us by the *Arab* historians cited here [i].

attending Al Moktader's death, according to Mirkhond.

[i] Mirkhond.

With

His person, character, and the great officers of his court.

WITH regard to his person, *Al Moktader* had a round handsome face, and the hair of his head, as well as his beard, was exceeding gray; though he had but just compleated the 38th year of his age at the time of his death. He had likewise very good eyes, was of a middle stature, and a fair complexion. As to his disposition, he was religious, delighted in giving of alms, and fasted often. He had many secretaries, governors of provinces and cities, and counsellors, or *Visirs*. Some of the women and girls belonging to the court had a great hand in the administration, particularly a girl named *Yamek*, who was so thoroughly versed in all the weightier points of the *Mohammedan* law, that both the judges, in the determination of criminal causes, and the doctors of the law, in their most important decisions, found themselves obliged to have recourse to her for her assistance. *Al Moktader* reigned twenty-five years, and created twelve principal counsellors, or *Visirs*; which cannot, with truth, be said of any of his predecessors. From the time that the *Karmatians* took *Mecca*, and carried from thence the celebrated *black stone*, to the day of this prince's death, not a single *Moslem* performed the pilgrimage thither; which never happened in the reign of any of the preceding *Khalifs*. *Al Moktader* is said to have given away to the poor, and appropriated to charitable uses, above seventy millions of *dinârs*. He also distributed a vast number of jewels, a considerable quantity of the most precious unguents, and above sixty-three grains of civet, amongst the girls that he kept for his own use, and some other favourites that had an uncommon ascendant over him. His *Visirs*, or *Wazirs*, some of whom had different names, or surnames, assigned them by different authors, were *Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Hasan*, *Ali Ebn Ahmed* (or *Mohammed*) sometimes called *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Al Farât*, *Abu'l Kasem Al Khâkâni*, *Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Khâkân*, *Ali Ebn Isa Ebn Al Jarâh*, *Abu Ali Ebn Mohammed*, generally known by the name of *Ebn Moklah*, *Ahmed Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Al Khasib*, *Solimân Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Al Mokhalled*, *Obeid'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Kadâni*, *Al Hasan Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Obeid'allah Ebn Solimân Ebn Waheb*, *Abu'l Fadl Ebn Jaafar Ebn Al Farât*, who received from his mother the denomination of *Ebn Khaizarâna*, and *Al Fadl Ebn Jaafar Ebn Al Karân*. The most famous of his judges were *Yusef Ebn Yakûb*, his son *Mohammed*, *Abd'allah Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*, *Mohammed Ebn Ahmed Ebn Ishak Al Bahlûl*, *Omar Ebn Mohammed Ebn Yusef*, *Al Hasan Ebn Ali*, and *Omar Ebn Al Hasan Ebn Abu'l Shawârib*. His chamberlains were *Saws*, *Al Moctafi*'s servant, *Nasr Al Kasûri*, *Yakûb Al Mo'tadedi*, and *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Rayek*. The inscription of his seal was, *Praise be to* GOD,

to

to whom no other being is ſimilar, and who is the creator of all things. That this *Khalif*, in whoſe reign the two *Greek* emperors *Leo* and *Alexander* died, was a prince of great juſtice and moderation, appears from his remiſſion of the tribute impoſed upon the *Chriſtian* biſhops and religious in *Egypt* by *Ali Ebn Iſa*, his governor of that country, as well as from ſeveral other things we have related of him here; and particularly from the order he iſſued to oblige his *Moſlem* ſubjects to rebuild ſeveral churches in *Egypt* that his officers had demoliſhed there. We are told by *Al Makin*, that a *Greek* pinnace, ſent by the emperor for intelligence, and to diſcover a proper place for landing a body of troops in, was taken by ſome of the *Moſlem* guard-ſhips ſtationed in the mouths of the *Nile*, in the 314th year of the *Hejra*; and that a man, who by his dreſs ſeemed to be a perſon of diſtinction, was found therein, who confeſſed that he was a ſpy, and declared that the *Chriſtians* would ſoon appear on the coaſt with a fleet of 1000 ſail, and a numerous body of land-forces on board, in order to make a deſcent. This news not a little alarmed the governor of *Egypt*, who thereupon ſent for a reinforcement from *Syria*, and took all other neceſſary precautions to render abortive the enemy's deſigns. But the *Chriſtian* fleet being ſoon after ſhattered by a ſtorm, in which were loſt above 300 ſhips, and all the ſoldiers and ſailors therein drowned; the *Greeks* found themſelves obliged to make the beſt of their way to their own ports, and thereby delivered the *Egyptians*, whom they had ſtruck with ſuch terror, from all apprehenſions of the invaſion with which they had been threatened [k].

Several learned men flouriſhed in Al Moktader's *reign.*

BEFORE we conclude what we have to ſay of the *Khalif Al Moktader*, it may not be improper to touch upon the characters of two of the moſt learned men that flouriſhed in his reign. The famous *Mohammed Ebn Jâber Ebn Senân Abu Abd'allah Al Harrâni*, a native of *Batân*, or *Battân*, one of the dependencies of *Harrân*, and thence commonly called *Al Battâni*, or *Albatâni*, ſo juſtly celebrated for the accurate aſtronomical obſervations he made at *Aracta*, or *Aracca*, that is, the city of *Al Rakka* upon the *Euphrates*, departed this life in the 317th year of the *Hejra*. This great mathematician and philoſopher profeſſed the *Sabian* religion, which chiefly prevailed at the time of his birth in the city of *Harrân*, and all the adjacent tract belonging to it. And for this reaſon it is, that his tables are called the *Sabian Tables*. He began his obſervations in the year of the *Hejra* 264, and concluded them in 306; though the fixed ſtars are placed therein, ac-

[k] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 195—198. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 524—527. GEORG. CEDREN. & JOAN. ZONAR. ubi ſup.

according to their situation, in the year 299. In the 320th year of the *Hejra*, according to *Abu'l-Faraj*, died *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Zacaria*, *Zechariah*, or *Zacarias Al Râzi*, a person extremely well versed in all kinds of antient learning, though he excelled most in physic, and is stiled the phœnix of his age by that writer. However, *Osaiba*, the author of *The Lives of the Physicians*, quotes two writers; one of whom places the death of *Al Râzi* either about the year of the *Hejra* 290, or a little after 300, and the other in the year 310, or 320. *Abulfeda* relates, that he died in the 311th, and *Ebn Shohnah* fixes his decease in the 310th, year of the *Moslem* æra. In his younger years, he gave himself up intirely to music; but afterwards applied himself to the study of philosophy, with so much success, that he made a wonderful progress in every branch of it, and composed a great number of books both upon physical and philosophical subjects. He first presided over the hospital either at *Ray* or *Jondisâbûr*, and afterwards for a time over that at *Baghdâd*. He got webs, or pearls, in his eyes, by immoderate eating of beans; and, towards the close of his life, lost both of them by cataracts. He would not permit an oculist, who came to couch his eyes, to touch them with his instrument, because he could not tell of how many tunicles, or little coats, the eye did consist; saying at the same time, that he was not so desirous of recovering his sight, as he had already seen enough of the world to make him nauseate and abhor it. We are told, that he spent almost all his time in writing, either adversaria or fair copies of books. He is said to have penned twelve pieces in alchymy, wherein he asserted the possibility of a transmutation of metals, and to have understood astrology, or the art of predicting future events, from the aspects and configurations of the celestial bodies. He was liberal, munificent, and courteous to all men; as likewise extremely charitable to the poor, when they were sick, not only giving them his advice as a physician, but supplying all their wants in the most ample manner. Some authors relate, that he was one of the principal physicians of the *Khalif Al Moktader*, and at the top of his profession when he was not above forty years of age. This is the doctor who, in the schools of physic, is commonly called *Rhazes*, or *Rhazis*, a corruption of *Râzi*; which surname he derived from the city of *Ray*, where he was born. He has by some been accused of *Pyrrhonism*, or *Scepticism*, because he did not sufficiently understand *Aristotle* in many particulars. M. *D'Herbelot* thinks, that he was the author of the piece, intituled, *Ekhtiarat Al Najâmiah*, which has been abridged in *Persic* under the title of *Hakkam Aldlamîah*, in the *French* king's library, N° 890, and not *Fakhr o'ddîn Ebn Omar*,

as

as some suppose. *Al Râzi* also wrote a comment upon *Aristotle*'s treatise περὶ ἑρμηνείας, *De Interpretatione*, called by the *Arabs Bari Arminias*, that is, *the book of interpretation*, according to some of the eastern writers. *Al Ca'bi* is reported to have told *Al Râzi*, that he demonstrated himself to be ignorant of physic, by his not being able to cure his own eyes; to be a stranger to astrology, by not foreseeing the misfortunes that came upon him; and to be unacquainted with alchymy, by his poverty. But all the facts here mentioned are looked upon as envious falshoods by *Abu'l-Faraj*. *Bakhtîshûa Ebn Yahya* and *Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korra*, the *Sabian*, and father of *Thâbet Ebn Senân*, the historian, were likewise two of the *Khalîf Al Moktader*'s principal physicians, and in great favour with that prince. But of the latter of these we shall give a more particular account, at the conclusion of our history of the following reign [1].

SECT. XLI.

AFTER the death of *Al Moktader*, *Mûnes* proposed that prince's son *Abu'l Abbâs*, who had been his pupil, to the grandees of the court for *Khalîf*. But, in opposition to this motion, *Ishak Al Nûbakhti* thought fit to observe, that the late *Khalîf Al Moktader* had been intirely under the management and direction of his mother, his aunt, and his servants; that they should be again in the same situation, if a minor ascended the throne; and that therefore, as they now wanted a prince who could govern both himself and his subjects, they ought to cast their eyes upon *Abu Mansûr Mohammed Ebn Al Mo'taded*, surnamed *Al Kâher Bi'llah*, as the most proper person of the house of *Al Abbâs* to be advanced to the *Khalîfat*. *Mûnes*, for some time, shewed himself extremely averse to the elevation of *Al Kâher*, as being perfectly well acquainted with the cruel and avaricious disposition of that prince. However, he suffered himself at last to be persuaded by *Al Nûbakhti* to concur with the other great officers in the election of the new *Khalîf*, assisted at his inauguration, and took the oath of allegiance to him. *Al Kâher*, upon his accession, conferred the office of *Hâjeb*, that is, chamberlain, or master of his chamber, upon *Balik*, ordered all *Al Moktader*'s children and domestics to be brought before him, and caused them to be tortured, to force them to confess what sums of money his predecessor had

Al Kâher succeeds his brother Al Moktader *in the* Khalîfat.

[1] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 291——293. ISM. ABULFED. in chron. ad an. Hej. 317. OSAIBA, EBN SHOHNAH, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Batan*, p. 193. & art. *Razi*, p. 712, 713. Vide etiam GOLII not. ad Alfragan. p. 213, 214, 251, 252.

distributed amongst them. He also put his mother-in-law *Sha'b*, or *Sa'f*, to the rack, to oblige her to produce the remainder of her money and her jewels, after she had deposited in his hands all her rich cloaths, her most valuable furniture, and other effects, and 100,000 *dinârs*. However, she persisted in the declaration she had made upon oath, that she had nothing remaining in her possession of any real value; though two persons asserting the contrary appeared as evidences against her. This so inraged the *Khalif*, that he commanded her, though then very infirm, and even sick of the dropsy, to be stript naked, and hung up by the heels, with her head downwards, in such a posture that her urine ran all over her body. Nay, he is said not only to have exposed to public view, but even to have kicked and beaten, those parts that modesty injoins her sex to conceal. In the midst of her tortures, however, she had courage enough to tell him that she was his mother, and to reproach him with ingratitude; she having once diverted the *Khalif Al Moktader*, her son, from his resolution, when he had determined to put him to death. This monster's own mother, according to some of the eastern writers, was named *Fenûn*. He is said to have made *Mohammed Ebn Al Kasem* his *Visir*, soon after he took the government upon him; though several authors make *Ebn Moklah* his first *Visir*. Two persons of distinction, called *Ebn Salma* and *Ebn Aldâya*, were sent by the *Khalif* of *Kairwân* this year to *Sicily*, to mulct the *Moslems*, probably for the depredations they committed in the *Christian* territories, there. About the same time, died *Abu Amru Mohammed Ebn Yusef*, the learned *Kâdi* of *Baghdâd*, *Abu'l Hasan Ebn Saleh*, one of the followers of the famous *Al Shâfei*, and *Abu Noaim Abd'almâlec*, a learned and religious *Moslem* of the same sect. *Al Kâher Bi'llah* was created *Khalif* at *Baghdâd*, the 28th of *Shawâl*, the present year [m].

He cuts off several of his great men.

THE following year, being the 321st of the *Hejra*, beginning *Jan.* 1st, 933, and not the 322d of that æra, as we find advanced by M. *D'Herbelot*, *Al Kâher* gave the charge of *Visir* to the famous *Ebn Moklah* (if he had not that honourable post conferred upon him the preceding year); who, according to an eastern writer of good repute, first formed the beautiful character now used by the *Arabs* from the *Cufic*. About this time, the *Khalif* commanded *Ahmed Ebn Al Moctafi* to be confined in a house by himself, where he soon pined away with grief.

[m] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 293, 294. EUTYCH. ubi sup. p. 526, 527. AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 198——200. ISM. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 320. KHONDEMIR, Chron. Sic. Cantabr. ubi sup.

Sha'b,

Sha'b, or *Sa'f*, *Al Moktader*'s mother, died this year, after *Al Kâher* had thoroughly pillaged her, ſtript her of all her poſſeſſions, and treated her in a moſt barbarous manner. This and other inſtances of his avarice and cruelty ſo alienated the affections of *Balîk*, *Ali* his ſon, *Ebn Moklah*, *Ahmed Ebn Zairac*, and *Mûnes*, who was at firſt inclined to favour *Ahmed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Moktader*'s pretenſions to the *Khalîfat*, from *Al Kâher*, that they conſpired againſt him, and came to a reſolution to depoſe him. But *Tdharîf*, or *Tharif*, *Al Saccâri* having found means to convey himſelf into the palace in women's cloaths, notwithſtanding the conſpirators had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the avenues to it, and diſcovered the whole affair to the *Khalif*; that prince, thus opportunely informed of the deſign, by the aſſiſtance of the dependents of *Yuſef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, got *Balik*, his ſon *Ali*, *Mûnes*, and *Ahmed Ebn Zairac*, into his hands, and ordered all their heads to be cut off. As for *Ebn Moklah*, he made his eſcape to *Wâſet*, where he kept himſelf concealed till, by the aſſiſtance of *Simâ*, the chief of the *Turkiſh* militia, or rather the leader of the partiſans of *Yuſef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, he brought about a new revolution at the *Moſlem* court. He was ſucceeded by *Abu Jaafar Mohammed Ebn Al Kaſem* in the ſublime poſt of *Viſir*, or *Wazir*. The ſame year, *Yakin Al Harari*, the governor of *Egypt*, whom we have already ſo often mentioned, died at *Meſr*, or *Al Foſtât*, and was ſucceeded by *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Tagaj*, ſurnamed *Al Akhſhîd*, as he was ſoon after by *Ahmed Ebn Keigalag*. *Ebn Salma* and *Ebn Aldâya* returned this year to *Africa*, but met with a very indifferent reception from the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*; that prince being highly diſpleaſed with their conduct. About this time, according to *Abulfeda*, commenced the dynaſty of the *Bûiyans*, which was founded by one *Bûiya*, a *Deylamite*, of royal extraction, ſurnamed *Abu Shajâ'*. *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Al Hoſein*, commonly known by the name or ſurname of *Ebn Doreidi*, a celebrated poet and philologer, who wrote a great number of learned books, but was too much given to wine and muſic, died in the month of *Shaabân*, being at the time of his death about ninety-eight years of age; as did likewiſe, on the ſame day, *Abu Hâſhem Ebn Ali*, a *Mótazalite* ſophiſt, or metaphyſician, born in the year of the *Hejra* 247. Both of theſe learned men were interred in the common burying-place at *Baghdâd*. *Mohammed Ebn Yuſef Al Farbâri*, ſo denominated from *Farbâr*, a town in the territory of *Bokhâra*, placed by ſome of the eaſtern writers at a ſmall diſtance from the *Oxus*, where he was born in the year of the *Hejra* 231, (who had been acquainted with the famous *Al Bokhâri*) and *Abu Jaafar Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Al Azdi*, the principal of the ſect of *Abu Hanîfa* in *Egypt*,

two men of great piety and erudition, also departed this life, the present year. We must not forget to observe, that the *Khalif Al Kâher* commanded the heads of the conspirators to be exposed to public view in all the principal streets of *Baghdâd* [n].

Al Kâher *is deposed.*

THE next year, being the 322d of the *Hejra*, commencing *December* 22d, 933, *Ebn Moklah* excited the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians* to a revolt against *Al Kâher*, by insinuating to their leaders, that he had broken his word with regard to *Balik*, his son *Ali*, *Ahmed Ebn Zairac*, and *Mûnes*, whom he had put to death, after he had promised them their lives, and taken them under his protection; that he had served many other persons of transcendent merit in the same manner; and that, in short, they themselves had great reason to be afraid of his perfidious conduct. Secret conferences were likewise held between him and *Sîmâ*, general of the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians*, who had all the *Turkish* militia at his devotion; whom he sometimes visited in women's cloaths, sometimes in the habit of a common beggar, and at others in that of a blind mendicant; wherein the plan of operations relative to the deposition of the *Khalif* was gradually settled and adjusted. Not content with this, he also made a present to *Sîmâ*'s astrologer of 200 *dinârs*, and another to his interpreter of dreams, engaging them thereby to assist him in the execution of this plan, and by their predictions and interpretations to inspire the general himself with such sentiments as might impel him to act with vigour in the affair. The former of these, therefore, assured *Sîmâ*, that his horoscope indicated a violent death to him on the part of the *Khalif*; and the latter, that his dreams pointed out to him the same thing. This so alarmed and terrified *Sîmâ*, that, in his defence, he resolved to drive *Al Kâher* from the throne as soon as possible; of which the *Visir* being informed, he sent *Salâm*, or *Salâma*, the *Khalif*'s chamberlain, and *Isa*, his physician, to apprize him of the danger he was in. But *Al Kâher* having spent the greatest part of the night in carousing, and being then asleep, upon their arrival at the palace, they were not permitted to see him. Soon after this, the *Sâjians* and *Hajarians* forced their way into the palace, possessed themselves of every apartment there, and by the noise they made on this occasion awaked him; when, being struck with terror, he hid himself under the roof,

[n] GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 294—298. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 233, 589, &c. EBN KHALECAN, AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 199. ABULFED. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 321. EBN SHOHNAH, Chronic. Sic. Cantabrig. & JOAN. BAPTIST. CARUS. ubi sup.

of

or covering, of a bagnio, where he for a short time lay concealed. But the rebels soon discovered him, took him from thence, deprived him of the use of his eyes with a red-hot iron, threw him into prison, and plundered the city of *Baghdâd*. A little before his deposition, he put to death *Ishak Al Nûbakhti*, who had been so instrumental in his elevation to the *Khalifat*. *Al Kâher* was deposed on *Wednesday*, the sixth of the former *Jomâda*, after he had reigned about one year and seven months, and was succeeded by *Ahmed Abu'l Abbâs Ebn Al Moktader*, surnamed *Al Râdi*, or *Al Râdi Bi'llah*; he himself, according to *Al Makin*, having been the first who saluted him *Khalif*. However, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, he could not be prevailed upon, by any means whatsoever, to abdicate, before proper witnesses, the *Khalifat*. *Al Kâher* remained in a state of confinement till the latter *Rabi*, in the year of the *Hejra* 333, when the *Khalif Al Mottaki* released him, and sent him home. After he had recovered his liberty, he was reduced to such extreme poverty, that he found himself obliged to beg on *Fridays* at the door of the great mosque in *Baghdâd*. The son of *Abu Mûsa Al Hâshemi* once gave him a thousand *dirhems* there. Another person, according to *Al Makîn*, at a certain time saw him in rags addressing himself to the people, that resorted to the mosque of *Al Mansûr*, in the following terms: "Remember him who was formerly your *Khalif*, and is now reduced "to the necessity of asking you for alms." He died either in the 338th, or the 339th, year of the *Hejra*; being then, according to some, fifty-two, or, as others will have it, fifty-five, years of age; and was buried in the house of *Ebn Thâher*. He was rash, cruel, avaricious, and a person of a very iniquitous conduct. His *Wazîrs*, or *Visirs*, were *Ebn Moklah*, *Mohammea Ebn Al Kasem Ebn Abd'allah*, *Ahmed Ebn Ali'd'allah Al Hasani*, and *Isa*; and his chamberlains *Baik*, *Ali Ebn Balik*, and *Salâma Al Tolâni*. The first day of his reign was *Thursday*, and the last *Wednesday*; but the inscription of his seal has not been handed down to us. We must beg leave to remark here, that *Sa'id Ebn Batrik*, a native of *Al Fostât*, was constituted patriarch of *Alexandria*, and received the name of *Anba Eutychius*, the 8th of *Safar*, the preceding year, being the 321st of the *Hejra*, and the first of *Al Kaher*'s reign. He was at first a physician, of the *Melchite* persuasion, and, at the time of his promotion, about sixty years of age [o].

[o] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 298, 299. Al. Makin, ubi sup. p. 199, 200. Ism. Abulfed. ad ann. Hej. 322. Ebn Shohnah, Khondemir, Eutych. ubi sup. p. 526, 527, 530, 531.

Some farther particulars relating to Al Kâher.

MIRKHOND writes, that the *Khalîf Al Kâher* owed his advancement to *Mûnes*, the eunuch, who had been his master and governor; but that he soon forgot his obligations to that general, and ordered him, together with many other servants of the *Khalîf Al Moktader*, to be put to death. The same author likewise observes, that *Mûnes* was a person of an extraordinary size; and that his head was so large, that his brains, being taken out of it, after it had been cut off, weighed six pounds of *Baghdâd*; upon which, a *Persian* poet thought fit to remark, that the larger any head was, the greater number of infirmities it was subject to. After this execution, continues that historian, the dependents and domestics of *Yusef Ebn Abu'l Sâj*, excited a tumult in *Baghdâd*, during which, they talked of placing *Abu Ahmed Ebn Al Moctafi* upon the *Moslem* throne. *Al Kâher*, having been apprized of this, commanded *Abu Ahmed* to be brought before him; and, after having sent him into the *Haram*, the most retired part of the palace where the women lived, ordered him to be nailed with four nails to the wall of one of the chambers there; tho', according to some of the *Arab* writers, this poor prince was only immured in that place, where he soon after ended his days. Whilst *Abu Ahmed* was in this wretched situation, *Al Kâher* sent for one *Abu Yahya*, a man of the gown, who was very rich, and told him he wanted 200,000 *dinârs*. *Abu Yahya* declared to the *Khalîf*, that he was not able to supply him with so large a sum. Upon which, that prince said to him, "*Abu Ahmed*, who is "within here, assured me that you could, and he would advise you to do it." *Abu Yahya* then stepped into the room where *Abu Ahmed* was confined, and, to his infinite surprize, saw him there nailed to the wall. This sight struck him with such terror, that he immediately furnished *Al Kâher* with the money demanded of him, and by that means maintained himself in the possession of all his dignities and employments P.

Isa Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Attâr *and* Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korra *were* Al Kâher's *principal ministers.*

AMONGST the learned men that flourished in *Al Kâher*'s reign, we may rank *Isa*, already mentioned here, and *Senân Ebn Thâbet Ebn Korrah*, likewise taken notice of above, both of them physicians to that prince. *Isa* was the son of one *Yusef*, who went under the name of *Ebn Al Attâr*, and was a great favourite of the *Khalîf* he had the honour to serve. Such confidence did *Al Kâher* repose in *Isa*, that he frequently sent by him his commands to the *Vizir*, and imparted many secrets to him. As for *Senân Ebn Thâbet*, he likewise had good interest with his master; but was not so much esteemed by him as was *Isa Ebn Yusef Ebn Al Attâr*. However, the *Khalîf*,

P MIRKHOND. Vide etiam AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 198, 199.

being

being now and then not a little pleaſed with his converſation, preſſed him to embrace *Mohammediſm*; which, for ſome time, he ſtifly refuſed, but, as he was extremely afraid of *Al Kâher*'s ferocity, he at laſt agreed to do it, and accordingly profeſſed himſelf a *Moſlem*. After which, he continued, during a certain term, in the *Khalif*'s ſervice; but being often terrified by *Al Kâher*'s commands, he found himſelf obliged to fly into *Khoraſân*, from whence he afterwards returned to *Baghdâd*, where he died in the 331ſt year of the *Hejra*. The following merry ſtory has been told of this *Senân* by *Abu'l-Faraj*. The *Khalif* once commanded him to examine the phyſicians of *Baghdâd*, in order to diſcover their abilities, and ſee whether or no they impoſed upon his ſubjects. Soon after he had received this order, a perſon of gravity and a very good aſpect, exceedingly well dreſſed, came to him to be examined; upon which, *Senân*, having firſt paid his reſpects to him in a proper manner, deſired him to give a ſpecimen of his ſkill in phyſic, and to name the doctor who had inſtructed him in that art. Upon this, the other took a paper out of his ſleeve, that contained in it a certain number of *dinârs*, laid it down before *Senân*, and frankly told him that he knew nothing at all of the matter; that he could neither write nor read; but that, as he ſupported himſelf and his family by his practice, he begged he would not ruin him, by telling the truth to the *Khalif*. To this *Senân*, who could not forbear laughing at what he heard, replied, that he would not expoſe him, provided he would promiſe never to attend a patient whoſe diſtemper he did not underſtand, and that he would neither preſcribe phlebotomy nor cathartics in any caſes but ſuch as were perfectly well known to him. This the doctor readily agreed to, ſaying at the ſame time, that he never ventured beyond oxymel and a julep, when he preſcribed to his patients; and immediately left him. The next day, a young phyſician of an agreeable mien, in a neat and decent dreſs, waited upon *Senân*, who aſked him to whom he was obliged for his knowlege in the art he profeſſed. The other anſwered, "To my father." "Who "is your father?" ſaid *Senân*. "The doctor," replied the young man, "who was with you yeſterday." "A noble doctor, truly!" replied *Senân*. "Do you," continued he, "preſcribe in the "ſame manner?" "Always," returned the young phyſician. "Take care then," ſaid *Senân*, "that you go on as you "have done, improve in your profeſſion as your father does, "that he may have a ſon as like him (rather than *go in peace*, as Dr. *Pocock* has tranſlated the original *Arabic* here) as poſ-"ſible." All *Senân*'s works are held in great eſteem. He was an excellent aſtronomer, and one who had rendered himſelf famous throughout the eaſt. Nor is this to be wondered

at,

at, since the *Sabians*, whose religion both he and his ancestors professed, cultivated the study of astronomy above any other sect or nation, during the period we are now upon. As the *Khalîf Al Kâher* obliged *Senân* to embrace *Mohammedism*, he has been surnamed *Al Kâheri*, or the *Kâherian*, by some of the oriental writers q.

SECT. XLII.

Al Râdi *is proclaimed* Khalîf.

AFTER the deposition of *Al Kâher*, his nephew *Abu'l Abbâs Ahmed Ebn Al Moktader*, surnamed *Al Râdi*, or *Al Râdi Bi'llah*, was taken out of the prison where he had been confined by that prince, and placed upon the *Moslem* throne. This happened on the sixth of the former *Jomâda*, the very day his uncle was deposed. The new *Khalîf*'s mother was denominated *Talûm*, according to *Al Makîn*. Upon his accession, *Ali Ebn Isa* petitioned for the post of *Visir*; but the new *Khalîf* told him, that *Ebn Moklah* was better qualified to take upon himself the government of the empire, in the present critical situation of affairs; and therefore he conferred upon him that arduous charge. About this time, *Mardawîj Ebn Ramâz*, the king, or prince, of *Deylam*, overthrew, in several engagements, *Ma'hcân Ebn Mâli*, took *Amid*, or *Amed*, in *Mesopotamia*, and possessed himself of the province of *Tabrestân*; *Motahar Atâ'a*, the *Khalîf*'s lieutenant of *Khorasân*, not being able to make head against him there. It appears from some of the eastern writers, that *Al Kâher*, a little before he was deposed, granted to *Mardawîj Ebn Ramâz* the investiture of *Ray*, *Markab*, *Zanjân*, and *Abhar*, upon condition that he restored the city of *Esfahân*, from whence his brother *Wasmakîn* had driven the famous *Ali Abu'l Hasan Amado'ddawla Ebn Bûiya* a little before. With this proposal *Mardawîj* immediately closed, and recalled his brother from *Esfahân*; but soon after receiving advice, that *Al Kâher* was deposed, and his nephew *Al Râdi* advanced to the *Khalîfat*, he sent *Wasmakîn* with all possible expedition to seize again upon that city, and to secure to himself, without delay, the possession of *Ray*, *Ahwâz*, and *Fârs*. He also concluded a treaty of peace with *Amado'ddawla Ebn Bûiya*; the principal article of which was, that each party should keep possession of what he had made himself master of. It appears from *Abulfeda*, that *Joannes Cur-*

q GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 299—301. EDM. CASTEL. lex. heptaglot. in voc. צרחב, p. 3157. Lond. 1669. Not. MS. ad Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. apud JOANNEM SWINTONUM, A. M. Oxonienſ. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Senan Ben Thabeth*, p. 804.

cuas,

cuas, the imperial general, invaded the *Moſlem* territories, and took the city of *Malatia*, after a long and obſtinate ſiege, the firſt day of the latter *Jomâda*, the preſent year. After the ſurrender of the place, he ſent a detachment of his troops to conduct the *Moſlem* gariſon, that had made a brave defence, to one of the *Khalîf*'s fortreſſes, and reduced a large extent of territory to the obedience of the emperor. *Abu Mohammed Obeid'allah Al Mohdi*, the firſt of the *Fâtemite Khalîfs* of *Kairwân*, died the 14th of the former *Rabi*, after he had reigned twenty-four years, three months, and ſix days, the preſent year; being at the time of his death (C) about fifty-three, or, according to *Abulfeda*, ſixty-three, years of age. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Abu'l Kaſem Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Al Kayem*, who was created *Khalîf* at *Al Mohdia*, the day his father expired; though the *Moſlems* of *Sicily*, for near ſix months, heard nothing of this remarkable event. Nay, if we will believe *Abulfeda*, the new *Khalîf*, for reaſons of ſtate, concealed his father's death a whole year. About the ſame time, *Abu Ali Mohammed Al Rudbâri* and *Al Hoſein Ebn Abd'allah Al Naſſaj* (or the weaver), two of the principal *Sûfis*, as well as *Abu Noaim Al Jorjâni Al Aſtarabâdi* and *Mohammed Ebn Ali Ebn Jaafar Al Kattâni*, a celebrated ſcholar of *Al Jonaid*, two very learned men, departed this life. We are told by *Abulfeda* and the *Cambridge Chronicon*, that *Abu'l Kaſem* ſent a body of his troops into *Italy*, that reduced the city of *Genoa*, and made a deſcent upon the iſland of *Sardinia*, the following year [r].

[r] Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 201, 202. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 301. Eutych. ubi ſup. p. 528, 529. Abulfed. ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 555. Chron. Sic. Cant. p. 10. Joan. Bapt. Carus. Saracenic. rer. epit. p. 99. Panormi, 1720.

(C) *Erpenius*, in his *Latin* verſion of *Al Makin*, makes *Al Mohdi* to have been 53 years old at the time of his deceaſe; whereas, according to the original *Arabic*, both in the *Oxford* manuſcript, and that which he tranſlated, this prince was only thirty years of age when he died. However, it muſt be owned, that *Al Makin* (3), or rather the hiſtorian he follows, affirms the founder of the dynaſty of the *Fâtemites* to have been born in the year of the *Hejra* 269, and conſequently to have been about fifty-three years old at the time of his death. Notwithſtanding which, *Abulfeda* (4) and *Ebn Shohnah* (5) make the 322d year of the *Hejra*, in which he died, to have been coincident with the 63d year of his age.

(3) *Al Makin, hiſt. Sar. p.* 187, 201. 322. (4) *Iſm. Abulfed. ad. ann. Hej.* (5) *Ebn Shohnah.*

Before

BEFORE we conclude our account of the transactions of the year of the *Hejra* 322, it must be observed, that the famous, or rather infamous, *Mohammed Ebn Ali Al Shalmagâni*, so denominated from *Shalmagân*, a town in the territory of *Wâset*, the place of his nativity, was crucified, together with *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Awn*, one of his disciples, for the impious opinions he maintained. This impostor held, that as much of the Deity resided in created beings, and particularly men, as their respective capacities would admit; that every human soul passed from one body to another, through an indefinite and indeterminate series of ages; and that *Ali* was the most excellent of mortals, nay that he was either GOD himself, or at least a partaker of the divine nature, and extremely like him. *Al Shalmagâni*, with many of his followers, kept himself for some time concealed; but at last, in the month of *Shawâl*, this year, he came out of his lurking-place, and endeavoured to poison the minds of the *Khalif's* subjects with his impious tenets. Being brought before *Ebn Moklah*, upon whom *Al Râdi*, at *Sîmâ*'s persuasion, had conferred the post of *Wazîr*, he denied the erroneous opinions laid to his charge; though he owned, that his followers asserted GOD to have taken up his residence in him. *Ebn Moklah*, not satisfied with what he alleged in his defence, sent him, for farther examination, to the *Khalif*; *Ibrahim Ebn Abu Awn* and *Mohammed Ebn Abdûs*, two of his disciples, at the same time attending him. Upon the appearance of these impostors before the *Khalif*, he commanded *Ebn Abu Awn* and *Ebn Abdûs* to beat *Al Shalmagâni* with their fists, though they had not scrupled to attribute divinity to him; which the latter of them, with no small reluctance, did, though the other, instead of doing it, kissed his head and his beard, crying out, "My Supporter, my Lord, and my God!" *Al Shalmagâni* was then asked, whether he had not a little before denied, that he ever arrogated to himself divine honours? to which he answered in the affirmative, and seemed to blame *Ebn Abu Awn* for his extravagant conduct. However, being at last, on a certain day, examined by all the great doctors of the law, he was by them judged worthy of death; and, in consequence of the sentence then passed upon him, he was, with *Ebn Abu Awn*, executed, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, at *Baghdâd*. After the execution, the bodies of both of them were reduced to ashes, in order to inspire the populace with the greater abhorrence of their impiety. For a more particular account of all the blasphemous tenets propagated by *Al Shalmagâni* and his followers, as well as the *Sûfis*, who were at least very nearly related to them, we must

muſt beg leave to refer our curious readers to the authors cited here [r].

In the year of the *Hejra* 323, beginning *December* 11th, 934, *Mardawîj Ebn Ramâz*, or *Ebn Zayyâr*, the king of *Deylam*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Al Jebâl*, and other adjacent provinces, was aſſaſſinated by ſome of the *Turks* in his ſervice, and ſucceeded by his brother *Waſmakîn*, *Waſhmakîn*, or *Waſhmakîr*. But of this we ſhall give our readers a more particular and circumſtantial account hereafter. The ſame year, *Abu Thâher*, the *Karmatian* general, and prince of *Hajr*, plundered a caravan, and put a great number of pilgrims to the ſword. *Abu Mohammed Naſero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân* likewiſe delivered up to his brother *Ali Abu'l Haſan Saifo'ddawla Mayâfârkîn*, or *Mayyâfârakîn*, and *Diyâr Beer*, the preſent year. About the ſame time, *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûyia* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Eſfahân*, and propoſed afterwards to reduce to his obedience *Hamadân*, *Komm*, *Kâſhân*, *Karaj*, *Al Ray*, *Kazwîn*, *Kenkewar*, and all the territories of *Waſmakîn*. In the month of either the former or latter *Jomâda*, the troops mutinied at *Baghdâd*, broke open the houſe of *Ebn Moklah*, *Al Râdi*'s *Wazîr*, and obliged him and his ſon to fly over the *Tigris* into the weſtern town; though the commotion, raiſed by them on this occaſion, was afterwards appeaſed. The ſame year, died *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Arafah*, commonly called *Naſthuyah*, deſcended from the famous *Al Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra*, who had formerly been the *Khalif*'s governor of *Khoraſân*. He bore the character of a moſt celebrated grammarian, and was born in the year of the *Hejra* 244. *Abu Beer Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Mohammed Ebn Tagaj*, ſurnamed *Al Akhſhîd*, ſubjugated alſo *Egypt*, which he entered in the month of *Ramadân*, and annexed it to the opulent province of *Syria*, which he had before wreſted out of the *Khalif*'s hands. Several violent ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in *Egypt*, the third of *Dhu'lkaada*, ſoon after *Anba Theodoſius*, or *Stephen*, who had been with *Mûnes*, the eunuch, at *Baghdâd*, was conſtituted patriarch of *Antioch* in *Syria*. About the ſame time, many of thoſe meteors called *falling ſtars*, of a very remarkable kind, likewiſe appeared in *Egypt*. This year, the followers of the famous *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, who were now become very numerous, raiſed a great commotion in *Baghdâd*, entering people's houſes, ſpilling their wine, if they found any, beating the ſinging-women they met with, and breaking their inſtruments

The principal events of the year 323.

[r] Ism. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Al Shahrestan. apud Pocock. in not. ad ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 265. D'Herbel. ubi ſup. in art. *Hakem beamrillah*. See alſo Sale's prelim. diſc. p. 176, 177.

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to pieces; insomuch that a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty. We must not forget to observe, that *Rendâsh*, the *Moslem* governor of *Tabermîn*, or *Taormina*, died there the preceding year; nor that the *Cambridge Chronicon* mentions a dreadful tempest and inundation, as happening at *Palermo* in *Sicily*, and destroying many men and houses there, in that we are now upon [s].

Al Râdi *creates a minister superior to his* Vizir.

THE following year, being the 324th of the *Hejra*, commencing *Nov.* 30th, 935, the *Khalîf Al Râdi*, finding himself pressed on all sides by the usurpers who had dismembered the *Moslem* empire, and reduced to great straits by the incapacity of his *Vizir*, created *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Rayek Emîr Al Omrâ* (D), or assigned him the charge of *commandant of commandants*, which the title of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, that is, the *Emîr* of *Emirs*, or the supreme *Emîr*, imports. This great officer, or rather prime minister, was trusted with the administration of all military affairs, and had the intire management of the finances, in a much more absolute and unlimited manner than any of the *Khalif*'s *Vizirs*, committed to him. Nay, he officiated for the *Khalif* in the great mosque at *Baghdâd*, and had his name mentioned in the public divine service throughout the empire. In a word, *Al Râdi* was intirely governed by this *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Rayek* and his secretary, insomuch that he could not take out of the treasury a single *dinâr* for his own use, without their permission. As for *Ebn Moklah*, who was a person of considerable abilities, though not equal to the post in which he had been placed, the *Khalîf* left him for some time in possession of the charge of *Vizir*; but at last, on account of his shuffling and pragmatical disposition, he found himself obliged to dismiss him. *Ebn Rayek* came from *Wâset*, over the people of which city he then presided as governor, or rather sovereign, the 25th of *Dhu'l-hajja*, to *Baghdâd*. Soon after which, he appointed *Ahmed Ebn*

[s] AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 202, 203. GREG. ABU'L-FARAJ, ubi sup. p. 301, 302. EUTYCH. ubi sup. ABULFED. ad ann. Hej. 323. Chronic. Sic. Arabic. Cantabrigiens. p. 10, 11. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

(D) That the name of this great officer was *Emîr Al Omrâ*, and not *Emir Al Omara*, as we find it written (6) by M. *D'Herbelot*, will be acknowleged by every one who is not an intire stranger to the genius of the *Arabic* language. Hence the word *Omrâ*, the plural of *Emîr*, is given as a title (7) to all the nobility of the first rank, in the empire of the *Mogul*, or *Moghol*, and in *Tartary*.

(6) *D'Herbel. Biblioth orient. p.* 705. *Shâh, p.* 55. *Lond.* 1742.

(7) *Fraser's History of Nadir*

Ali of *Cûfa* his ſecretary of ſtate. *Abulfeda* relates, that the *Hajarians*, with *Al Modhaffer Ebn Yâkût* at their head, depoſed *Ebn Moklah*, and after him *Ali Ebn Iſa*, *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Iſa*, and *Abu Jaafar Ebn Al Kaſem*, whom they had ſucceſſively appointed to officiate as *Viſir*, within the ſpace of a few months. He alſo writes, that *Ebn Rayek*, who had aſſumed to himſelf the ſovereignty of *Wâſet* and *Baſra*, *Al Barîdi*, who had ſeized upon *Ahwâz*, and the other governors of provinces, having refuſed to ſend their reſpective tributes to *Baghdâd*, the *Khalif*'s treaſury was quite exhauſted, inſomuch that he found himſelf obliged to employ *Ebn Rayek*, who had amaſſed conſiderable ſums, as the *Emîr Al Omrâ*; which put the government of the *Moſlem* empire, without any reſtriction or reſerve, into his hands. The ſame author likewiſe intimates, that he diſarmed the *Sâjians* immediately after his arrival at *Baghdâd*; which inſpired the *Hajarians* with an averſion to him. *Mohammed Ebn Tagaj*, and ſome of his officers, aſſembled a body of troops at *Barka*, whither they had been obliged to retire out of *Egypt*, with which they returned to *Alexandria*, drove the gariſon of that city to the river of *Raſhid*, purſued them thither, and intirely defeated them. Many of the *Egyptians* were killed in the action, and moſt of the reſt taken priſoners; after which, the citizens of *Alexandria*, that had been forced to abandon the place, returned home. About the ſame time, *Al Râdi* granted the inveſtiture of *Egypt*, in the fulleſt and moſt ſolemn manner, to *Al Akhſhid*, and recalled *Ahmed Ebn Keigalag* from that country. This year, *Adado'ddawla Abu Shajâ' Fanakhoſrû Ebn Rocno'ddawla Al Haſan Ebn Bûiya*, afterwards lord, or king, of *Perſia*, was born at *Eſfahân*; and, before the cloſe of it, *Hajaza Al Barmaki*, deſcended from *Yahya Ebn Khâled Ebn Barmak*, or *Barmac*, extremely well verſed in various parts of learning, *Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mohammed*, ſurnamed *Ebn Al Moſteſi*, the author of a great number of books of good repute, and the *Imâm Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Niſâbûri*, a follower of the famous *Al Shâfei*, born in the 238th year of the *Hejra*, departed this life. An eaſt-wind, that blew with great violence in *Sicily* the 11th of *July*, utterly deſtroyed the vintage there. From this time the office of *Viſir* became only a nominal poſt, the *Emîr Al Omrâ* continuing to govern the *Khalifat* with an abſolute ſway, till the power of the *Seljûkians*, or oriental *Turks*, began to decline at *Baghdâd* [t].

[t] Khondemir. Vide etiam Al Makin, Greg. Abu'l Faraj Eutych. Ism. Abulfed. ad ann. Hej. 324. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. & Joan. Bapt. Carus. ubi ſup.

The

An inglorious treaty concluded with Abu Thâher.

THE next year, being the 325th of the *Moſlem* æra, *Ebn Rayek*, who poſſeſſed the charge of *Emîr Al Omrâ*, and, in conſequence thereof, had the intire direction of the ſtate, concluded a treaty of peace with *Abu Thâher*, prince of the *Karmatians*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Cûfa*, by no means glorious to the *Khalif*. For, the principal article of this treaty was, that *Ebn Rayek* ſhould remit the *Karmatian* from *Baghdâd* the annual ſum of 120,000 *dinârs*. However, *Abu Thâher*, in conſideration of this tribute, engaged never for the future to moleſt the caravans of pilgrims in their paſſage to *Mecca* [u].

Al Barîdi *becomes tributary to the* Khalif.

THE ſame year, *Ebn Rayek*, and the *Khalif* in perſon, marched with a powerful army to *Wâſet*, in order to drive from thence the rebel *Abu Abd'allah Al Barîdi*, who had ſeized upon that city. *Al Barîdi*, finding himſelf not in a condition to make head againſt the *Khalif*'s forces, purchaſed a peace of *Al Râdi*, by ſubmitting to pay a monthly tribute of 30,000 *dinârs*. But, after the *Khalif*'s departure to *Baghdâd*, he rebelled again, took *Baſra*, together with the diſtrict belonging to it, and in a ſhort time grew more powerful than he was before [w].

Al Barîdi *is driven from* Wâſet, Ahwâz, *and* Baſra, *and flies to* Amado'ddawla's *court.*

THIS rebellion greatly embarraſſing the *Khalif*'s affairs, the ſcene of it being in the very neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*, *Ebn Rayek* ſent *Yahcam*, the *Turk*, with a numerous army to extinguiſh it, and, if poſſible, to get the author of it into his hands. But *Al Barîdi*, finding himſelf not in a condition to oppoſe *Yahcam*, fled at his approach; upon which, *Wâſet*, *Ahwâz*, and *Baſra*, immediately ſubmitted to the *Khalif*'s forces, and *Ebn Rayek* appointed *Yahcam* to preſide over *Ahwâz* in quality of governor, who thereupon engaged himſelf to pay an annual tribute to the *Khalif* of 38,000 *dinârs*. After *Al Barîdi* had been driven from *Wâſet*, *Ahwâz*, and *Baſra*, he took ſanctuary at *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Búiya*'s court; who ſent his brother *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Búiya* with him, attended by a ſtrong body of troops, to diſlodge *Yahcam* from his new acquiſitions, the following year. The *Moſlems*, about this time, plundered the church of *the reſurrection* at *Jeruſalem*, and reduced a conſiderable part of it to aſhes; one *Chriſtopher*, a native of *Aſkalon*, or *Aſhkelon*, being then the patriarch there. The ſame year, died *Abd'allah Ebn Mohammed Al Kharraz*, a grammarian, who wrote a pretty large commentary upon the *Korân*. An inſurrection happened at *Gergenti*, the *Agrigentum* of the antients, in *Sicily*, *April* 17th, when the people of that city aſſembled in great numbers,

[u] KHONDEMIR & AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. ISM. ABULFED. in chr. ad an. Hej. 325. [w] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 204.

drove

drove *Ebn Amrân* from *Calata-Bellotta*, called by the *Arabs* *Ka'lat-Al-Bellût*, and pillaged the gariſon of that place. *Al Emir Sâlem*, receiving advice of what had happened, marched againſt the inſurgents with an army of *Sicilians* and *Cottamians*, or *Catâmians*, a very powerful and warlike *Arab*, or *Mooriſh*, nation, and laid ſiege to *Afrah*, or *Ofrah*; of which the *Gergentines* being informed, they advanced to the beſiegers camp, engaged the *Emir*'s forces, on *Saturday*, *June* 24th, and overthrew them with incredible ſlaughter. A prodigious number of the *Cottâmians*, together with *Aiu Dekâk*, their general, periſhed in the action. After this defeat, they made excurſions as far as the gates of *Palermo*, and even attempted to form the ſiege of that city. For which purpoſe, they advanced to a place going under the name of *Mesîd Bâlis*, not far from the town; but were repulſed by the inhabitants of *Palermo* with very conſiderable loſs; who, being ſupported by *Al Emîr Sâlem Ebn Al Raſhîd*, and *Al Maimûn Ebn Mûſa*, purſued them as far as *Marnîca*, and put many of them to the ſword. This *Emir* had been appointed governor of the *Moſlem* conqueſts in *Sicily* by *Abu'lKaſem*, or *AlKayem*, the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*, and grievouſly oppreſſed the *Sicilians*, particularly the *Gergentines*, who could not bear his yoke, and therefore expelled the *Moſlem* gariſon out of their city. This ſo enraged the *African Khalîf*, that he ſent an army to reduce them; which ſhut them in on all ſides, cut off all communication between them and the other *Sicilians*, and reduced them to very great ſtraits. However, they found means to apply to the *Greek* emperor for aſſiſtance, who thereupon ſent a body of his beſt troops to their relief; which enabled them to repulſe the beſiegers in all their aſſaults, to deſtroy vaſt numbers of their men, and, in fine, to ſuſtain a ſharp and vigorous ſiege four whole years [x].

THE provinces of the *Khalifat* at this time were divided in ſuch a manner amongſt divers princes, that the *Khalîf* poſſeſſed only an appearance of pre-eminence in dignity, which regarded more the affairs of religion than thoſe of the ſtate. This will be ſufficiently manifeſt from the following liſt of the tyrants, or uſurpers, who had ſet up for themſelves, in different parts of the *Moſlem* empire, at the commencement of the year we are now upon.

The Khalîf *at this time is only in poſſeſſion of the city and diſtrict of* Baghdâd

[x] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 528—531 ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi ſup. Chronic. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. p. 11, 12. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup. p. 99, 100. AL KADI SHAHABO'DDIN EBN ABILDAM AL HAMAWI, in hiſt. cui tit. *Aſmodfar*, conſervat. in Biblioth. Eſcurial. & Lat. reddit. à Marco Dobelio. Vide etiam AUGUSTIN. INVEG annal. Panorm. tom. ii.

THE cities of *Wâſet*, *Baſra*, and *Cûfa*, with the reſt of the *Arabian Irâk*, were conſidered as the property or peculium of *Ebn Râyek*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ*; though *Al Barîdi* ſeized upon them, in the beginning of the preſent year.

THE country of *Fârs*, *Farſiſtân*, or *Perſia* properly ſo called, was poſſeſſed by *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya*, the firſt prince or chief of the dynaſty of the *Bûiyans*, who held his reſidence in the city of *Shîrâz*.

PART of the tract denominated *Al Jebâl*, together with the remainder of the *Perſian Irâk*, which is the mountainous part of *Perſia*, and the country of the ancient *Parthians*, recognized for their maſter *Rocno'ddawla*, or *Rucno'ddawla*, *Al Haſan Ebn Bûyia*, the brother of *Amado'ddawla Ali Ebn Bûiya*, who reſided at *Esfahân*.

THE other part of that country was poſſeſſed by *Waſmakîn*, *Waſhmakîn*, or *Waſhmakir*, the *Deylamite*, the brother of *Mardawîj*.

DIYAR RABIA, *Diyâr Becr*, *Diyâr Modar*, and the city of *Al Mawſel*, or *Moſul*, acknowledged for their ſovereigns the *Hamdânites*, or the princes of the race of *Hamdân*.

EGYPT and *Syria* no longer obeyed the *Khalifs*, but only *Mohammed Ebn Ta'j*, or *Tagaj*, ſurnamed *Al Akhſhid*, who had been formerly appointed governor of thoſe provinces by the ſame *Khalîfs*.

AFRICA had been ſubjugated by the *Fâtemites*, who had chaſed from thence the *Aglabites*, governors of the city of *Kairwân* and its dependencies for the *Khalifs*. The maſter of that country at this time was *Al Kayem Abu'l Kaſem Ebn Obeid'allah Al Mohdi*, whoſe ſucceſſors founded a new *Khalîfat* in *Egypt*.

SPAIN, or at leaſt the *Moſlem* part of it, was governed by *Abd'alrahmân Al Naſr Ebn Mohammed*, of the houſe of *Ommiyah*, who ſoon after this time aſſumed the title of *Emîr Al Mûmenîn*, *prince*, *king*, or *emperor*, *of the faithful*, which was peculiar to the *Khalifs*.

THE *Moſlem* provinces in *Sicily*, except the city of *Gergenti*, whoſe inhabitants had expelled the *Magrebian* garriſon, had for their immediate governor *Al Emîr Sâlem Ebn Al Raſhid*, who was the *Khalif* of *Kairwân*'s lieutenant there.

THE *Moſlem* territories in *Crete* owned for their ſovereign one who probably was a deſcendant of *Apochapſus*, or *Abu Kabs*, the *Spaniſh Magrebian* admiral, who reduced that iſland, about the year of our LORD 812.

THE provinces of *Khoraſân* and *Mawarâ'lnahr*, or the *Tranſoxana*, were under the domination of *Al Naſr Ebn Ahmed*, of the dynaſty of the *Sammânians*.

THE

THE provinces of *Tabreſtân*, *Jorjân*, or *Georgiâna*, and *Mazanderân*, had kings of the firſt dynaſty of the *Deylamites*.

THE province of *Kermân* was occupied by *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Eyliâ*, or *Elias*, *Al Sammâni*, who had made himſelf maſter of it, before the commencement of the preſent year.

AND, laſtly, the provinces of *Yamâma* and *Bahrein*, including the diſtrict of *Hajr*, were in the poſſeſſion of *Abu Thâher*, the *Karmatian*.

HENCE it appears, that, in the 325th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalîf Al Râdi*, or rather *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râyek*, the *Emîr Al Omrâ*, kept poſſeſſion of only the city of *Baghdâd*, and its dependencies; ſcarce even the very ſhadow of ſovereignty remaining in any other part of the empire to him. 'Tis true, at firſt the name of the *Khalîf* was revered by the princes, who had ſet up for themſelves, in all the provinces, mentioned in the moſques, during the time of public ſervice there, throughout the empire, and impreſt upon the current coin. But their veneration for him being gradually diminiſhed, the princes, or *Emîrs*, conſidered him only as the great *Imâm*, or ſovereign pontiff of the religion of the *Moſlems*, who had nothing more to do than to perform divine ſervice, harangue the people in the great moſque at *Baghdâd*, and decide certain points of right; in the laſt of which particulars his power was likewiſe very much limited. 'Tis alſo true, that the ſame *Khalîfs*, in proceſs of time, ſhook off the yoke of theſe *Emîrs*, and aſſerted their independency on them. But notwithſtanding this, their power gradually declined, and was ſcarce the ſhadow of what it had formerly been, from the period we are now upon to the taking of *Baghdâd* by the *Tartars*, or *Moguls*, who intirely aboliſhed the *Khalîfat* [y].

IN the 326th year of the *Hejra*, beginning *Nov.* 8th, 937, *Ebn Moklah*, who, after the amotion of *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Iſa* and *Al Fadl Ebn Jaafar* from that poſt, had been re-eſtabliſhed in the charge of *Viſir*, wrote, on the part of the *Khalîf Al Râdi*, a letter to *Yahcam*, the *Turk*, telling him that now it was time for him to advance to *Baghdâd* at the head of a body of troops, in order to deliver the *Khalîfat* from the tyranny of *Ebn Râyek*, and to occupy his place. But this letter having been intercepted, *Ebn Râyek* diſcovered to the *Khalîf* the treaſon of the *Viſir*, who had dared to write ſuch a letter to *Yahcam*, without

Ebn Moklah *is removed from the poſt of* Viſir.

[y] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 203, 204. MIRKHOND, KHONDEMIR, EBN SHOHNAH, ABU'L-FARAJ, ISM. ABU'LFED EUTYCH. Chronic. Sic. Cantab. GEORG. CEDREN. JOAN ZONAR RODERIC. TOLETAN. D'HERBEL. CARUSIUS, aliique ſcriptor. plurim. paſſ.

his maſter's knowledge, and even againſt his expreſs orders. *Ebn Moklah*, upon his appearing before the *Khalîf*, at firſt denied the fact; but the letter in his own hand-writing being produced againſt him, he was found guilty of what had been laid to his charge, ſent immediately to priſon, brought afterwards to his trial, and condemned by the judges to have his right hand cut off, for having committed ſo heinous a crime. When ſentence was pronounced, he complained bitterly of the ſeverity of it, and of the iniquity of cutting off the right hand of a man who had invented the moſt beautiful character that had ever been in uſe amongſt the *Arabs*, had written ſeveral copies of the *Korân*, the book held in the higheſt veneration and eſteem amongſt the *Moſlems*, in ſo elegant a manner that they paſſed for maſter-pieces in the art of writing, and had finally been *Viſir* to three ſucceſſive *Khalifs*. Nor did he content himſelf with bare complaints. He inveighed bitterly againſt the judges, *Ebn Râyek*, and the *Khalif* himſelf. Wherefore, the executioner, in purſuance of the ſentence that had been paſſed upon him, did not only deprive him of his right hand, but likewiſe, ſome days afterwards, cut out his tongue. After which, he was confined in one of the dungeons belonging to the imperial palace. *Al Makin*, or rather his tranſlator *Erpenius*, relates, that, having no ſervant allowed him, he drew water out of a well (E) that was

(E) The paſſage here referred to in *Al Makin*, *Ykâl annaho lahako darb*, has been tranſlated by *Erpenius*, "Aiunt autem illic apud "eum fuiſſe puteum;" whereas it ought to have been rendered, "Aiunt autem magnam eum "prehendiſſe miſeriam (vel an-"guſtiam)" in conformity to the parallel paſſage in *Abu'l-Faraj* (8), *Walaha ko ſhakâ ſhaddîd ela an mât*, "Et magna eum pre-"hendit miſeria, donec morere-"tur." Which paſſages imply, that *Ebn Moklah* was reduced in priſon to a ſtate of great miſery, and continued in ſuch a ſtate to the time of his death. Mr. *Guiſe* (9) has the following marginal note on *Erpenius*'s tranſlation of theſe words of *Al Makin*: "Hæc "non ſignificant voces Arabicæ; "videntur potius idem valere "quod apud *Abul Pharagi*" (rectiùs *Abul-Faraj*) "de eodem— "Magnâque miſeriâ afflictus eſt, "donec moreretur." And that this obſervation is juſt, as well as our tranſlation of the foregoing words of *Al Makin*, ſeems to be clearly evinced by *Abu'lfeda* (10), when he relates, "that to *Ebn* "*Moklah*'s other MISERIES was "added a diarrhœa; of which, "not being allowed the uſe of "a ſervant, he MISERABLY pe-"riſhed." Other arguments might be offered, would the limits

(8) *Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p.* 303. (9) *Al Makin, Hiſt. Saracen. Arab. Lat. per Thomam Erpenium, cum annotat. MSS. Guil. Guiſii, p.* 205. *in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. c.* 7. 4. *art.* (10) *Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad an. Hej.* 326.

was by him with his left hand and his mouth. He died, according to *Al Makin*, in the month of *Shawâl* 329, or, as *Abu'lfeda* will have it, in the year 338, and was no leſs than three times interred; firſt, in the priſon where he died, afterwards in his ſon *Abu'l Haſan*'s houſe, and laſtly in his own. He is ſaid likewiſe to have written three copies of the *Korân* that in beauty ſurpaſſed all the reſt, and to have performed three times the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. It has alſo been remarked, that when he beat *Ebn Sibâd* for reading to him in a careleſs manner, that reader wiſhed he might loſe his hand; which afterwards came to paſs. We are informed by *Abu'l-Faraj*, that *Ebn Moklah* wrote a letter to the *Khalif* himſelf, adviſing him therein to diſmiſs *Ebn Râyek*, and all his adherents, and telling him, that this would bring into his coffers 3,000,000,000 *dinârs*. But the *Khalif*, continues that writer, communicated the contents of this letter, in which *Ebn Moklah* likewiſe preſſed him to confer the poſt of *Emir Al Omrâ* upon *Yahcam*, to *Ebn Râyek*; which, at laſt, proved the total ruin of the *Viſir*. A ſpecimen of his poetical performances, which were tolerably good, has been preſerved by *Al Makin*. Notwithſtanding what has been here obſerved, a certain writer affirms, that not *Ebn Moklah*, but his brother *Abd'allah Al Haſan* was the inventer of the modern *Arabic* character; though this was brought to a greater degree of perfection by *Ali Ebn Bowâb*, who flouriſhed in the following century, and reduced to its preſent form by *Yakût Al Moſtâſemi*, ſecretary to the *Khalif Al Moſtâſem*, the laſt of the *Khalifs* of the houſe of *Al Abbâs* [z].

THE depoſition and impriſonment of *Ebn Moklah* for the preſent occaſioned a ſort of calm, though *Ebn Râyek* was by no means hereby ſecured in the poſſeſſion of his charge. For, *Yahcam*, reſolving not to loſe the opportunity offered him by the treaſon of the *Viſir*, advanced at the head of his troops into the territory of *Baghdâd*, overthrew the *Khalif*'s forces under the command of *Ebn Râyek*, and made himſelf maſter of that capital. This obliged *Ebn Râyek* to betake himſelf to flight, and to abandon the poſt of *Emir Al Omrâ*, which was immediately

Yahcam *ſeizes upon* Baghdâd, *and forces* the Khalif *to make him* Emir Al Omrâ.

[z] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 205. GREG. ABU'L FARAJ, ubi ſup. p 303. ABU'LFED. in chron. ad an Hej. 326. EBN KHALECAN, D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. art. *Moclah*, p. 589, 590. & art. *Radhi*, p 705. Vide etiam GEORG. JAC. KEHR, in monarch. Aſiatico-Saracenic. ſtat. &c. p. 5. Lipſiæ, 1724.

mits preſcribed us in this part of our work permit, in ſupport of the emendation of *Erpenius*'s *Latin* verſion of *Al Makîn* here ſubmitted to the conſideration of the learned.

mediately occupied by *Yahcam*. The *Khalif* himſelf, however, gained nothing by this change; ſtill living in an intire dependence on his miniſter, and even without the leaſt appearance of authority. The affairs of the *Karmatians* this year were in a very declining condition, inſomuch that *Abu Thâher* found it extremely difficult to maintain himſelf in the poſſeſſion of *Hajr*. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that *Moezzo'ddawla Ahmed Ebn Bûiya* took *Ahwâz* in the beginning of the campaign, and put *Baſra* once more into the hands of *Al Barîdi*; though he could not poſſeſs himſelf of *Wâſet*. Here *Yahcam* ſtill kept his ground, forced *Moezzo'ddawla* to retire, and afterwards drove *Ebn Râyek* from *Bagh-dâd*. Upon *Yahcam*'s expulſion of his predeceſſor from the *Khalîf*'s councils, after he had remained in the ſublime poſt of *Emîr Al Omrâ* one year, ten months, and ſixteen days, he himſelf immediately entered upon that charge, and made *Mohammed Ebn Yahya Ebn Shîrazâd* his ſecretary of ſtate. This year, the *Sicilians*, under the conduct of *Ebn Al Salâyah* and *Abu Târ*, revolted againſt *Al Emir Sâlem*; but were routed by him *Sept.* 17th, though he loſt one of his principal officers in the action, named *Abu Nattâr Al Aſwad*, who ſeems to have been of *Mooriſh* or *Magrebian* extraction. Several of the ringleaders, that fell into his hands, the *Emîr* ordered to be impaled the 20th of the ſame month, to deter others from joining the revolters; but this ſeverity produced a quite contrary effect. For the *Sicilians*, being exaſperated at *Sâlem*'s cruelty, aſſembled a numerous army, and engaged the *Magrebian* forces, commanded by the *Emîr* in perſon, *October* 7th, with very great bravery; but, after an obſtinate diſpute, they were intirely defeated, and purſued as far as the gates of *Palermo*, which the victors entered without oppoſition, and immediately formed the ſiege of the citadel there. *Abu'l Kaſem*, or *Al Kayem*, the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*, having received advice of this rebellion, ſent *Khalîl* with a powerful fleet, and a ſtrong body of land-forces on board, to extinguiſh it. *Khalîl* ſoon arrived on the coaſt of *Sicily*, made a deſcent with his troops, took poſſeſſion of the city of *Palermo*, *Oct.* 23d, and intirely diſmantled it; which ſo incenſed the *Gergentines*, that they ſallied upon the *Khalîf* of *Kairwân*'s troops with ſuch courage, that they put them to flight, killed many of them upon the ſpot, amongſt which were *Ebn Abu Harîr* and *Ali Ebn Abu'l Hoſein*, *Sâlem*'s ſon-in-law, two officers of diſtinction, and diſperſed the reſt in ſuch a manner that they could never afterwards rally. But, notwithſtanding this blow, *Khalîl* continued the ſiege of *Gergenti*; though, for the ſpace of eight months, he could make little or no impreſſion upon the town. It muſt be remembered, that the *Moſlems* concluded a treaty

of

of peace with the *Greeks*, by one article of which a mutual releaſe of priſoners was agreed upon, the preſent year [a].

The tranſactions of the year of the Hejra 327.

In the 327th year of the *Hejra*, the *Khalif Al Râdi*, with a powerful army, commanded by *Yahcam*, marched againſt *Naſero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, who preſided over the people of *Diyâr Rabîa*, *Diyâr Becr*, and *Al Mawſel*, or *Moſul*, overthrew him with very great ſlaughter, and purſued him to the gates of *Al Mawſel*; to which city he afterwards laid ſiege, and obliged *Naſero'ddawla* to fly to *Amed*; but whilſt the *Khalif* was engaged in this expedition, *Ebn Râyek* appeared at the head of a body of troops in the neighbourhood of *Baghdâd*; of which *Yahcam* being informed, he concluded a peace with *Naſero'ddawla Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Hamdân*, on condition that he paid him an annual tribute of 500,000 *dinârs*. In order to pacify *Ebn Râyek*, he alſo put him in poſſeſſion of *Harrân*, *Al Rohâ*, or *Edeſſa*, *Al Awâſem*, *Kinniſrîn*, and ſeveral diſtricts bordering upon the *Euphrates*. This year, *Abu Thâher*, prince of the *Karmatians*, permitted the caravans of pilgrims, together with the eſcorte that attended them, to paſs, for the firſt time ſince the year 319, out of *Syria* to *Mecca*; though he obliged them to pay, for this permiſſion, the ſum of 25,000 *dinârs*. *Omayyah Ebn Iſhak*, according to *Abu'lfeda*, rebelled againſt *Abd'alrahmân Al Naſr Ebn Mohammed*, the *Emîr*, or lord, of *Andaluſia*, in the city of *Shantarîn*, the preſent year. *Ebn Iſhak*, being ſupported by a body of *Gallician* troops, defeated a *Moſlem* army, that was ſent againſt him; but, in a ſecond engagement, he was overthrown by *Abd'alrahmân*'s forces, and loſt the greateſt part of his men; which obliged him to ſubmit immediately, upon the terms preſcribed, to the *Emîr*. *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Hâtem Al Râzi*, the author of the piece, intituled, *Al Harjo wa Al Tadilo*, and *Abu'l Donya Othmân Ebn Al Khattâb Al Aſhajjo*, two famous traditioniſts, as likewiſe *Mohammed Ebn Jaafar*, of *Jaffa*, or *Joppa*, a celebrated author, and *Abu'l Kaſem Abd'allah Ebn Ahmed Ebn Mahmûd*, commonly called *Al Alani*, the *Mótazalite*, who entertained ſeveral heterodox tenets, died before the cloſe of this year. About the ſame time, *Khalîl*, the *Magrebian* general, who commanded the *Khalif* of *Kairwan*'s forces that carried on the ſiege of *Gergenti*, returned with the greateſt part of his troops to *Palermo*, where he exacted a large ſum of money of the inhabitants, by way of mulct, or fine, which

[a] Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 205, 206. Ebn Shohnah, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. p. 705. Ism. Abu'lfed. ubi ſup. Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. p. 12, 13. Joan. Bapt. Carus. ubi ſup. p. 100. Panormi, 1720.

he sent immediately to *Africa*. This enabled the *Khalif* to order him from thence a reinforcement; after the arrival of which in *Sicily*, he took *Abâthâr*, or *Buteria*, *Al Sîrât*, the *Asforus*, or *Asforium*, of the antients, and the modern *Azaro*, or *Asaro*, *Asklâsînah*, or *Sclafanum*, and *Kalbarah*, all of them places of considerable strength. He also advanced at the head of his army to *Calata Bellotta*, to form the siege of that town; of which the *Gergentines*, to whom the preservation of that fortress was of the utmost consequence, receiving advice, they fell upon the besiegers with such fury, that they put a great number of them to the sword, and, as the *Cambridge Chronicon* seems to insinuate, forced the rest to abandon the siege. This action happened on the 10th of *July*, and proved so fatal to the *Magrebian* troops, that they durst not appear again in the neighbourhood of *Calata Bellotta* before the commencement of the following campaign [b].

Ebn Râyek *is defeated by* Al Akhshîd.

THE next year, being the 328th of the *Hejra*, *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Râyek* made himself master of *Hems*, *Damascus*, and *Al Ramla*; after which, he penetrated to *Arîsh* in *Egypt*. But here *Mohammed Al Akhshîd Ebn Tagaj* met him, and gave him battle, about the middle of the month of *Ramadân*. *Ebn Rayek*'s troops behaved with such bravery in the beginning of the action, that they bore down all before them, and forced the *Egyptians* every-where to give way. But, instead of following their blow, and pursuing the fugitives with the ardour they ought to have done, they amused themselves with plundering their camp; upon which, a body of *Al Akhshîd*'s troops that had been placed in ambuscade, and observed the disorder they were in, rushed out upon them, and charged them with such fury, that they soon put them to flight. The greatest part of *Ebn Râyek*'s forces were killed upon the spot, and the rest of them so effectually dispersed, that they could never afterwards rally; *Ebn Ayek* himself not having been able to make his escape to *Damascus* with above 70 men. After this, *Ebn Râyek* defeated *Abu Nasr* (F), *Al Akhshîd*'s brother,

[b] AL MAKIN, ubi sup. p. 206. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad an. Hej. 327. Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantab. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi sup.

(F) *Abu Nasr* himself, according to *Abu'lfida*, was killed in the action; which so affected *Ebn Râyek*, that he sent an embassy to *Al Akhshîd*, to carry to that prince his compliments of condolence, and to assure him, that he had no hand in, and was extremely sorry for, his brother's death. To which this author adds, that *Ebn Râyek* sent his own son *Mozahem* to *Al Akhshîd*, and desired that prince to sacrifice him to the manes of his brother, if he thought proper. But *Al Akhshîd*, continues he, was so far from being acted by any vindictive

ther, in the month of *Dhu'lkaada*, and put a vaſt number of his men to the ſword. This victory was ſoon followed by a peace between *Ebn Râyek* and *Al Akhſhîd*, by the principal articles of which the city of *Al Ramla* was ceded to *Al Akhſhîd*, upon condition that he paid to *Ebn Râyek* the annual ſum of 140,000 *dinârs*; and the latter of theſe *Emirs* remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the remaining part of *Syria*, which he had before in a great meaſure reduced by force of arms [c].

THIS year, *Al Sabkari* was killed in that part of *Syria*, or *Al Shâm*, called by the *Arabs Thogûr*; which ſeems to anſwer to the *Syria Antiochena* of the antients. About the ſame time, died *Mohammed Al Calini*, one of the *Imâmian Imâms*, generally denominated *Ebn Shambûd*, *Al Mokri Mohammed Ebn Ahmed*, and *Abu Mohammed Al Mortaeſh*, a doctor of the *Sûfis*; as alſo *Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Al Kaſem*, going for the moſt part under the name of *Ebn Al Ambarek*, a celebrated grammarian, and the author of the book intituled, *Kitâb Al Wacfi wa Al Ibtidaï*, a piece held in good eſteem amongſt the *Moſlems*, who was born in the year of the *Hejra* 271. *Abu Omar Ahmed Ebn Abd Rabbih Ebn Janib Al Corthobi* likewiſe departed this life, before the cloſe of the year we are now upon. His grandfather *Janib*, who was a native of *Corduba*, is ſaid to have been firſt one of *Heſhâm Ebn Abd'alrahmân*'s ſlaves; though he had afterwards his liberty given him by that prince, who was the ſecond *Emîr* of the houſe of *Ommiyah* that preſided over the *Moſlems* in *Spain*. As for *Abu Omar*, he was one of thoſe learned men who ſpent their time chiefly in forming volumes of the traditions that had before been only committed to memory. The book that bears the title of *Al Acd*, or *Al Akd*, one of the moſt excellent of its kind, is a proof of his ſingular merit. At the time of his death, he was about eighty-two lunar years of age [d].

IT appears from ſome of the authors followed by *Al Makîn*, Sa'id, that *Sa'id Ebn Batrîk*, known alſo by the name of *Anba Eutychius*, an excellent phyſician, and a native of *Al Foſtât*, who had been advanced to the patriarchate of *Alexandria* in 321, died the preſent year. This author, who was a *Melchite*, be-

Ebn Batrik, *or* Eutychius, *dies.*

[c] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p. 206, 207. ISM. ABU'LFED. ad. an. Hej. 328. EUSEB. RENAUD. hiſt. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobitar. p. 343. Pariſiis, 1713.

[d] ISM. ABU'LFED. ubi ſup.

dictive ſentiments on this occaſion, that he made *Mozahem* a preſent of ſeveral ſumptuous mantles, or cloaks, treated him with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and at laſt ſent him back loaded with honours to his father in *Syria* (11).

(11) *Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej.* 328.

gan his annals with the creation of the world, and brought them down to the year of the *Hejra* 327. This work, intituled *Nadhm Al Jawhar, a contexture of gems*, or *a ſtring of pearls*, has been publiſhed with a *Latin* verſion by the famous Dr. *Pocock*, profeſſor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* languages in the univerſity of *Oxford*, where it was printed in the year of our LORD 1656. We are told by M. *Renaudot* (G), that it is incomparably better than any general hiſtory to be met with amongſt the *Orientals*; and that it has been followed not only by the *Chriſtian* writers, but likewiſe by *Al Makrizi*, and other *Mohammedan* authors. *Eutychius* is alſo ſaid to have compoſed a phyſical treatiſe, that bore the title of *Kitâb fil thebb*, and to have been extremely well verſed in all the branches of literature then in vogue. Another piece has likewiſe been aſcribed to him of the controverſial kind, which was written againſt the *Egyptian* heretics, who gave him no ſmall trouble, during the time that he ſat in the patriarchal ſee of *Alexandria*, which was ſeven years and ſix months. He was at laſt attacked by a diarrhœa, which from the beginning he judged would prove fatal to him, and therefore removed to *Alexandria*, where he died on *Monday*, the laſt day of the month *Rajeb*. His brother, *Iſa Ebn Ba-*

(G) Our learned and polite readers will not expect, that we ſhould here give any formal anſwer to the falſe and injurious reflection thrown out by M. *Renaudot* againſt Mr. *Selden*, whom he repreſents as intirely unacquainted with oriental hiſtory, and to his unpolite treatment of the great Dr. *Pocock*, to whom he affects to ſhew an apparent diſregard, almoſt as often as he ſpeaks of him. For, in order to expoſe ſuch treatment of thoſe ſhining ornaments of oriental literature as this, 'tis ſufficient barely to mention it. We muſt, however, beg leave to obſerve, that M. *Renaudot* treats the very learned *Job Ludolfus* in much the ſame manner; and that he ſcarce ever beſtows encomiums upon any but ſome few of his own nation. This indicates a meanneſs of ſoul, which cannot fail of drawing down upon that writer the contempt of all men of real learning, who muſt be acted by more elevated ſentiments, and indued with a more generous turn of mind. But, notwithſtanding the high notion he entertained of his own ſuperior abilities, with regard to eaſtern literature, which diſcovers itſelf in almoſt every page of the book here referred to, were we diſpoſed to recriminate, we might very juſtly remark, that ſcarce any piece of the ſame ſize abounds more with inaccuracies, not to ſay egregious blunders, than the performance he ſo highly valued himſelf upon (12).

(12) *Renaud. hiſt. patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobit. p.* 347, 348. *& alibi paſſ. Pariſiis*, 1713. *Vide etiam Renaud. præfat. ad hiſt. patr. Alex. Jac. & Joan. Gagn. præfat. ad hym. Abu Iſhak. de vit. & reb. geſt. Mohammed. &c. p.* 12—16. *Oxon.* 1723.

Iſhak

trîk was likewiſe a phyſician of great note, on whoſe account he compiled the general hiſtory above-mentioned. Other books of conſiderable erudition have likewiſe been attributed to him. The learned Dr. *Cave* and the abbot *Martin la Farina* took *Eutychius* to have been the author of the *Chronicon Siculum*, in the public library at *Cambridge*; which *Arabic* MS. formerly belonged to the famous *Thomas Erpenius*, and has been publiſhed, with a *Latin* verſion, by *Joannes Baptiſta Caruſius*, a *Sicilian* writer. But that *Eutychius* could not have been the author of this *Chronicon*, we may fairly infer from the following conſiderations. Firſt, the hiſtory itſelf ends with the year of CHRIST 965; whereas *Eutychius* died in the 328th year of the *Hejra*, which nearly correſponds with the 940th of the *Chriſtian* æra. Secondly, the compiler of it appears to have been a *Sicilian*, from the perfect knowledge he had of the cities, towns, and villages, of *Sicily*; and from his ſuputation of years, which exactly anſwers to that of the *Sicilians*, who begin their year on the firſt of *September*, in common with almoſt all the *Greeks*, and make the creation of the world to have preceded the birth of CHRIST 5508 years, not 5491, or 5492, as the church of *Alexandria* maintains. Thirdly, the perſon who penned the *Chronicon* makes uſe of only the *Roman* or *Latin* names of the months, and never computes by the years of the *Hejra*, as *Eutychius* does; which of itſelf ſufficiently demonſtrates, that this hiſtory ought not to be attributed to him. As the *Cambridge* manuſcript is found at the end of a MS. copy of *Eutychius*'s annals, we are not to be ſo much ſurpriſed at what has been advanced by the learned men above-mentioned in the point before us; but we cannot ſo well account for the palpable miſtake of Dr. *Cave* and *Caruſius*, when they aſſert that *Eutychius* died in the year of our LORD 950, except we ſuppoſe that they never peruſed the *Târîkh Al Moſlemîn*, or the hiſtory of the *Moſlems*, written by *Al Makîn*, which has been ſo often referred to here [d].

THE ſame year, *Khalîl* with the *Magrebian* forces took poſt again before *Calata Bellotta*, and formed a ſecond time the ſiege of that place; of which the *Gergentines* being apprized, they ſent a body of troops to the relief of the town, which in the month of *November* ſurprized the beſiegers by night, and made themſelves maſters of their camp. About the ſame time, *The tranſactions in* Sicily *this year.*

[d] AL MAKIN, ubi ſup. p 208, 209. EUTYCH. ubi ſup. p. 530—533. & alib. EBN ABI OSAIB. in vit. medicor. JOAN. SELDEN. præfat. ad Eutych. orig. eccleſ. Alexandrin. edit. Londini, 1642. RENAUD. hiſt. patriarch Alexandrin. Jacobit. p. 347, 348. Pariſiis, 1713. D'HERBEL. Biblioth. orient. p. 1 4. JOAN. BAPT. CARUS præfat. ad Chronic. Sic. Cantabrigienſ. Panormi, 1720.

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Al Emîr Sâlem, who had preſided over the *Moſlem* conqueſts in *Sicily* twenty-two years, and had been a victorious prince, departed this life in his caſtle. A grievous famine likewiſe raged in *Palermo* and the neighbouring villages to ſuch a degree, that parents found themſelves obliged to eat their children, for want of other food. The *Magrebians* laid ſiege a third time to *Calata Bellotta*, notwithſtanding the blow they had formerly received, and took it in the month of *March*, the preſent year [c].

The Khalif Al Râdi *dies.*

THE following year, being the 329th of the *Hejra*, commencing *October* 6th, 940, the *Khalîf Al Râdi* died, the 16th of the former *Rabî*, of a dropſy, at *Baghdâd*. Some authors, however, relate, that immoderate coition was the cauſe of his death. He reigned ſix years, ten months, and ten days; and had completed the 30th year of his age a few months before his deceaſe, according to *Al Makîn*. As to his perſon, he had, if *Abu'lfeda* may be credited, a thin beard, and was of a ſwarthy complexion. With regard to his diſpoſition, he was liberal, munificent, mild, well verſed in the literature of the *Arabs*, eloquent, a good poet, and a great admirer of the converſation of learned men. He was the laſt of the *Khalîfs* that wrote verſes, at leaſt of the *Khalîfs* that wrote ſuch verſes as were thought worthy of having a place aſſigned them in the *Moſlem* annals. A ſpecimen of his poetical performances has been preſerved by *Abu'lfeda* and *Al Makîn*. He was the laſt likewiſe of the *Moſlem* emperors that officiated conſtantly in the moſque, that commanded the forces, that had the diſpoſal of the publick money, and that in ſhort exerciſed any kind of real authority over the *Arabs*. His ſucceſſors, for a conſiderable period at leaſt, enjoyed little more than the bare title of *Khalîf*, and of this they were even at laſt deprived by the *Tartars*. *Ebn Moklah* was his firſt *Wazir*, or *Viſir*, and *Mohammed Ebn Yâkût* his firſt chamberlain. The latter of theſe was ſucceeded in his poſt by *Dacâ*, who had before ſerved the *Khalîf* in an inferior capacity. The firſt day of *Al Râdi*'s reign was *Thurſday*, and the laſt *Saturday*, according to *Al Makîn*. *Macarius* was conſtituted patriarch of the *Jacobites* at *Alexandria*, in the year of the *Hejra* 323, about a year after this prince's acceſſion, and ſat in that ſee, if we will believe the above-mentioned author and *Al Makrizi*, about twenty years. His mother, who was one of his father *Al Moktader*'s concubines, has been denominated *Thalûm* by *Abulfeda*; and the name of *Talûm* has been given her by *Al Makîn*. *Senân Ebn Thâbet Al Harrâni*, that moſt ce-

[c] Chron. Sic. Arab. Cantabrigienſ. et JOAN. BAPT. CARUS. ubi ſup. Vide etiam bin. inſcript. Arabic. a Joan. Bapt. Carus. edit. Panormi, 1720.

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lebrated phyſician, was one of his conſtant companions, and in the higheſt favour with him. Amongſt the memorable events of this year we may likewiſe rank the death of *Bakhtîſhûa Ebn Yahya*, who had been phyſician to the *Khalîf Al Moktader*, and made no inconſiderable figure at that prince's court. *Mati Ebn Yûnes*, *Mata Ebn Yûnes*, or *Matta (Matthew) Ebn Yûnas*, ſurnamed *the ſage*, and *the philoſopher*, who, according to *Mohammed Ebn Iſhak Al Nadîm*, his companion and intimate friend, was the greateſt logician of the country and age wherein he lived, died about the time we are now upon, in the *Khalifat* of *Al Râdi*. He inſtructed many young men in the principles of logic, which he himſelf learned of *Rûfil* and *Benyâmîn*, two *Jacobite* monks; though he laid the firſt foundation of his knowledge in the ſchool of one *Mâr Mâri*. He was a native of *Dair Kani*, or *Dair Kana*, and a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the tenets of the *Neſtorian* ſect. Some of the eaſtern writers have repreſented *Al Râdi* as endued with many virtues highly becoming a great prince, ſeveral of which have been juſt touched upon; but, for a detail of theſe, the learned and curious reader muſt have recourſe to thoſe writers themſelves, the limits we have preſcribed ourſelves in this part of our work not permitting us to expatiate any farther upon them here [f].

[f] Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 201, 207, 208. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p 303, 304. Ism. Abu'lfed. in chron. ad ann. Hej. 329. D'Herbel. Biblioth. orient. art. *Radhi*, p. 706.

The END of the Second Volume.